STUDY OF THE OSIREION AT ABYDOS

CODE BOOK AND SOURCE DOCUMENT FOR THE BIRTH HOUSE OF ISIS

CHARLES HENRY HERZER JR

I AM INDEBTED TO THOTH WHOSE HAND TOOK MY HAND

FOR MY WIFE ADRIENNE ROURKE

CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE: TEXT

INTRODUCTION 10

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1 The Amarna Heresy – A Second Death For Osiris 17
1.2 Restoration, Renewal, and Renaissance (*wḥm* mswt): The Counter Reformation 22
1.3 Legitimacy in the Eyes of Gods and Men:
The Early Nineteenth Dynasty and the Right to Rule 38
1.4 The Realm of Osiris Re-Created 47
1.5 The Origin of the Osireion 63

CHAPTER 2: DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

2.1 Overview and Ancient Names 67
2.2 Subterranean Structure – A Truly Fascinating Place 71
2.3 Author of the Decoration Program 78
2.4 Ritual Cycles in the Decoration Program of the Osireion 79
2.5 Symbolism Encoded in the Undecorated Entranceway 80

CHAPTER 3: NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

3.1 The Beginning of Creation: The Opening Scenes 84
3.2 The Nightly Journey and the Book of Gates 99

CONTENTS

3.3	The First Occasion and the Hall of Judgment of Osiris	155
3.4	The Twelfth Gate and the Final Scene	164
3.5	The Prime Act of Creation the First Sunrise of zp tpj Remarks on the Ceiling Decoration of the Entrance Passage	174

CHAPTER 4: THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.1	Osiris, Horus, and the Moon: Axial Alignment of the Entranceway	188
4.2	The Nocturnal Journey of the Sun God Through the Body of the Goddess Nut: The Book of the Night	199
4.3	The Mysterious Book of Caverns: A Treatise on the Lunar Osirian Transformation	204
4.4	Hidden in Plain Sight: Astronomical and Calendrical Concepts in the Book of Caverns	298
4.5	The Concluding Sequence for the First Night of the Rites for the New Moon, The Night of Last Crescent Visibility	321
4.6	The Ritual Sequence for the Second Night: The Rites for the Night of the Blacked-out Moon	338
4.7	Entering into the Realm of the Gods of the Twelve Caverns: Concluding Ritual Sequence on the Night of the Blacked-out Moon	358

CHAPTER 5: THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.1	Message in Stone	392
5.2	The Third Ritual Cycle – Its Scope	409
5.3	The Descent to My Father Osiris	413
5.4	Analysis of the Decoration – Central Hall Rear Wall	465
5.5	A Reconstruction of the Birth House of Isis: The Lost Decoration	494
5.6	My Father My Conception and Royal Succession	512
5.7	The Hidden Chamber of Creation and its Secrets	553
5.8	Toward the Sunrise on the First Occasion	582

CHAPTER 6: THE SACRED PRCINCT ABOVE THE SUBTERRANEAN COMPLEX

6.1	Proposed Reconstruction	641
6.2	Entranceway	653
6.3	Fortress of Menmaatre	692
6.4	Treasury and Archives Complex	694
6.5	Speculation on the House of Life	699
6.6	Celestial Alignment and Relationship to the Sacred Abydene Landscape	703

CONTENTS

APPENDIX A: THE OSIREION AS THE TEMPLATE FOR THE DECORATION PROGRAM OF THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI 715

APPENDIX B: THE MOVEMENT OF THE MOON 734

APPENDIX C: ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LUNAR NUMBER SYMBOLISM 742

BIBLIOGRAPHY 762

GENERAL INDEX 787

LIST OF PLATES AND SOURCES 823

VOLUME TWO: PLATES

PLATES 1-497

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This monumental study began in 1985-6 at my first visit to the Osireion. Discovering its secrets entailed a long journey, which brought me into contact with James P. Allen, a brilliant scholar and exceptional teacher who has become my dear friend and mentor. Not only did Jim teach me to read hieroglyphs and translated for me key portions of texts from the Osireion, it was his suggestion to write the definitive study on the Osireion. I cannot thank his esteemed colleague Dr. John M. Steele enough for all his time and help not only in explaining the complexities of astronomical cycles but also for critiquing my research. The insights provided by another exceptional scholar Anthony Spalinger were invaluable. Over the many years of my research Tony became, in effect, my unofficial and most valued adviser. In addition, his study on the dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II at Abydos was crucial for my understanding of certain key aspects of kingship and the transmission of royal power. Astrophysicist and Egyptologist Sarah Symons, whose efforts and enthusiastic support of my research project are greatly appreciated, initially provided me with valuable information on the unique star table in the Osireion. Later she was responsible for my obtaining access to all of the remaining excavation records for the Osireion carried out by the Egypt Exploration Society. This could not have been accomplished without the permission and kind assistance of its former Director, Dr. Chris Naunton, and the EES staff.

A special thanks to Joshua Roberson the Egyptologist and expert on cryptographic texts who kindly took on the study of and translation of the cryptic annotations of an important underworld book found in the Osireion for me, which later resulted in his book, the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. Moreover, his in-depth study on the Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth offered important insight into the many underworld books found in the Osireion. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Alexandra von Leiven for providing me with an advance draft of her insightful analysis of the function of the Osireion as well as for her subsequent helpful correspondence. I thank Daniel Miguel Mendez Rodriguez for his assistance in deciphering the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) which is the topic of his PhD dissertation and forthcoming book. Katherine Eaton's insight into Egyptian temple ritual and processions helped me discern the ritual nature of the texts and identify the three distinct ritual cycles to be performed in the Osireion.

I am grateful to my good friend Dr. Sameh Iskander, co-director of the Temple of Ramesses II Project at Abydos not only for our many discussions on the Osireion and Abydos, but also for the photographs of the Litany of Re reliefs in the Ramesses II temple which aided in my reconstruction of those scenes in the Osireion. Likewise to James S. Westerman, explorer, archaeologist, and engineer who excavated at the Osireion to explore its submerged foundation and for his corrections to Frankfort's account about the origin and nature of the water that surrounds the Central Island. Finally, I must thank my dear friend Dr. Kathlyn M. Cooney for all her valuable advice. Not only did Kara recognize the importance of this study and its need to be published but also guided me to other options for its publication. After careful consideration, I have decided that this massive body of research should be preserved in its entirety, a source document, available to all who may be interested.

ABBREVIATIONS

AEB	Annual Egyptological Bibliography
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquites d'Egypte
BACE	Bulletin for the Australian Centre for Egyptology
BAOM	Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum
BD	Book of the Dead
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archeologie Orientale au Caire
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BM	British Museum (accession number)
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BSAK	Studien zur Altagyptischen Kultur Beihefte
BSEG	Bulletin de la Societe d'Egyptologie, Geneve
BSFE	Bulletin de la Societe Francaise d'Egyptologie
CdE	Chronique d'Egypte
CGC	Catologue General des Antiquites Egyptiennes du Musee du Caire
CT	Coffin Texts
DE	Discussions in Egyptology
EA	Egyptian Archaeology The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society
EAT	O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts (1960-1969)

ABBREVIATIONS

EEF	The Egyptologists' Electronic Forum
EES	Egypt Exploration Society London
GM	Gottinger Miszellen
GSL	Gardiner's Sign List A. Gardiner Grammar 3rd rev. ed. (1957)
HAT	Handschriften des Altagyptischen Totenbuches
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH	Journal of Egyptian History
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap “Ex Oriente Lux”
JES	Journal of Egyptological Studies
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHA	Journal for the History of Astronomy
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSSEA	Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
KMT	Kmt A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt
KRI	K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical
KV	Valley of the Kings (tomb number)
MAA	Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen instituts, Abteilung Kairo

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA	Metropolitan Museum Art (accession number)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseums van Oudheden te Leiden
p.	Papyrus
PT	Pyramid Texts
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
RdE	Revue d'Egyptologie
SAK	Studien zur Altagyptischen Kultur
SAT	Studien zum Altagyptischen Totenbuch
TT	Theban Tomb (tomb number)
UEE	UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology
Urk.	Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums
VA	Varia Aegyptiaca
Wb.	A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds.), Worterbuch der Agyptischen Sprache
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
ZAS	Zeitschrift fur Agyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

INTRODUCTION

K. A. Kitchen in his article, Aspects of Ramesside Egypt, commented that “we do not always learn all that is possible from familiar features of well-known periods, because we have not examined them closely enough.”[1] This certainly has been the case with the Osireion. Ever since its discovery by the Egypt Exploration Society in the 1901-1902 season at Abydos and its final publication by them in 1933, there has been much speculation as to the function of the subterranean Osireion, without benefit of a detailed analysis of that complex. Some have suggested it to be the tomb of Osiris, others consider it to be a cenotaph or false tomb of Seti I. Assmann also raised the possibility of its use for priestly initiations into the mysteries of the netherworld.[2] Interestingly, Murray in 1903, with only a small part of the Osireion having been excavated at the time, favored the hypothesis that it was a building for the special worship of Osiris and the celebration of the Mysteries.[3] But it wasn't until 2002 at a conference on Egyptian temples, that von Lieven presented a convincing case that it is in fact a temple.[4]

Without the benefit of the close examination Kitchen advocated, it is easy to see how this confusion arose and still exists. For example, Assmann writes of the function of tombs. “The Egyptian tomb – not just the royal tomb but the tomb in general – served two functions that were diametrically opposite and mutually exclusive: 'mystery' and 'memory'. On the one hand, the tomb served as a visible sign intended to keep the recollection of the deceased alive in the memory of posterity. This function of the tomb required visibility and openness. On the other hand, the tomb was supposed to shelter the mummy and, to the extent possible, to keep it safe from any profaning touch. It was supposed to be a hidden, inaccessible place where the deceased was protected forever. Thus, the typical monumental Egyptian tomb contained accessible rooms but also shafts that led more or less

1 K. Kitchen, “Aspects of Ramesside Egypt” in W. Reineke (ed.), Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology (1979), 383.

2 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 206. No doubt as a secondary use. If this were the case for the Osireion, it would surely have been restricted to the Entrance Passage where the graffiti is found.

3 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 3.

4 A. von Lieven, “Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos” in B. Haring, A, Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologlische Tempeltagung Funktion und Gebrauch altagyptischer Tempelraume (2007), 167-186.

deeply down into the rock bed, to a sarcophagus chamber that was walled up after the burial. In most cases, the shaft was filled up as well so as to shut off the sarcophagus chamber all the more effectively. In this architectonic attempt to create a mysterious, inaccessible, protective space for the mummy, we can perceive the tangible expression of the image of death as mystery. Embalmed and mummified, the deceased vanished from the profane world of the living and entered the mystery of the netherworld. Architectonically realized by the sarcophagus chamber of the monumental tomb, this mystery had two aspects: the solar aspect of renewal and the Osirian aspect of protection, of absolute hiddenness. Let us first consider the solar aspect of renewal. As noted, it determined the decoration of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom, in which the antagonistic double function of the tomb – mystery and memory – emerges far more clearly than in the tombs of officials. In the case of the royal burials, the two functions are strictly separated, and each is realized in a special structure. The cult and memorial function was realized in the form of a mortuary temple, or 'mansion of millions of years', which was constructed visibly and on as monumental a scale as possible at the edge of the cultivation. The mystery function was assured by a rock cut tomb in the Valley of the Kings, a tomb hermetically sealed, rigorously guarded, and located in as hidden a place as possible. If we wish to understand the Egyptian concept of mystery, we need only consider the royal tombs and their decoration. This decoration is devoted almost exclusively to a single theme: the nocturnal journey of the sun through the netherworld... Here we are witness to a tremendous mystery... the renewal of the sun god in death, in the depths of the netherworld at midnight, was indeed the most mysterious thing known to Egyptian religion. The concept of regeneration was enormously widespread in Egypt... But all the texts and representations that deal with it in detail are associated with mystery and secrecy: as noted, in the New Kingdom, they occur almost exclusively in royal tombs."[5]

On the surface, Assmann's description would certainly seem to aptly describe Seti's Abydene temple, a 'mansion of millions of years', and behind it the hidden subterranean Osireion, decorated with an encyclopedic array of underworld books, as the royal tomb/cenotaph of Osiris Seti or as O'Connor likes to phrase it "Seti-as-Osiris".[6] Except that Osiris already had a tomb at Abydos in Peker. "According to Dreyer, all the tombs [first dynasty tombs at Umm el-Qaab] were excavated in the Middle Kingdom in the search for Osiris' tomb".[7] The largest of the first dynasty tombs, that of king Djer, was considered to be Osiris' tomb at least since the Middle Kingdom. The annual procession to his tomb at the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries continued on to the end of the 31st Dynasty. Given the scope and importance of Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* to restore maat after the Amarna Hersey,[8] it seems improbable that this centuries old popular tradition of the annual procession on the night of 30 Khoiak from the metropolitan temple of Osiris at Kom el Sultan out to the desert

5 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 187-188.

6 D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009), 51.

7 Ibid., 148.

8 See below 1.2, Restoration, Renewal, and Renaissance (*wḥm mswt*): The Counter-Reformation.

tomb of Djer/Osiris in Umm el-Qaab and the triumphant return would have been superseded by Seti, strongly suggesting that the Osireion served another purpose and as will be shown a very important one at that. Furthermore in passing, it should be noted that the Osireion bears little resemblance to the tomb of Djer/Osiris, other than both were originally subterranean structures.[9]

Von Lieven's insightful analysis is a major advance in the understanding of the function of the Osireion. Contrary to Frankfort,[10] she has argued persuasively that the complex is not a cenotaph for Seti I, but a temple for Osiris where rituals were to have been performed on the god's behalf.[11] More precisely, I suggest that it was built by Seti as part of his program of *wḥm mswt* to re-establish the abode of Osiris, abolished by Akhenaten, thus explaining its form as a subterranean architectural rendition of the *ḏuat* itself, the realm of Osiris Khentiamenti, Ruler of the West.[12] Built on the same axis as Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years,[13] it was from the beginning to have been an integral part of this complex. The ancient name for the Osireion, "Benefical [*ꜣḫ*] is Menmaatre for Osiris",[14] points to its purpose... "as Friedman has shown. It [*ꜣḫ*] is used to describe actions taken by the king on behalf of the gods, especially the provision of cult offerings and the production of monuments of all kinds."[15] Two graffiti from the 21st and 22nd Dynasties in the Entrance Passage provide further insights as to how the ancient Egyptians perceived this unique structure: (Plate 52)

tꜣ štꜣy n dwꜣt n nsw Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ
'the mysterious/hidden place of the *ḏuat* of king Menmaatre'

jnḏ ḥr.k ꜣst m pr-ms(w)t
'Hail to you! Isis in the birth house...'[16]

The *ḏuat* and the birth house of Isis accurately describe the Osireion's function, as will be shown.

A close examination and analysis of the Underworld Books and their interaction with the chapters from the Book of the Dead in the Osireion show not only that they constitute three distinct ritual cycles to be enacted at different times throughout the year, but also that the king, the living Horus, as chief

9 See 2.2, Subterranean Structure – A Truly Fascinating Place.

10 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 23-31.

11 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A, Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologlische Tempeltagung Funktion und Gebrauch altagyptischer Tempelraume (2007), 167-186.

12 See below 1.4, The Realm of Osiris Re-Created.

13 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical, and Art Historical Analysis (2000), 155.

14 Ibid., 175.

15 Ibid., 384.

16 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 88-89, plates LXXXVIII, XCI.

ritualist is prominently depicted performing these rites. This differs from the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which served a somewhat different function than that of the Osireion. There the deceased king is in the main depicted as the recipient and beneficiary of the offerings and the rituals, in contrast to the Osireion, where the living king is everywhere depicted performing the rituals for the benefit of the gods. The royal tomb, in essence, is as Assmann noted a place to house, conceal and protect the transfigured mummified king as Osiris and for his participation in the netherworld mysteries. In the Osireion this is also vitally important, but not its main function. It housed the birth house of Isis, the Central Hall, which is unique to the Osireion. It is this feature that distinguishes it from the royal tombs. The rejuvenation of Osiris, the deceased king, was crucial but here so that Isis could conceive Horus, which was to have been the main event of the third ritual cycle. With Horus' conception so too was divine kingship conceived, marking the beginning of dynastic rule in Egypt and, equally important, the legitimate means for the transfer of royal power, which had been abandoned by the heretic Akhenaten. As will be clearly demonstrated, this subterranean structure is, in fact, an elaborate cult center for Osiris focusing on his vital role in the nightly rejuvenation of the sun god, the monthly regeneration of the moon, and the conception of divine kingship both in *ḏt*-time on the first occasion and in *nḥḥ*-time with its periodic requirement for renewal to reaffirm its legitimacy.[17] The Osireion contains an enormous wealth of information and provides a unique insight into the ancient Egyptian worldview, circa 1300 BC at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, following the Amarna Heresy.

In the vast subterranean part of the Osireion complex, much of the decoration still remains and has been published by the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) in 1904 and 1933.[18] In addition, their extensive collection of EES negatives and notebooks documenting the excavation of the Osireion, though no longer quite complete, supplement their publications and are available for inspection at their office in London.[19] With the existing traces of texts recorded, a significant portion can also be reliably restored. Still a sizable amount of the decoration has regrettably vanished over time. However, it should be stressed here because it is key, that enough remains so that all three ritual cycles can be clearly identified as well as verified with what still exists, which in my opinion is critical to the validity of this study. Furthermore, with my discovery that the decoration program of the Osireion served as the template for the tomb of Ramesses VI, most of the missing material particularly from the quarried ceilings can now be plausibly restored.[20] This recognition allowed for a more comprehensive analysis

17 On the continuous need for the institution of kingship and individual holders of this office for reaffirmation to insure its continual legitimation, an issue of special significance to Seti I and his fledgling Nineteenth Dynasty see: J. Baines, “Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation” in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman, Ancient Egyptian Kingship (1995), 3-35 and 1.3, Legitimacy in the Eyes of Gods and Men: The Early Nineteenth Dynasty and the Right to Rule.

18 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904) and H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933).

19 A special note of gratitude to Dr. Chris Naunton, the former Director of the Egypt Exploration Society, who made copies of the Society's collection of negatives available to me and to my colleague Dr. Sarah Symons who was kind enough while in London to review all the available material, assemble it, and download it to me.

20 See below Appendix A: The Osireion as the Template for the Decoration Program of the Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9).

of and confidence in the proposed reconstruction of the missing decoration in the Osireion. However, for those who think it preferable to exclude reconstructions and all discussion of a speculative nature from the commentaries, as did my friend and respected colleague Harold Hays, you need only to skip those portions of my commentaries. [21] The recorded material, as has already been noted, is more than sufficient to allow for an accurate determination of the three ritual cycles. It will also become clear from the analysis presented below that the reconstructions do serve to enhance and enrich a deeper understanding of those ritual cycles and the function of the Osireion.

"Celebration of the multitude of possible interconnections between [ritual] episodes seems to have been important in the ancient Egyptian approach to presenting ritual scenes, particularly in architectural settings (as opposed to presentations on papyrus). As Kemp pointed out, the problem becomes that once one starts thinking about what associations might have been relevant to the Egyptians '… it is hard to know when to stop'. Matters are further complicated by the possibility of different allusions and emphasis in different genres, times, and regions. Despite these problems, the study of ancient Egyptian culture requires recognition of a multitude of possible interconnections and cautious application of the principle in the analysis of all types of material. For example,… Baines observed that in hymns the Egyptians used '… a stock of known attributes and qualities that can be arranged in ever-varying ways.'" [22] It seems to me that this approach captures the essence and was fully in keeping with the ancient Egyptian concept of creation as an ever expanding unfolding of possibilities and manifestations. Closely related is the ancient Egyptian use of wordplay. "Wordplay occurs everywhere that cultic acts are accompanied by recitation – or, more precisely put, where speech is interwoven with cultic acts, as long as a transformation of the rite by a distant sphere of meaning emanating from the divine realm was spoken of. The wealth of wordplays demonstrates how those who composed spells for the cult worked self-consciously with language – with substance (sound) and with form (phonemic structure) of expression – to bring the cultic and the divine spheres into a relationship with one another. They testify to a belief in the possibilities of language, a consciousness of language that is foreign to us, for we have come to understand the conventional nature of the signs of language. We speak of 'plays' on words because we experience such a use of language, which undermines the conventionality of signs in a cunning and usually amusing manner, as playful. In Egypt, however, wordplay was regarded as a highly serious and controlled use of language, for language was understood to be a dimension of divine presence." [23] "Homophonic *jeux de mots* place the cult act on several levels of meaning, and an appreciation of this very Egyptian mode of thought allows us to comprehend more completely the full semantic range of any one ritual and to admire the unique flavor of Egyptian religion." [24] This associative type of thinking on the part of the ancient Egyptians,

21 M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 11-12. In the cosmology texts studied here, he also advocated the use of this approach.

22 K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual Performance, Pattern, and Practice (2013), 31.

23 J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 87.

24 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 201. For an updated detailed treatment of wordplay see now: Y. Barbash, "Wordplay's Place in Mortuary Liturgies. Scribal devices in Papyrus W551" in B. Backes, J. Dieleman (eds.), Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt (2015), 203-216.

where “words with similar sounds had an underlying connection even if such connections were not immediately apparent”, [25] as well as the other forms of wordplay is widely recognized today by Egyptologists. Surprisingly, a similar such use of number symbolism by the Egyptians is less well recognized. Where it is accepted, it is generally attributed to the much later western influence during the Graeco-Roman period. As a sidebar to this study, but of some importance it will be demonstrated, that at least in the case of the Osireion and Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, number symbolism was already extensively in use during the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Wilkinson points out that: “Just as verbal and 'visual' puns were felt to reflect an important aspect of reality, the relationship between abstract numbers found in myth and in nature were also seen as meaningful patterns reflecting divine planning and cosmic harmony... 'Accurate computation is the gateway to knowledge of all things and of dark mysteries' Bremner-Rhind Papyrus [305 BC, early Ptolemaic period].” [26] Interestingly in Gods and Men in Ancient Egypt 3000 BCE to 395 CE, the authors provide a critical insight on the value of number symbolism. “Among all the classifications we have been able to evoke, we discern one mode of conceptual apprehension that played a major role in the organization of divine configurations. This mode was numerical thinking, which enabled the identification of notions such as unity, difference, and plurality with numbers and the introduction of a system of classification that was simple, but which allowed for complex thematic variations. In other cultures, such a relationship has been expressed with other modalities, as in the Cabala, which bases the interpretation of texts on the numerical value of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet... Numbers enabled the Egyptians to organize divine configurations according to a simple system that gave rise to a multiplicity of subtle combinations...” [27] But then the authors, if I understand them correctly from Lorton's English translation, seem to miss the crucial point when they add the dismissive comment: “and we must wonder whether they were not born of purely speculative games with numbers.”, [28] which as will be demonstrated could not be further off the mark. Far too often number symbolism has been simply ignored or dismissed as coincidental or accidental, but I have found it generally to be a useful additional tool to help penetrate and identify some of the underlying meanings encoded in the Underworld Books and even the complex chapters used from the Book of the Dead. From the numerous examples that I have included in this study, it would appear that the ancient Egyptians used number symbolism as an organizing principle, both for the structure of a text or group of texts and to articulate the meaning behind some of the many obscure groupings of divinities within a composition. [29]

25 K. Eaton, “A 'Mortuary Liturgy' from the Book of the Dead” JARCE 42 (2005-2006), 89-90.

26 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 126.

27 F. Dunand, C. Zivie-Coche, Gods and Men in Ancient Egypt 3000 BCE to 395 CE (2004), 32-35.

28 Ibid., 35.

29 It is a fact that any single example which may appear to have a numerical significance could be coincidental or accidental. It is only when there are numerous examples with a numerical significance found in a given text, group of related texts or composition, that statistically it can no longer be attributed to mere coincidence or accident. It is for this reason that I have included so many examples in this study. The weight of numbers demonstratives a conscious effort on the part of the ancient Egyptians to employ number symbolism as an organizing principle and as a key to interpreting at least on one level the underlying meaning encoded in the texts and Underworld compositions.

INTRODUCTION

Finally, the building of the Osireion, which was a monumental undertaking, did not just happen. It was a direct result of the events that transpired in the six decades before its construction, triggered by the Amarna Hersey. The events of this period were among the most tumultuous of pharaonic Egypt's long history. They are outlined in the first chapter to provide a historical perspective on this unique and intriguing structure. The vast subterranean structure houses an encyclopedic collection of Underworld compositions intertwined with numerous chapters of the Book of the Dead. To facilitate the understanding of this massive assemblage of sacred knowledge, the study is organized into the three ritual cycles, which they constitute. Following the historical perspective and a description of the Osireion in the second chapter, each of the three ritual cycles is analyzed in detail. Chapter three examines the nightly journey of the sun god. It the shortest and easiest of the three ritual cycles to comprehend. The second ritual cycle, the monthly rites for the New Moon i.e. the Blacked-out Moon, lasting for two nights is obscure and thus considerably more difficult to understand. It is the subject of chapter four. The third ritual cycle, which is the most extensive is analyzed in chapter five – the Osiris Mysteries and the Conception of Horus. It concerns the conception of divine kingship both in *ḏt*-time on the first occasion and in *nḥḥ*-time with its periodic requirement for renewal to reaffirm its legitimacy and right to exist. This annual event formed a part of the ceremonies celebrating the coronation of the king with key events taking place in the Osireion on the night of I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day. The final chapter is a discussion of the largely destroyed Sacred Precinct above the subterranean Osireion, but is of considerable importance to the complex as a whole. It was called the Fortress of Menmaatre. It was designed such that it made important links not only to the greater Abydene sacred landscape and that of the ancestor kings, but also to the celestial dome overhead with particular reference to the movements of the constellation Orion, the stellar manifestation of Osiris.

The three appendixes provide important supporting information used in this study for the reconstruction and analysis of the decoration program. Appendix A shows that the decoration program of the Osireion was, in fact, the template for that of the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9). This is an important discovery for the understanding of the history of Ramesside tombs in the Valley of the Kings, pointing now to the overwhelming influence that the works of Seti I had on their decoration. It also proved invaluable for creating a reliable reconstruction for the lost portions of the decoration of the Osireion. Appendix B is included to show how the ancient Egyptians may have been able to determine the important 19 year lunar cycle, known as the Metonic cycle, on a purely observational basis without benefit of or need for complex mathematics and astronomical instrumentation. There is plenty of evidence encoded in the ancient Egyptian Underworld Books and Books of the Sky that this cycle was known and recorded long before Meton (fifth century BC) ever lived. It forms part of the detailed discussion in Appendix C on ancient Egyptian lunar number symbolism. Because so much astronomically related information appears to have been encoded in the texts and compositions that form the three ritual cycles in the Osireion, it is recommended that Appendix C and A be read in that order, before beginning chapter three on the nightly journey of the sun god.

This analysis could not have been undertaken without the benefit of all the ground work that has been written by the many fine scholars who have produced the detailed studies on each of the individual Books of the Underworld and Books of the Sky that are found in the encyclopedic collection housed in the Osireion.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Much has been written about Amarna and the Post-Amarna period. I have taken full advantage of the many excellent works and quote from them extensively. Chapter One examines this fascinating period with the sole objective of identifying those factors and events which may have been influential and ultimately responsible for the building of the Osireion.

1.1 THE AMARNA HERESY – A SECOND DEATH FOR OSIRIS

"Akhenaten authored the Amarna changes apparently deliberately to complement his new theology, for which he was the declared source of divine instruction."[1] His unique portrayal of the Aten as a solar disk with multiple rays radiating downward from the golden disk, each ending with a side view of a hand could only be seen by a select few and no others. (Plate 1) The Aten's true appearance was only revealed to the god's son of his body. Ordinary mortals would only see the sun as a disk, as it had been depicted for millenniums by the ancient Egyptians. Was this controversial pharaoh a true visionary as he believed himself to be, who was also divinely inspired as his great grandfather Amenhotep II and his grandfather Thutmose IV had been?[2] As an aside, I have shared this same vision of the Aten, exactly as Akhenaten had it portrayed.[3] The visual phenomenon in my case is a result of a particular type of astigmatism. Perhaps this is the true source of our shared "vision" of the Living Aten and nothing more.

1 D. Kisor-Go, A Stylistic and Iconographic Analysis of Private Post-Amarna Period Tombs at Thebes (2006), unpublished PhD. Dissertation, 6, citing D. Arnold, J. Allen and L. Green, The Royal Women of Amarna (1996), 5.

2 For Amenhotep II being credited with divine inspiration see: S. Morenz, Egyptian Religion (tr. 1973), 123. For Tuthmosis IV and his Dream Stele see : P. Clayton, Chronicle of the Pharaohs (1994), 114.

3 Right down to the end of the rays where they split and look like a little hand viewed from a sideways position. The rays also quiver and appear to pulsate as if it were a living entity. It is really quite a beautiful sight. Akhenaten's depiction of the Aten is a remarkably accurate rendition of what this astigmatic sees!

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Akhenaten's “reforms” especially those in the latter part of his seventeen year reign (1353-1336 BC), [4] markedly differed from traditional Egyptian beliefs. “Earlier ideology used mythology replete with gods and goddesses to explain cosmic events. Doctrine also explained in detail death, how to prepare for the afterlife, and the dangers to be found in the underworld. In other words, the basic eschatology so important in Egyptian beliefs of the past no longer had a significant role. Although Akhenaten apparently constructed a kiosk to Osiris at Abydos fairly early in his reign,[5] he soon shunned this deity, the myths associated with him, and all funerary deities.” [6] This was particularly evident at Akhetaten. Outside of the new capitol, the case is less clear. “To date Egyptologists have found no evidence for Akhenaten's persecution of Osiris at his cult center, the pilgrimage town of Abydos. It seems that attacks on Osiris were limited to his representations in temples at Thebes, elsewhere Akhenaten apparently did not order the persecution of Osiris and his cult....Akhenaten himself would seem to have reckoned with the positive effect of this funerary god, when he did not touch the representation of Osiris in the memorial temple of his father. One might conclude that Akhenaten accepted the existence of Osiris and approved the cultic relationship between the god and Amenhotep III.” [7] Krauss cities that: “One of the draughtsman [Neb-Amun and Ipuki] is shown worshiping Osiris and the four sons of Horus, deities associated with the traditional funerary cult. In the decoration of the draughtsman's tomb, Amen's name was erased, but neither the figures nor the names of Osiris and the four sons of Horus were damaged during Akhenaten's reign. This is but one example among many in the non-royal tombs at Thebes.” [8] However, “on the other hand, there is no denying that Osiris was unwelcome at Amarna where funerary practices evolved in exclusive connection with the cult of Aten.” [9] At Akhetaten “the entire Osirian cycle, the rites, beliefs, numerous funerary rituals – the Book of the Dead [BD], of the Amduat to mention just the main ones of this period – all that is abolished. Even the name of Osiris, commonly used to denote the deceased, 'Osiris So-and-so'... completely disappeared from Akhetaten. With Osiris also disappeared of course the famous judgment of the underworld tribunal and the justification of the deceased in front of Thoth and the forty [two] assessors of Osiris. The notion of salvation (attested by the famous 'declaration of innocence' of the deceased, constituting a section of BD 125) disappeared too, together with the hope of finding in the Hereafter the easy life of the Fields of Iales” [Field of Reeds and in it the House of Osiris]. [10] “Akhenaten suppressed all the richness and complexity of the Osirian netherworld, of the

4 E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. Warburton (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Chronology (2006), 492.

5 See D. Silverman, “The So-called Portal Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos” BSAK 2 (1988), 273-275.

6 D. Silverman, J.W. Wegner, J.H. Wegner, Akhenaten and Tutankhamun: Revolution and Restoration (2006), 39.

7 R. Krauss, “Akhenaten: Monotheist? Polytheist?” BACE 11 (2000), 96.

8 Ibid. 96.

9 Ibid. 96.

10 R. Hari, New Kingdom Amarna Period (1985), 11

nocturnal journey of the sun so elaborately presented in the Amduat and the Litany of Re... and the world before creation (which has likewise ceased to exist)."[11]

"The wakening of the dead to new life was no longer accomplished nocturnally in the netherworld, but in the morning, in the light of the rising sun and at the same time as those still alive. All was now oriented to the east, and indeed, even the tombs lay in the eastern mountain of Akhetaten... the 'West', previously the mortuary realm on whose 'beautiful ways' the blessed dead had walked, disappeared from the concept of the world. Generally, insofar as hymns to the setting sun were written (an example is furnished by the tomb of the overseer of the harem, Meryre), the talk is not of the sun's stay in the netherworld, but only of Akhetaten." [12] There is no mention in the Amarna texts of what the sun god does after it sets in the western horizon. There is no use of the earlier royal underworld books to describe in intricate detail the journey of the sun god through the twelve hours of the night. It is simply not stated. As such, to the minds of the ancient Egyptians, if it is not named, spoken, or depicted, it does not exist. [13] As the great Hymn informs us:

> "When you [Aten] have risen they live,
> When you set they die...
> one lives by the means of you [your light]."[14]

"The principal yearning of mortal beings was to gaze upon the Aten and follow him, and to breathe the 'sweet breath of the north wind (or of life)' [formerly a gift from Atum, but now from the Aten]; the decisive moment of existence was awakening in the morning, which signified the renewal of life." [15]

There are few references to the *duat* (netherworld) in the Amarna texts. It is still the source of the inundation, which now seems to be its chief function.

> "How functional are your designs,
> lord of eternal recurrence...
> an Inundation coming from the *Duat* for Egypt..." [16]

Since the time of the Pyramid Texts, the Nile inundation was associated with "the efflux that issued

11 E. Hornung, "The rediscovery of Akhenaten and his Place in Religion", JARCE 29 (1992), 48.

12 E. Hornung, Akhenaten and the Religion of Light (1999), 96.

13 Similarly, H. Frankfort, Kinship and the Gods (1978), 376 footnote 23.

14 W. Murnane, Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt (1995), 115.

15 E. Hornung, Akhenaten and the Religion of Light (1999), 98.

16 J. P. Allen, "The Natural Philosophy of Akhenaten" in W. Simpson (ed.), Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, YES 3 (1989), 96.

from Osiris". [17] Now it is because of the Aten's effective design. Another reference to the *ḏuat* is found in the tomb of Ay:

> "May you [the *ḇa*] move freely at [or through] the gates of the *ḏuat* (netherworld).
> May you see Re in the morning when he rises in the eastern horizon;
> may you see Aten when he sets on the western horizon of heaven [the sky].
> May there be given to you offerings and provisions on the alters (?) of the house of Aten...
> by the King, the son of Aten, who has decreed it for you forever." [18]

Lastly from the tomb of Meryre:

> "May he (Aten) grant to be powerful on earth
> efficient in the netherworld *(ḏuat),*
> the *ḇa* to come forth and refresh itself in the temple." [19]

From these passages it is clear that the *ḏuat* still existed. But Osiris was no longer its Ruler or the regenerative power for the sun god, and the *ḏuat* ceased to be the place of creation for all life.

"In their tomb inscriptions, they and other officials [like Ay and Meryre quoted above] describe how their *ḇas* are summoned to eat in the temple....This new role of the *ḇa*-soul, which enters the temple freely, able to receive all sorts of offerings 'without being blocked from what it desires', is specific to the Amarna Period but did have some influence thereafter....In the tomb, one could now do without a false door, which had heretofore been the actual cult place: it was meaningless for the *ḇa*, with its freedom of movement, and even the corpse had no need of it, for it no longer made the crossing between this world and the next. Pure, corporeal continued existence or regeneration was entirely irrelevant at Amarna; what was crucial was existence as a 'living *ḇa*..." [20] and this now depended solely on [the living] Aten and the royal couple, who cared for the needs of both the living and the dead. [21] "Akhenaten himself is Osiris' successor as god of the dead. His palace and temples are the Elysian fields where offerings are tended. Instead of appearing before Osiris and facing the judgment of the dead, the deceased must stand before the pharaoh and his queen at their window of appearance, life and

17 A. Winkler, "The Efflux That Issued From Osiris" GM 211 (2006), 132-133. and J. P. Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (2005), 104: "Recitation
You have your water, you have your inundation,
the outflow that comes from the god, the decay that comes from Osiris." Pepi I 30 (PT 436).

18 L. Zabkar, "The Theocracy of Amarna and the Doctrine of the Ba" JNES 13 (1954), 97. Text in M. Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten (1938), p. 34, 4-10.

19 Ibid. 97. Text in M. Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten (1938), p. 4, 12-13.

20 E. Hornung, Akhenaten and the Religion of Light (1999), 97.

21 Ibid. 97.

afterlife dependent on the royal grace which loyalty deserves." [22]

"It is in the decoration of the Amarna tombs – both the technical methods employed (similar to those in the Royal Tomb) and the selection of the texts and scenes – that the break with tradition is most apparent. Gone are [the false door, the hymns to Osiris] the daily life scenes of the deceased, the portrayals of family and guests at the banquet table, and the voyage to Abydos. In their stead are vignettes from the life of the royal family and the worship of the Aten....For the deceased, the perilous journey to the netherworld has been replaced by an earthly existence spent basking in the rays of the sun during the day, receiving offerings from the temple, and returning to the tomb at night..." [23] where the *ba* rejoins with its mummified body to sleep if "as in death", [24] until awakened by the Aten in the morning.

In the reliefs the depictions of the Aten, Akhenaten and the royal wife Nefertiti are of enormous size compared to the tomb owners and the other courtesans. This technique serves to dramatically highlight the divine status of the royal couple and their crucial role in the well being of the deceased. In Hari's words, "the deceased is represented very modestly, even incidentally (except in the scenes where he receives royal favors). The royal pair, in heroic proportions, are omnipresent in the recurring scenes with limited themes: bestowing of favors on the deceased from the 'Window of Appearance' of the palace; a visit to the Temple by the royal family; the royal family at table; receiving of foreign tributes. Apart from the scene where the deceased is rewarded, there is nothing which recalls his earthly activity, as in the private tombs of Thebes, and even less which alludes to his life in the Hereafter. It is as though these tombs were merely cenotaphs celebrating the glory of the King and his family." [25]

The crucial cosmic roles once attributed to Osiris in the regeneration of the sun god and the king; the rebirth and provisioning of the deceased in the *duat*; and the regeneration of all living things on earth by the life giving inundation of the Nile, the efflux of Osiris, are usurped by the living Aten and his son, Akhenaten. The effect of this new royal ideology was to doom Osiris to a second death, banished into non-existence, which to the ancient Egyptians was the ultimate destruction. Allen succinctly captures the essence of the momentous change not only for Osiris but also for all the gods. "The new god is meant to replace them [the traditional gods] not in a religious function (what Assmann calls the 'local or cult dimension') but in their cosmic role as the principles that determine the makeup and operation of nature. In Amarna there is no longer a multiplicity of such principles: only the single principle embodied in the character of the new god. It is in this sense that 'there is no other except him'. As the determining principle of life, his nature is one and indivisible, and therefore incapable of the syncretism that is characteristic of the traditional gods. What was anathema in Akhenaten's *philosophy* was not the existence of other gods but rather the intellectual notion that such gods could represent an apportionment or even a manifestation of the single principle embodied in his god." [26]

22 E. Hornung, "The Rediscovery of Akhenaten and His Place in Religion" JARCE 29 (1992), 49.

23 S. D'Auria, "Preparing for Eternity" in R. Freed (ed.), Pharaohs of the Sun (1999),168-171.

24 R. Hari, New Kingdom Amarna Period (1985),1-2.

25 Ibid. 11.

26 J. P. Allen, "The Natural Philosophy of Akhenaten" in W. Simpson (ed.), Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt (1989), 91.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"In Amarna, the concept of creation refers to a phenomenon of daily life rather to the process that produced the world in the beginning [the first occasion, *zp tpj*]... The texts themselves occasionally make clear reference to the past creative activity of the divine principle.[27] In this case, Assmann's earlier analysis is close to the truth: 'The creation concept of the Aten religion is preservative: what is important to the texts is not that the Aten created the world in the beginning [usurping here the cosmic role of Atum and the Heliopolitan Ennead] but that he continually creates through his rays.' The principle sustains all things by providing the continuing means of life for the entire world." [28]

In the final analysis at Amarna, " there is no natural principle but light [the Aten], and no god but Akhenaten." [29]

1.2 RESTORATION, RENEWAL AND RENAISSANCE (*wḥm mswt*): THE COUNTER-REFORMATION [30]

"Although the Amarna episode lasted barely twenty years, its impact was enormous."[31] Following the death of Akhenaten, a massive restoration program of the abandoned cult centers was undertaken. Begun by Tutankhamun, it continued into the reign of Ramesses II. [32] The year date on "the Restoration Stela [of Tutankhamun] is too damaged to read today, but was almost certainly Year 4." [33] However, "some scholars have suggested that damaged introduction in Tutankhamun's text would originally have listed the year of its composition as the first year of his reign. Given the use of the later form of his name on the stela and its location in Thebes, in a temple devoted to the god Amun, it clearly was erected later, perhaps to mark his return to the traditional religious capital. He may have wanted to indicate this time as the real beginning of his rule, and for this reason recorded the date as Year 1 of his

27 J. P. Allen, "The Natural Philosophy of Akhenaten" in W. Simpson (ed.), Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt (1989), 95 n. 37. "for example, the 'Great Hymn' *jr n.k pt wꜣ.tj r wbn jm.s* 'You made the sky far away, to rise in' (Sandman, 1938, 95, 10-11). Elsewhere, *jr nj wn.t jr nn r ꜣw, pr.n.w m r.k* 'It is you who made when there was no one who had made all these things, it is from your mouth that they have emerged' (Sandman, 1938, 46 and 151).

28 Ibid. 95-96.

29 Ibid. 100.

30 Phrase coined by A. Dodson, Amarna Sunset (2009), title page.

31 J. van Dijk, "The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom" in I. Shaw, Oxford History of Ancient Egypt (2002), 287.

32 J. Assmann, "Theological Responses to Amarna" in G. Knoppers, A. Hirsch (eds.) Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World (2004), 179.

33 A. Dodson, Amarna Sunset (2009), 68.

reign."[34] In Helck's hand copy of the stela published in 1958, it does appear that Year 1 was intended.[35] Another plausible explanation for the discrepancy in the dating is that Year 1 in the text refers to the beginning, not of Tutankhamun's reign per se, but the beginning of the era of Renaissance (*wḥm mswt*) and of the Counter-Reformation that he initiated.

The Restoration inscription concludes with a hymn of praise to Tutankhamun ending:

> "All life and prosperity is with them [the Ennead in the temple],
> and it is for the nose of Horus, repeater of births (*ḥr wḥm mswt*),
> beloved son [of his father Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,
> whom he made so that he might (himself) be (re) created:
> the Dual King Nebkheperure - meryamun, his beloved eldest son,
> who protects his father who begot him,
> so that he may exercise kingship over […],
> the Son of Re, Tutankhamun – heqaonshemay...." [36]

The royal designation of Tutankhamun as Horus, repeater of births (*ḥr wḥm mswt*) had not been used by a pharaoh since the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat I, founder of Dynasty 12 some 650 years earlier. The importance of this rare declaration, which occurred only three or possibly four times in pharaonic Egypt's long history,[37] and its significance is largely unrecognized or under appreciated in the literature covering the Post-Amarna period. Repetition of births (*wḥm mswt*), was a comprehensive official political – religious program of the state.[38] It announces the beginning of a new era of renewal, a Renaissance. "J. Yoyotte wrote: Renewal 'does not proclaim the advent of a new reigning family, but a program of necessary re-creations, a re-formation of the universal order, a total restructuring.' "[39] In addition to the obvious important political aspects,[40] *wḥm mswt* also had significant religious implications. "Renewal, the repetition of the act of Creation in a very broad sense; many new features were created in that time, as the archaeology is able to prove.... The true extent of

34 D. Silverman, J. Wegner, J.H. Wegner, Akhenaten & Tutankhamun Revolution and Restoration (2006), 173.

35 W. Helck, Urkunden Der 18. Dynastie. IV. Abt. (1958), 2025.

36 A. Dodson, Amarna Sunset (2009), 64.
See also: W. Helck, Urkunden IV (1958), 2031; J. Bennett, "The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun" JEA 25 (1939), 8-25.

37 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte: Un Essai Comparatif" [The Periods *wḥm mswt* in the History of Egypt: A Comparative Essay], BSFE 136 (1996), 5-26.

38 Ibid., 7.

39 Ibid., 7. A. Niwinski quoting J. Yoyotte in Tanis, l'or des pharaons (1987), 55.

40 Discussed below in section 1.3 Legitimacy in the Eyes of God and Men.

the implementation of the renewal program by Tutankhamun is difficult to estimate given the reworking by Horemheb, who naturally inherited the program..."[41] and further extensive secondary restorations by Seti I.[42] "By ignoring the reigns of the previous kings Horemheb was not only able to re-use their monuments but also their deeds should he find them favorable. In this way he adopted the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun, leading some to the conclusion he wrote the text originally, placing it in the name of the young king... [Later he then] adopted the stela as his own, replacing Tutankhamun's cartouches …. The Restoration inscription provides a good summary of Horemheb's vision for a traditional Egypt as well as giving an idea of the problems faced by Egypt at the collapse of the Amarna heresy:

> He restored what was ruined, creating everlasting monuments. Maat is back in her proper place, for he (Tutankhamun) put an end to wrongdoing throughout Egypt.
>
> When His Majesty's reign began, from the southern border to the northern marshes, the temples of the gods and goddesses were in ruins. Their shrines had crumbled into piles of rubbish choked with weeds. Their sanctuaries might never have existed, their chapels were little more than footpaths. The land was in chaos because the gods had abandoned it. Whenever the army was sent to Syria to extend Egypt's territory, it always failed. If someone called on a god in prayer, they got no response. In just the same way, if someone petitioned a goddess, they got no answer...[43]

This gives some idea of the chaos which had befallen Egypt as well as the ruinous state of the temples."[44] While surely there is to be found here a propagandistic element to contrast the chaos (*jsft*) from the restoration of maat (*mꜣʿt*), nevertheless, the tumultuousness of this period should not be underestimated. After all, the gods who had been revered for at least 1700 years were rebuffed by the heretic Akhenaten, who ordered the aggressive destruction of their images, their temples and disbanded their cults, a *damnatio memoriae* against the very gods who had brought Egypt to her greatness. Its impact on the fabric and psyche of society must have been incalculable. Horemheb apparently understood this. He "takes this as part of the theme for his Karnak text known as the Edict, where he states the vision for his reign:

41 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte: Un Essai Comparatif" [The Periods *wḥm msw*t in the History of Egypt: A Comparative Essay], BSFE 136 (1996), 7-8.

42 P. Brand, "Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period" JARCE XXXVI (1999), 113-134.

43 J. Tyldesley, Egypt's Golden Empire (2002).

44 C. Booth, Horemheb: The Forgotten Pharaoh (2009), 98.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

> As long as my life on earth remains, it shall be spent making monuments for the gods. I shall be renewed increasingly, like the moon … one whose limbs shed light on the ends of the earth like the disk of the sun god.[45]

When Horemheb refers to 'making monuments for the gods', not only does he mean stone monuments such as statues and temples, but anything that glorifies the gods which included his works of justice and piety.... Horemheb's Karnak building campaign was a huge undertaking, and his work dominates the temple even today; although he does not [generally] receive credit for it. Any tourist visiting the temple of Karnak cannot help to be overawed by the wonder that is the Hypostyle Hall of Seti I and Ramesses II. However, like the Ramesside dynasty as a whole, the Hypostyle Hall would not exist without Horemheb, as it was his original vision.[46] During his reign he planned it out and initiated the construction works by building a large courtyard but did not survive to see its completion. It was continued by his successor Ramses I (although there only one cartouche of this King here), and his family. Seti I completed the northern part of the hall, and his carved raised relief can be seen here, but it is the large work of Ramesses II which dominates the hall in the form of 134 columns, 24 m in height with a circumference of 10 m each.... Still standing, and a testament to the traditional building works of Horemheb, however are the second, ninth and tenth pylons to the south of the Hypostyle Hall. Although he started the second pylon, he did not complete it. This was the work of Seti I.... When building these pylons Horemheb's workmen dismantled the temples of Akhenaten, placing the blocks into the pylon to reinforce the structure, but this act also served to remove the temples and therefore all traces of Akhenaten.... The destruction campaign against the Akhenaten temples at Karnak was continued by Seti I and Ramesses II as a number of talatat blocks were also discovered in the foundations of the columns in the Hypostyle Hall. In addition to the pylons Horemheb reconstructed the 'Edifice of Amenhotep II'.... Horemheb did not complete the decoration on this temple, as this was continued after his death by Seti I...."[47]

"Horemheb wanted the festivals of the deities and their re-establishment into the pantheon to be a prominent and visible part of his early regnal years. He emphasized his role in the annual festival, which not only marked the anniversary of his coronation but renewed the importance of Amun. He usurped the elaborate illustrations of the Opet festivities created by Tutankhamun at Luxor, replacing the cartouches of the young King with those of his own.... He also made additions and improvements to the composition in recognition of his continuing restoration."[48] However, it was Seti I who "must be

45 Translation of the Edict from K. Pfluger, "The Edict of Horemheb" JNES 5 (1946), 260-268.

46 A. Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (1961), 245.

47 C. Booth, Horemheb: The Forgotten Pharaoh (2009), 98-99, 104.

48 Ibid., 105-106.

credited with the bulk of the restorations of the traditional temples, continuing and surpassing the efforts of his predecessors." [49]

Horemheb had directed much attention to the restoration of the cult of Amun. In comparison, relatively little was done for that of Osiris, the other deity most maligned by the Amarna Heresy. Horemheb did introduce a new composition into his royal tomb, known as the Book of Gates and with it the nightly journey of the sun god through the *ḏuat* and the domain of Osiris were firmly reestablished. [50] The Book of Gates contains the famous "judgment scene" before the re-enthroned Osiris. It occupies a special, central position [51] and serves to reinstate Osiris as judge of the dead and Ruler of the West, the role that the transfigured Horemheb was to assume after his death. [52] As we have seen, the function of judge and ruler had been usurped by Akhenaten himself, who replaced it with the motif of the deceased standing before Akhenaten and his queen in their window of appearance at Akhetaten. In addition to the large "judgment scene" in the sarcophagus chamber, Osiris is depicted prominently throughout the decorated portion of Horemheb's royal tomb. [53]

An Osiris bed "in which the god becomes alive again though the germinating grain composed as his silhouette", [54] was also found in KV 57. [55] This important cult object was also utilized in the annual rites of the Osiris Mysteries in the month of Khoiak. [56] It symbolizes the life giving regenerative powers of Osiris. Its presence in the tomb through the rituals enacted there to channel the dynamic

49 J. van Dijk, "The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom" in I. Shaw, Oxford History of Ancient Egypt (2002), 295.

50 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 55.

51 Ibid., 58.

52 H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1978), 210-211. "It must never be forgotten that Osiris was first and foremost the dead king."

53 Osiris is depicted six more times, four in the well shaft and twice in the antechamber; more than any other deity except Horus who is depicted both as accompanying the king in some scenes and greeting him in the others. See; E. Hornung, Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal des Konige (1971), 29; plates 4, 8, 9, 16a, 20a, 22a-b; judgment scene, plates 41-43.
See also: www.osirisnet.net/horemheb/e_horemheb_part1.htm and: www.osirisnet.net/horemheb/e_horemheb_part2.htm

54 Excerpt from the Egyptological Bibliography (2001) AEB 94.0970 on P. Koemoth, Osiris et les arbres (1994).

55 On Osiris beds and related corn-mummies see: M. Raven, "Corn-Mummies" OMRO 63 (1982), 7-38; M. Raven, "A New Type of Osiris Burials" in W. Claysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (eds.), Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years I (1998), 227-239; M. Centrone, "Corn-Mummies: A Case of 'Figuring It Out'" in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2006), 293-301; M. Centrone, "Corn-Mummies, Amulets of Life" in K. Szpakowski (ed.), Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt (2006), 33-46; M. Centrone, "Behind the Corn-Mummies" in K. Piquette, S. Love (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology IV (2005), 11-28; C. Leitz, Quellentexte zur Agyptischen Religion I (2004), 133-140; S. Cauville, Le Temple de Dendara: Les chapelles osirienne, II commentaire, BdE 118 (1997), 17-19 for a summary and bibliography.

56 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 166-178.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"energy" of the force called Heka (*ḥkꜣ*),[57] like the spouting of the new grain and life it produces, effectuates the rejuvenation and transfiguration of the deceased Horemheb into Osiris.

In addition, on the south wall of the Statue Room in his private tomb at Saqqara, Horemheb inscribed an innovative hymn to Osiris.[58] The "hymn differs widely from all other hymns to Osiris known from the period before the Nineteenth Dynasty in that it describes Osiris as the nocturnal manifestation of Re, and gives a cosmic interpretation of the myth of Osiris. The theme itself is not new: it is already present in the Coffin Texts.... In a fully developed form it becomes one of the central themes of the so-called 'Unterweltsbucher' [Underworld Books] inscribed on the walls of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom.[59] Every evening Re dies and enters the Netherworld in the western horizon, where he 'embraces' the body of Osiris resting there. Thus Osiris becomes Re, and illumines the darkness of the *ḏuat* as nocturnal sun god. In the morning, however, Re arises from the arms of Osiris and is reborn as Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon."[60]

"In the period after the Amarna interlude the traditional religion was re-interpreted in reaction to Akhenaten's doctrines. The problem of unity and plurality was solved by the concept of a universal god from whom all other gods emanate, and who manifests himself in his creation, which includes the present world and the hereafter. The cult of Osiris became much more important than before the Amarna Period.... Not only is Osiris viewed as the manifestation of the sun god whose creation does not end in the western horizon [as Akhenaten believed], but the myth of the unification of the two gods also greatly enhances the importance of Osiris, both for the dead and for the living. Osiris needs Re in order to be able to be resurrected from the dead, while Re needs Osiris, who enables him to arise again in the morning. Thus all living beings upon the earth depend on the collaboration of Re and Osiris, and this is why Osiris is frequently called 'ruler of the living' in Ramesside hymns. This means that it is the destiny of every human being to go to Osiris when his time comes,[61] and that life upon earth is impossible without Osiris. The hymn in the [private] tomb of Horemheb shows that this reaction to Amarna is not just a phenomenon of Ramesside times, but originated immediately after the death of Akhenaten...."[62]

57 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993). For his excellent and concise summation of the concept of heka see: 247-249.

58 J. van Dijk, "An early hymn to Osiris as a nocturnal manifestation of Re" in G. Martin, The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb I (1988), 61-69, plates 66-67.

59 E. Hornung, The One and the Many (1985), 93-96.

60 J. van Dijk, "An early hymn to Osiris" op. Cit., 62.

61 J. Assmann, Agyptische Hymnen und Gebete (1975), 64-77.

62 J. van Dijk, "An early hymn to Osiris" op. Cit., 63.

As was the case with Tutankhamun and Ay, Horemheb appears to have done little at Abydos, the major pilgrimage and ancient cult center of Osiris. Porter and Moss list only two statue groups of Horemheb, with Osiris, Isis and Horus.[63] Additionally, O'Connor's excavations of the Portal Temple of Ramessis II uncovered fragments of blocks belonging to Horemheb.[64] The relative "neglect" of Osiris and his cult compared to that of Amun as we will see was about to be corrected. "It is the name of Seti that is specially and irrevocably connected with Abydos."[65]

The great importance attached to *wḥm mswt* by Seti I is evident from the very outset of his reign through the choice of his royal titularly. "Close examination of the four names taken by the king at his coronation – that is, the so-called Horus, Two Ladies [Nebty name], Golden Horus, and Throne names – demonstrates how carefully such names were chosen... [and] could also announce a monarch's policy."[66] "Seti not only chose the phrase *wḥm mswt* for his Horus name and his Nebti name – an analogous decision to the one of Amenemhat I – but in his first two years, both the year of his reign and the year of the era *wḥm mswt* are designated on the monuments simultaneously."[67] "The creative work [of *wḥm mswt*] also included the fourth dimension, and a new system of the counting of time seems to correspond to this religious ideological principle."[68] It was only Seti of the post-Amarna pharaohs who measured the era of renewal.[69] "It seems then that the era *wḥm mswt* during the time of Seti I, with its specific dating was introduced when the Amarna Heresy was considered definitely overcome and the reforms implemented."[70]

As part of the official state sanctioned program of *wḥm mswt*[71], "the repetition of the Creation implies a deliberate separation of the new leader... with respect to the last Pharaohs."[72] This included the rejection and condemnation of the chaos caused during the Amarna Period as a Heresy and therefore its Pharaohs as illegitimate rulers. Seti I continued the dismantling of the Akhenaten temples at Karnak, and in so doing effectively destroyed or mutilated the name and images of Akhenaten to produce a *damnatio memoriae* rendering them " magically useless, and whose effect could be felt in

63 B. Porter & R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography V, Upper Egypt: Sites (2004), 90.

64 D. Silverman, "The So-Called Portal Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos" BSAK 2 (1988), 273.

65 E. Otto, The Cults of Osiris and Amun (1968), 50.

66 R. Leprohon, Patterns of Royal Name-Giving, UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (2010), 2.

67 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte" BSFE 136 (1996), 10.

68 Ibid., 17.

69 Ibid., 11.

70 Ibid., 11.

71 Ibid., 14.

72 Ibid., 16.

the underworld as a 'second death'." [73] "Because of the thoroughness with which Horemheb had usurped Tutankhamun's protocol on the monuments, reliefs bearing the likeness of the young king were practically the only visible reminder of his tenure left when Seti came to the throne." [74] In the secondary restorations at Thebes ordered by Seti I, the re-cutting of the Amarna style figures of the gods effectively eliminated the last visual traces of the Heresy period, at least in the highly visible locations like the facades of gateways, the pylon towers and along processional routes. [75] For instance, at Luxor temple " the entire height of the east wall of the hypostyle adjoining the solar court is preserved in tact. Here, the full scope of Seti's program in this part of Luxor temple can be appreciated. Without exception, every one of the divine figures on the wall has been re-cut... Seti had added several *smɜwy-mnw* [restoration of monuments] texts on the two lower registers, and again, there is no indication that they were usurped from an earlier king." [76]

But, it was at Abydos that the *damnatio memoriae* against the Amarna Period pharaohs was brought to fruition by Seti. "At Abydos Seti I built a magnificent cenotaph temple for the god Osiris, following Middle Kingdom and early 18th Dynasty examples. The famous king-list in this temple, a list of the royal ancestors participating in the offering cult for Osiris, provides the first evidence that the Amarna episode was now completely obliterated from official records. In the list Amenhotep III is directly followed by Horemheb, and other sources indicate that the regnal years of the kings from Akhenaten to Ay were added to those of Horemheb." [77] Furthermore, according to Niwinski this too appears to be characteristic of *wḥm mswt*. "Since the work of creation also included the fourth dimension, the past was also inventoried. It is not, I think, by chance that the list of kings at Abydos is in the temple of Seti I; the Canon of Turin is not much later." [78] This act of obliteration by Seti, in effect, delivered the same fate to Akhenaten and the Amarna rulers as Akhenaten had done to Amun and Osiris, that of a second death.

"While rejecting and condemning Amarna, the instigators of *wḥm mswt* paid homage to the earlier kings of the 18th Dynasty". [79] This is evident from Seti's titulary where there are strong similarities between the prenomens of Seti I, Amenhotep III and Thutmose III. In addition "Seti occasionally appended epithets to his prenomen, as some of his predecessors had done, in particular Thutmose III

73 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 148. For this practice see N. Davies, A. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhet (1915), 19-21, 39.

74 P. Brand, "Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period" JARCE XXXVI (1999), 131.

75 P. Brand, private communication 6/24/2011.

76 P. Brand, "Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period" JARCE XXXVI (1999), 132.

77 J. van Dijk, "The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom" in I. Shaw, Oxford History of Ancient Egypt (2002), 295. For example, see A. Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes (1905), 11, 52; J. Assmann, Theological Responses to Amarna (2001), 1. "There is no explicit refutation or discussion of Akhenaten's ideas. The name is, of course, never mentioned. But even allusions are missing."

78 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans L'Histoire de l'Egypte" BSFE 136 (1996), 18.

79 Ibid., 15.

and Amenhotep III. These include *tjt-Rᶜ, jw-Rᶜ, ỉry-n-Rᶜ ᶜnd stp-n-Rᶜ."* [80] These prenomens with suffixed epithets are especially prevalent in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak where "again Seti is imitating his favored role models Thutmose III and Amenhotep III." [81]

It is ironic that the Pharaoh, Horus Repeater of Births (*ḥr wḥm msw*t), beloved of his father Amen-Re, [82] who abandoned the royal capital of the Heretic at Akhetaten to return to Thebes and initiate the restoration of the cult of Amen would himself later be condemned by his successors. [83] Like Akhenaten, the name of Tutankhamun was also eradicated from all official state records. But this pharaoh whose name means "the Living Image of Amen" was not to die a second death.

Analysis of the ancient topography of the Valley of the Kings "shows evidence of a flash-flood at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the debris from which concealed a number of tombs in tact", [84] including that of Tutankhamun. Cross concludes that "the stream-flow collision event at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty was a unique event." [85] Tutankhamun's tomb laid buried, hidden for over thirty-two centuries before being rediscovered by Howard Carter on November 4, 1922. It is the only intact royal burial found in the Valley of the Kings. Today the boy king, Tutankhamun, lives on as Egypt's most widely known and famous Pharaoh. So, was it an accident of nature as we today would describe this "unique event" or was it, as the ancient Egyptians would have viewed it, a protective act by this Pharaoh's namesake, the great god Amen? Amen:

> "who rescues the one he loves
> though he be down in the Underworld
> who keeps from the hand of fate
> the one he would offer his heart" [86]

Interestingly, the textual and archaeological evidence is explicit about "the central role of Amen who was regarded as [both] the inspiration and the real guarantor of *wḥm mswt*." [87]

80 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical & Art Historical Analysis (2000), 32.

81 Ibid., 33.

82 From the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun see note 36 above.

83 E. Hornung, "The Rediscovery of Akhenaten and his Place in Religion" JARCE 29 (1992), 44. "... but now we know that it was only during the reign of Seti I and the early years of that of his son, Ramesses II, that the Amarna Period was actively suppressed."

84 S. Cross, "The Hydrology of the Valley of the Kings" JEA 94 (2008),303.

85 Ibid., 310.

86 J. Foster, Hymns, Prayers, and Songs (1995), 74.

87 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte" BSFE 136 (1996), 14.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"It would appear that the story of the 'Destruction of Mankind' [a text which first which appeared in Seti I's royal tomb[88]] reflects an historical occurrence – a serious outbreak of the plague in Egypt – that was blamed, perhaps at the time and certainly in retrospect in the Ramesside period – on the Amarna heresy. It has always been a puzzle why, despite the return to religious orthodoxy under Tutankhamun, Akhenaten's immediate successors are not recognized in the king lists that have been preserved to us from the Ramesside period. Many explanations, unsupported by any surviving evidence, could be made, and perhaps there was more than one reason. But it follows from what has been said that we do have genuine evidence for one very important reason. We can see from the Hittite evidence that the plague remained a problem in Egypt after the reign of Akhenaten, and given the importance of the plague in the historical retrospective of the Ramesside period, as attested in the 'Destruction of Mankind', it requires no great inferential leap to conclude that the reigns of those kings under whom the plague did not disappear were regarded as having been as illegitimate as that of Akhenaten. To the Ramessides, the continuation of the plague was evidence that men and gods were still not reconciled, and the disappearance of the plague was a necessary condition for recognizing the legitimacy of the monarch during the course of whose reign (at whatever point) this occurred – namely Horemheb. It is to be granted that Horemheb's role in the rise of Dynasty XIX could provide an adequate ideological basis for his inclusion in the Ramesside kings lists, but there is otherwise no reason, supported by actual evidence, for the exclusion of his immediate predecessors.

The Plague Prayers of Mursilis clearly connect the spread of the plague to Hatti with a military encounter under Suppiluliumas, following the murder of the Hittite prince who was to assume the Egyptian throne at some point after the death of Akhenaten. The failure of the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun to mention the disappearance of the plague, and the non-inclusion of the 'Destruction of Mankind' in his tomb, are adequate testimony, in their silence, to the continuation of the plague through his reign. The plague evidently marred the reign of his ephemeral successor Ay as well. A king would surely have claimed the disappearance of the plague as a credit to his reign and a sign of legitimacy. Jean-Marie Kruchten... has demonstrated that the Decree of Horemheb is a collection of documents promulgated at the beginning of that king's reign, and it is noteworthy that the (admittedly fragmentary) laudatory opening lines of the text show no trace of the disappearance of the plague. But the inclusion of Horemheb in the Ramesside king lists immediately after Amenhotep III, and the appearance of the 'Destruction of Mankind' text under Seti I, lead us by their coincidence to the conclusion that, to the historical perspective of the Ramessides, it was within the reign of Horemheb that Egypt found itself free from the plague, and that the tainted era touched off by (or blamed in retrospect on) the Amarna heresy came to an end."[89]

Given the prominent role Sekhmet played in 'The Destruction of Mankind', her association with plague and the suggested link to the historical event of the plague, a question arises concerning the

88 The Book of the Celestial Cow is first attested on the outer Golden Shrine from Tutankhamun's tomb. However, the section referred to as 'The Destruction of Mankind' was not included and first appears in the tomb of Seti I.

89 D. Lorton, Review of Erik Hornung, Der agyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh in Bibliotheca Orentalis 40 (1983), 609-616.

unprecedented and still unexplained use of Sekhmet statues by Amenhotep III in his mortuary temple on the West Bank of Thebes. It was constructed towards the end of his reign and texts suggest that there were both a seated statue and a standing statue of the goddess for each of the 365 days of the year which were arranged so that they formed a protective barrier around a certain portion of the temple complex.[90] Could an outbreak of plague somewhere in Egypt have started to become a potential for concern? Could this extensive grouping of statues dedicated to the goddess by Amenhotep III been an attempt to propitiate the goddess Sekhmet? These questions and the ones that follow clearly require extensive further research to validate and is outside of the scope of this study. But it does provide a plausible scenario for a number of unanswered questions. During Akhenaten's reign, the plague would have spread reaching Thebes and forced Akhenaten to abandon his extensive and perhaps even spectacular Aten temple complex at Karnak. In year 5, Akhenaten discovered an isolated location for his new capital, a "vast desert bay, approximately 4 miles long and 2 miles wide, on the eastern side of the Nile".[91] Presumably this desolate place was chosen at least, in part, because it was plague free. However, Akhenaten attributed it solely to his father:

> "Now it is the Aten, my father who advised me
> concerning the place of Akhetaten.
> No official ever advised me concerning it,
> nor have any people in the entire land advised me concerning it
> to tell me a plan for making Akhetaten in this distant place.
> It was the Aten my father who advised me concerning it
> so that it could be built for him as Akhetaten."[92]

In year 6, even though "the city was clearly still in its initial construction. Later boundary stelae describe Akhenaten as residing during that time in a temporary tent built of perishable materials...."[93] but that would place the self proclaimed visionary, safely far away from plague ridden Thebes.
It was not to last. The year 12 tribute ceremony [the scenes show large numbers of foreigners] "represented something of a turning point in the fortunes of Akhenaten's holy experiment. Not only did Nefertiti disappear shortly after this event, but another of Akhenaten's wives, Queen Kiya, also vanished. Akhenaten's second daughter, Princess Meketaten, died around this time and was buried in the royal tomb in the great wadi. Some speculate that Akhenaten's family may have been killed by the plague which was ravaging Syria and the Near East at this time (perhaps even brought to Amarna by rats that came with the large number of foreign visitors)."[94]

90 B. Bryan, "The statue program for the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III" in S. Quirke (ed.), The Temple in Ancient Egypt New Discoveries and Recent Research (1997), 57-81. See A. Kozloff, "Bubonic Plague in the Reign of Amenhotep III?" KMT 17, 3 (2006), 36-46, for an extensive treatment of the potential impact of the plague and who independently arrived at similar conclusions to my own.

91 D. Silverman, J. Wegner, J.H. Wegner, Akhenaten & Tutankhamun Revolution and Restoration (2006), 43.

92 Ibid., 48. See C. Aldred, Akhenaten: King of Egypt (1988), 149, 283, who first suggested the plague as the reason for the move.

93 Ibid., 53.

94 Ibid., 101.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"Queen Tiye may have moved with him to the new city.... It is not clear if Tiye continued to stay at Amarna until her death around year 14 of Akhenaten's reign...."[95] "The continuing international esteem of the Queen Mother during the reign of her son is clear in one of the Amarna Letters (EA 26) in which the northern Mesopotamian Mitannian king, Tushratta, writes to her directly...."[96] If Queen Tiye was not residing in the safety of Akhetaten, why would the Mitannian king, who obviously knew her well, send his correspondence complaining about her son's behavior to his new capital? Furthermore, "sarcophagus fragments with her name were found in the Royal Tomb at Amarna...."[97] Was the great Queen Mother, also another royal family member, a victim of the plague, dying two years or less after the great tribute event in year 12?

"Amarna was not a typical ancient Egyptian urban center. Built quickly, its population (20,000-50,000) came from other cities throughout Egypt at the command of their king Akhenaten.... Despite the organized nature of the Central City, it is interesting to note that many of the king's important officials did not live in close by the palace. Prominent officials such as the vizier Nakht and the High Priest Panehesy resided in houses far from the palace."[98] The haste in the building of Akhetaten, the Pharaoh living in a tent scarcely a year after the selection of the site and key officials' residences being widely dispersed across the city, all are measures that could be explained by and attributed to a reaction to the plague's arrival in Thebes. Finally, the spreading of the plague could also explain and account for the more aggressive persecution by Akhenaten of Amen and the closing of the cults of the other clearly ineffective old gods in the latter part of his reign.

The actions by Seti I show his determination to eradicate all signs of the Amarna Heresy. Also, he was absolutely determined to protect his gods and prevent another such episode from ever occurring again. This becomes apparent from the highly unusual nature of the inscriptions at his temple at Kanais and its exceptional threat.[99] Built in year 9 of Seti's reign, the rock-temple is located in a gold mining region in the eastern desert, where according to the texts, Seti I "seems to have personally searched for the appropriate location for this building as well as for the construction site of a well that supplied the water."[100] "Inscription B at Kanais deals with a remarkable episode in the visit of Seti I to Kanais in which the king's supernatural powers allow him to be guided by the god in order to find a

95 D. Silverman, J. Wegner, J.H. Wegner, Akhenaten & Tutankhamun Revolution and Restoration (2006), 128-129.

96 Ibid., 128.

97 Ibid., 129.

98 Ibid., 105.

99 Ibid., A. Morales, "Threats and warnings to future kings: The inscriptions of Seti I at Kanais (Wadi Mia)" in Z. Hawass, J.H. Wegner, In Millions of Jubilees Studies in Honor of David Silverman (2010), 387-411.

100 Ibid., 396.

well containing 'waters in great amount' for the temple and its personnel." [101] The mines as well as some in Nubia were of great importance to Seti in that his temple at Abydos depended on their gold production. [102] To insure that the gold deliveries would continue, Seti I issued "the most prominent example of a threat to future successors in royal monuments, mainly on account of the intimidating and recurring nature of its warning." [103] These highly unusual and extreme measures taken by Seti I were clearly intended to prevent future diversions, so as to not allow exactly what Akhenaten had done to the cult of Amen during the Amarna Heresy.

Inscription C concludes with a royal declaration "in the form of a decree that establishes legal resolutions assigned to the temple and its personnel. In the setting of these legal stipulations, again, a royal threat to future successors seemed appropriate as a means to ensure its execution beyond the authority of future kings, namely to the gods of the temple.... Furthermore, such apprehensiveness for potential dissent results in the formulation of severe sanctions to be applied to (royal and non-royal) violators, among which there can be distinguished physical and magical punishments." [104]

"Kanais inscription C – Praise to obedient successors
'As for any future king who shall confirm my arrangements, to maintain the organization of the transport-contingents for washing of gold (who are) in my temple, and shall transfer its deliveries to the temple of Men-Maat-Re, to gild all their statues: Amen-Re, Re-Harakhti, Ptah-Tatenen, Wennefer […] shall make them flourish, they shall rule the lands joyfully....'

Kanais inscription C – Praise to loyal officials
'Now as for any official who shall approach the king and shall bring a favorable report, so as to maintain my arrangements made in my name, god shall cause him to be venerated upon earth, and his end will be peaceful in following his *ka*'." [105]

" Kanais inscription C – Threat to disobedient successors
'As for any future king who shall overthrow any of my plans and says:
'The lands are under my authority and they are mine as they were his
(this is) a bad thing in the opinion of the gods. See, he will be accused in Heliopolis, they are the divine tribunal […] they will defend their property.
They will become red as firebrands, so that they may burn up the bodies of those

101 D. Silverman, J. Wegner, J. H. Wegner, Akhenaten & Tutankhamun Revolution and Restoration (2006), 399. See KRI I (1993), 66: 7-12; and RITA I (1993), 60-62.

102 Ibid., 399.

103 Ibid., 396.

104 Ibid., 396-397.

105 Ibid., 397. Note that the fusion of Ptah with Tatenen, heretofore, was not attested before the reign of Ramesses II. The Kanais inscription shows that this was already the case at least by Year 9 of Seti I's reign.

who fail to listen to me, and they will consume whoever upsets my plans, to cast him (down) on the slaughtering-block of the Netherworld I have said these (things) to you; so let him who is free of his fault save himself, but indeed, as for another who is ill-disposed, it is the Ennead of gods who will deal with him.'

Kanais inscription C – Threat to disloyal officials
'As for any high official who shall encourage this idea in his master,
to remove personnel, to place them in some other endowments,
according to the manner of a bad witness, he shall be (doomed) to the fire,
which shall burn up his body with flames and shall devour his limbs,
because his Majesty has done these (things) for their essence,
(namely) the gods of my temple […]'

Kanais inscription C – Concluding threat
'[…] all the gods and goddesses of my temple shall be adversaries (of his),
for all my property is set up in a testament [*jmyt-pr*] to them eternally and forever […]
as for anyone who shall be deaf to this decree, Osiris will pursue him,
Isis will pursue his wife, and Horus will pursue his children:
it is the great ones of the necropolis who will execute their judgment upon him'." [106]

"The reason for the use of such a coercive measure is that only through means of magical and divine intervention would future royal transgressors feel compelled to accede to the authority of his predecessor. For the instigator of the threat, this mechanism allowed him [Seti I] to extend his authority beyond his earthly dominion, and perpetuate his 'constructions' in the manner of a demiurgic force, ruling over time.... Regarding the mechanisms of constraint in these threats, banning of royal filiation, withdrawal of legitimacy, and severe punishment (physical and spiritual), were the main sanctions for violators. Correspondingly, the application of these sanctions altered the condition of the violator, changing his rank from legitimate ruler to illegitimate usurper, thus allowing the execution of legal and punitive actions against him." [107] This is exactly what Seti did to Akhenaten and the other Amarna rulers. Stripped of their legitimacy and deemed a heresy, the rulers of this chaotic period were obliterated from the official state records. Their monuments were destroyed and their images mutilated. With the *damnatio memoriae* complete, Maat was finally restored and *wḥm mswt* declared.

As Assmann has demonstrated, "the intellectual and religious revival after Amarna... cannot be understood merely as a 'return to orthodoxy'." [108] The changes in religious doctrine inextricably linked the cults of Amen and Re to the cult of Osiris and his underworld realm, the *Duat.* Van Dijk's insight

106 D. Silverman, J. Wegner, J.H. Wegner, Akhenaten & Tutankhamun Revolution and Restoration (2006), 398-400.

107 Ibid., 400.

108 J. Assmann, Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom (1995), 67-68.

bears repeating: “Not only is Osiris viewed as a manifestation of the sun god whose creation does not end in the western horizon, but the myth of the unification of the two gods also greatly enhances the importance of Osiris, both for the dead and the living. Osiris needs Re in order to be able to be resurrected from the dead, while Re needs Osiris, who enables him to rise again in the morning. Thus all living things upon the earth depend on the collaboration of Re and Osiris...” [109] The practical effect of this, among other things, was to make the separation enacted by Akhenaten virtually impossible and, thereby, preventing any future heretical breakaway of the sun cult. Seti's recognition of this can be seen in the design of his Temple of Millions of Years at Abydos. Here, in the ancient cult center of Osiris, Seti ordered the construction of a unique seven chapel temple. The central chapel was dedicated not to Osiris, but to Amen-Re. The unusual layout of the temple had, in addition to a chapel dedicated to Osiris adjacent to that of Amen-Re, a special suite of hidden chambers for the cult of Osiris. The temple complex further contained a subterranean structure known as the Osireion. This part of the complex served as a ritually functional realm of Osiris, the *Duat*, where the union of Re and Osiris took place nightly. The central part of the Osireion contained the primordial mound rising out of the surrounding watery abyss of the Nun, where creation unfolded on the first occasion (*zp tpj*). Like the netherworld, Osiris, his cult, and Amen “the Hidden One”, the concept of *zp tpj* was ignored and as such effectively abolished by Akhenaten's cult of the Aten (light). [110] Here, it too is restored and renewed by Seti.

Lastly, as part of the “re-formation of the of the universal order”... “the creativity of the *wḥm mswt* periods also includes the eschatological and sepulchral areas”, [111] for which the Osireion holds a special significance. It contains in its architecture and texts “a veritable encyclopedia of cosmographic texts, including almost every Underworld Book and Book of the Sky in use during the later New Kingdom (including several that appear there for the first time, decades before they would appear in the royal tombs)....” [112]

“The earliest, nearly complete version of The Book of Caverns – its upper register is now partially destroyed – appeared in the Osireion... It did not make an appearance in the Valley of the Kings in the reigns that followed.... In the tombs of Merenptah, Tawosre, and Ramesses III, a variant of the concluding representation assumed a dominant position in the decoration of the sarcophagus chamber....” [113]

“From the New Kingdom, the Book of Nut [Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars] is attested

109 See note 58 above.

110 E. Hornung, “The Rediscovery of Akhenaten and his Place in Religion” JARCE 29 (1992), 48.

111 A. Niwinski, “Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte” BSFE 136 (1996), 7 and 19.

112 J. Roberson, private communication May, 2011.

113 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 83.

only in the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos and [more than 125 years later] in the tomb of Ramesses IV; in the latter the version is abridged." [114]

"The earliest version of the Book of Night [is] that of Seti I on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber of the Osireion...." [115] The adjacent scene of the "Awakening of Osiris" is the earliest attested version.

Roberson has identified one fragmentary vignette and three texts from the Book of the Earth and related underworld compositions on the west wall of the Second Transverse Hall in the Osireion. [116] In addition two other texts "have yet to reveal specific parallels, either from the Book of the Earth or the broader underworld corpus." [117]

The first complete Book of Gates is found in the Entrance Corridor of the Osireion along with another nearly identical version on Seti's alabaster coffin from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings. The earliest, albeit incomplete, exemplar of this book is in the tomb of Horemheb. [118] The concluding representation that follows the twelfth hour of the Book of Gates that depicts "the entire course of the sun is condensed into a single picture, as was the case after the Amarna Period in innumerable illustrations accompanying solar hymns." [119]

"The illustrated text of the Book of the Twelve Caves [Caverns] is first attested on a papyrus (Cairo CG 24742) from the tomb of Amenhotep II.... The first seven caves ['qrrt' caverns] are included only in the Osireion ... the Osireion depicts the deities of each group in their entirety." [120]

The second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun [121] displays a "combination of a Book of the Netherworld and the Book of the Dead is unique to this instance, not until Dynasty 21 were elements from the Amduat and the Book of the Dead occasionally combined, and it remains uncertain whether the spells

114 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 113.

115 Ibid., 122.

116 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 93-112. For texts and their divisions see fig. 1 and fig. 2.

117 Ibid., 106.

118 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 55-56.

119 Ibid., 65.

120 Ibid., 54-55.

121 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 106. A later version of the cryptic annotation to the standing mummies in upright sarcophagi (part of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity) first attested on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun appears in the Osireion intermingled with the texts of the Book of the Earth.

here are in fact integral parts of the composition." [122] The combination, as will be shown, of Underworld Books and the spells from the Book of the Dead are widely used in unison in the Osireion and are indeed integral parts of the compositions and the ritual sequences they portray.

Finally, the expanded vignette of the important Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead (BD 17) found in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion is most likely a source document for its occurrence in private papyri and on tomb walls, [123] beginning in the early Nineteenth Dynasty. [124]

1.3 LEGITIMACY IN THE EYES OF GODS AND MEN: THE EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTY AND THE RIGHT TO RULE

"The notion of divine kingship has always been closely associated with ancient Egypt.... In Egypt, the cosmogonic moment, when the undifferentiated chaos or potential existence became differentiated being, also set in motion the cyclical solar journey. This event was called the First Occasion (*zp tpj*) and marked the beginning of an infinity of repetitions, a recurring *creatio continua.* Kingship is seen as a prerequisite for the all important maintenance of creation and exercise of maat, the principle of world order.... The institution of kingship was crucial to the existence of political and social order and to its integration into cosmology of the Egyptians. The king was considered to be the incarnation of the creator god, and thus divine kingship, as put by Jan Assmann, was 'the geometric locus of the convergence of the anthropological and cosmic spheres'." [125]

"Royal succession in Egypt may be seen as a system of inheritance in which several forms of divine and social actions converged. On the one side, we have divine intervention in the form of divine selection and decision making, the idea of predestination, as well as the institution of theogamy. On the other side, within the predominantly collateral descent system of the Egyptians, succession to office was determined my masculine primogeniture and patrilineal devolution. In practice, however, the system gave the eldest son of the reigning king automatic accession to the throne when his father died." [126]

122 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 78.

123 M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengrabern des Neuen Reiches (1984), 14-22.

124 H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1991), 31-54.

125 P. Frandsen, "Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt" in N. Brisch (ed.), Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond (2008), 47. Author's translation of Assmann, Maat (1990), 219.

126 Ibid., 62.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"After two unorthodox successions, a shadow hung over Egypt's throne through much if not all of Horemheb's reign, as it was clear that his lack of a bodily heir made the third consecutive appointment of a non-royal candidate to the hereditary office of pharaoh unavoidable." [127] "The succession of Ramses I to Horemheb was anything but 'normal' by the standards of the Eighteenth Dynasty; and the new dynasty's lineage was a political imponderable." [128]

"Certainly, the new royal house lacked any connection by blood or marriage to the Eighteenth Dynasty. This deficit of legitimacy was aggravated by the old family's mythic connection to Amen-Re. Ahmose's successors had based their right to rule on the dogma of the king's divine birth and the theology of the mutual regeneration of the royal *ḳa* and Amen-Kamutef of Luxor Temple through their mystic union during the annual Feast of Opet." [129]

To further complicate the already tenuous situation for the fledgling dynasty, "Seti I found himself mounting the Horus throne of the living less than two years after his father had acceded to the same office." [130] "Lacking any claim by blood or theology to the old royal house, Seti's institutional legitimacy was questionable at best." [131] To facilitate the transfer of royal power, under these circumstances "the process of succession was described in terms of a piece of legal fiction." [132]

"In Egypt transfer of property generally required a deed of transfer called an *jmyt-pr*, literally, 'that which is in the house'.... During the late New Kingdom [as in the case of Seti I], royal succession began to have recourse to such deeds, and the procedure may thus be seen as a new and interesting phase in that gradual process of desacralization that kingship went through during its millennia long history. The use of this legal concept adds a new facet to the interpretation of the interplay of the divine and human dimensions of kingship, which not only constitutes a hitherto unnoticed aspect of what it takes to become a king, but also became an instrument in that process of *regressus ad uterum* whereby the king was reborn...

In Abydos, the principal place for the worship of the god Osiris and therefore the prototypical locale of father-son relationships. Seti erected a shrine for the cult of his father....[In] the text of the great dedicatory stela... there is a section describing the accession of Ramesses I followed by another giving us an account of his death and the subsequent accession of Seti:

127 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 376.

128 W. Murnane, "The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty" in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds), Ancient Egyptian Kingship (1995), 197.

129 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 377.

130 Ibid., 379.

131 Ibid., 382.

132 P. Frandsen, "Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt" (2008), 63.

> He (Ramesses) joined heaven. Then I arose upon his throne
> and it is I who keeps his name alive.
> I am like Re at dawn now that I have received my father' regalia.
> I am the king on the seat which he enlarged
> and on the throne which he occupied.
> This land is in my hand as (it was in) my father's.
> He, on the other hand, has (now) begun to function as a god,
> and (therefore) I protect him from whom I came forth
> and cause his body to appear as a god. [133]

Seti is Re in the morning, that is, the young god. Egypt belongs to him as it used to belong to his father. And as the new ruler he honors his obligations toward his father the god by establishing a cult for him.... His father, Ramesses, on the other hand, who had now begun to act as a god, responded to the arrangements by providing his son and successor with a divine, legal decree. The text is found on the right door jamb of the shrine, that is, to the right of the text of the stela. Accompanied by the remains of a representation of Ramesses, the text appears to tell of the king's presence at a meeting of the:

> entire Ennead of the Gods. I heard their statement and
> they handed over to you the throne of Atum
> and the years of Horus to be the protector.
> They gave to you this land by way of a deed of transfer [*jmyt-pr*]
> and curbed the Nine Bows for you. [134]

What is novel here is the clear distinction between the two levels or degrees of divinity and the use of the instrument of *jmyt-pr* to bring about devolution and to regulate what always was and is a give-and-take relationship between king and god, variously characterized as a *do ut des* or *do quia dedisti* relationship. [135]

There is another contemporary example that illustrates the role of the *jmyt-pr*. In the great temple of Seti I in Abydos there is a scene where the king offers frankincense to Osiris and Isis. The latter says to the king that she gives him the country by an *jmyt-pr*. [136] From the reign of Merenptah of the same dynasty comes yet another example of the same kind. On a stela in Hermopolis Thoth tells the king that he has informed Re that the 'life span of heaven in the form of kingship has been written down' for

133 KRI I (1975), 111, 15-113, 3.

134 KRI I (1975), 110, 6-8.

135 P. Frandsen, “BWT – Divine Kingship and Grammar”, Akten des Vierten Internationalen Agyptologen-Kongresses (1989), 151-158.

136 A. Mariette, Abydos I (1869), Appendix B plate 29.

the king. This decision is expressed through an '*jmyt-pr* committed to writing by Thoth with his own fingers at the right hand of Amun'.[137] The introduction of this mechanism is not, however, confined to the devolution of kingdom. The use of *jmyt-pr* also emerges in the Book of the Dead... and it is interesting to note that here it is used about divine succession. In the New Kingdom version of the well-known aetiological section of chapter seventeen, which explains how Re came to be called the great cat, there is an addition which goes: 'Another saying: This is Shu making an *jmyt-pr* concerning Geb for the benefit of (his son) Osiris'[138] ."[139] This important text is inscribed in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion and contains the *jmyt-pr* text[140], and as will be shown, its location is of major significance.

"The increasing use of legal means in the mediation of the human and divine aspects of kingship finds a supreme expression in the fact that an *jmyt-pr* is instrumental in the king's rebirth – even when this is done through the so-called *regressus ad uterum.* The evidence comes from the Nineteenth Dynasty hymn of the goddess Neith to her son Merenptah. The text is found on the outer lid of his granite sarcophagus.... At the beginning of the hymn the goddess welcomes the king and tells him that she is his mother who nurses him, who is pregnant with him in the morning and gives birth to him as Re in the evening:

> I carry you. … I lift your mummy, my arms being under you, … you step into me, …
> I being your mother/sarcophagus which hides that form of yours is ready
> for the rite de passage (*bs*).

And then comes:

> my heart belongs to you through a deed – *jmyt-pr*.[141]

A deed is here the crucial means of solving what, according to Egyptian ontology, was a cosmological crisis. Instead of having recourse to ritual politics, a legal instrument was brought in."[142]

137 KRI IV (1982), 29, 1-2.

138 G. Lapp, Totenbuch Spruch 17 (2006), 198-201.

139 P. Frandsen, "Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt" in N. Brisch (ed.) Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond (2008), 62-64.

140 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, II (1933), plate LXV, column 125 on S.P.-SV.

141 J. Assmann, "Neith spricht als Mutter und Sarg" MDAIK 28 (1972), 48-49, (lines 2-4). See also J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 136-139.

142 P. Frandsen, "Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt" (2008), 64.

"Seti's piety was meant to demonstrate the king's filial devotion to the gods. Lacking royal blood, he had to achieve legitimacy through his actions on their behalf." [143] At the same time, these actions would serve to legitimize his right to rule in the eyes of the priesthood. "Everywhere we look, Seti takes extraordinary measures to honor, and it seems to placate, the gods. The unprecedentedly colossal Hypostyle Hall at Karnak in honor of Amen-Re is paralleled by similar projects in honor of Ptah at Memphis, of Re-Horakhti in Heliopolis and probably Seth at the new royal capital near Avaris." [144] "During the course of his long reign, Ramesses II continued the development of this new city, which he soon renamed after himself, and his achievements there have tended to overshadow Seti's role as the ultimate founder of Pi-Ramesses." [145] Here again we find a characteristic feature of *wḥm mswt* eras, the creation of a new capital city. "The repetition of the Creation implies a deliberate separation of the new leader not only with respect to the last Pharaohs, but also of their former residence, once (he) constructs a new capital. In terms of religion, it can be explained by the necessity to create a new primordial place [of the first occasion *zp tpj*], one which the creative act of the new three-dimensional world where the victory over chaos could be ritually repeated. Amenemhet I founded for this purpose the new residence *jtj-tɜwy*, the post Amarna pharaohs founded Pi-Ramesses, and Smendes finally began Tanis." [146]

At Luxor temple, Seti initiated extensive restorations. There he also completed the carving of the reliefs of the Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall, which was done in the earliest part of his reign. [147] Much later, probably after the completion of the construction of the Karnak Hypostyle and Gurna memorial temple, both "Mansions of Millions of Years", Seti began to build the Luxor forecourt and its two obelisks and four great seated colossi arrived from Aswan in about the last year of his reign. [148] Luxor temple clearly held a special significance for Seti, as can be seen by his extensive restorations and building program there, but also deduced from his decision to build his "Mansion of Millions of Years" and the Osireion at Abydos aligned to exactly the same axis as the Colonnade Hall at Luxor. [149]

143 P. Brand, "Ideology and Politics of the Early Ramesside Kings (13th Century BC) A Historical Approach" in W. Bisang, D. Kreikenbom (eds.), Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens (2005), 26.

144 P. Brand, The monuments of Seti I (2000), 351. See also S. Sauneron, The Priests of Ancient Egypt New Edition (2000), 179-182.

145 Ibid., 381.

146 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte" BSFE 136 (1996), 16-17.

147 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 318.

148 Ibid., 360-361.

149 J. Belmonte and M. Shaltout, In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 348-349. Azimuth of the Luxor Colonnade is 35.5 degrees and Seti I temple at Abydos is 36 degrees with accuracy to ½ degree. Of the nearly 350 axial alignments surveyed, the only other structure with the same azimuth (35.5 degrees) is a Roman temple built inside the enclosure wall of Seti I's memorial temple at Gurna, in itself also very interesting and significant, given the Roman Imperial cult in the king's chamber in Luxor temple (See Chicago House Bulletin XVIII (2007).

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"In modeling himself on Amenhotep III, as expressed in his titulary, Seti I sought to match his royal ancestor not only in the magnitude of his building program, but also by reviving a style of kingship expressed through the former's vast constructions. The ultimate aim of this must have been to reinstate the ideology of the divine monarch as practiced under Amenhotep. This would seem, logically, to be at odds with Seti's practice of royal piety, at least as reflected by the iconography of his figure in temple art.[150] It did not, however, conflict with the notion expressed by the term *ꜣḫ*, "beneficial/effective action', which was fundamentally part of a *quid pro quo* relationship between mankind and the gods whereby the king was to receive the traditional benefits of a long and prosperous reign in return for his efforts on their behalf.... Everywhere, the rhetorical texts use the term *ꜣḫ*, 'beneficial', in describing his actions on behalf of the gods[151] … especially the provision of cult offerings and production of monuments of all kinds.... [The] pronouncements of the king's serviceability in the texts were amply backed up in his colossal building program and rich provisioning of the state cults.... By the end of his reign, the development of the royal cult and the ideology of divine kingship, as reflected in his monuments, had reached a level that would have been familiar to Amenhotep III."[152]

"Like most of his predecessors, Seti did not aim to have himself 'deified' in the literal sense of being considered deity incarnate. Rather, his objective was to emphasize loudly and clearly as possible that, in Bell's words, 'he is in full possession of the (royal) *ḳa* and it in full possession of him' "[153] and as such, therefore, the legitimate "Ruler of the Two Lands". This is reflected in the *mdw nṯr*, "the god's words". Two examples from Seti's temple at Abydos:

> "Words spoken by Seshat the Mighty,
> Lady of Writing, presiding over the House of Books.
>
> 'O my beloved son, Lord of Both Lands, Menmaatre, Son of Re, Seti I Merenptah
> your House is complete, your monument is splendid, its inhabitants are delighted...
> How divine is your Temple! … the Conclave of Gods of heaven and earth...
> You have acted in their name, (of) all the gods and goddesses. ...

150 "Contributing to this picture of an exceptionally pious monarch is, quite literally, the humble stance he takes in the reliefs decorating his monuments. Frequently, we see Seti bowing, often gravely, before his gods, and at other times he kneels, frequently with torso inclined forward and his legs splayed apart. At times, he even crouches so low in abject humility that he is nearly prostrate, his chin almost touching the ground!... The tendency to portray himself in a humble attitude in the presence of the gods – bowing, kneeling or prostrate – is a most telling mark of the king's reverence.... This stooped posture is interesting not only from a religious or iconographical perspective, but also as an indicator of chronology, because the pose, common during his reign, is not found under Ramesses I and disappears again almost immediately after the accession of Ramesses II. It can thus serve to distinguish reliefs actually dating to reigns of Ramesses I and Seti I from posthumous images carved on their behalf by their successors." quoting P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I, 381, 374, and 8. For details see: P. Brand, Monuments of Seti I (2000), 8-19 (1.2.2-1.2.9).

151 P. Brand, "Use of the Term *ꜣḫ* in the Reign of Seti I" GM 168 (1999), 23-33.

152 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 384-385.

153 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 392. and L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 278.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

There are fashioned for you, in your Temple, the sacred images upon their standards which are in the barques and chapels, each one exulting your excellence as far as the horizon and (up) to the sky to Him who is in his Disk, and (down) to the *ḏuat* to Osiris. They (shall) establish your annals like heaven, for these millions of years. You lead all the living, before the spirits, upon the throne of Horus.

See, you are King upon the throne of Re. You have given the land to the balance. You secure it by every (kind of) effective counsel. People know your goodness: heaven is replete with your goodness and the Two Lands are filled with your *ḳa*. The *ḏuat*, hidden away, is joyous over your plans. You awakened the one who slumbered, you gave bright light to those who are in darkness. Weary-heart [Osiris] is in joy and those of the caverns lift up their faces insofar as you pronounce their names...

How Abydos rejoices! Your name is made (to last) throughout eternity, you are (associated) with everlasting. Your plans are beneficial and your monuments enduring with the people of high and low estate. Everybody adores you, in unison, (and) you are belauded because of your right ways (maat). The gods come up beside you, as you are one of them.

You are here like Re in the sky, like Wennefer in the *ḏuat*, like the renown of Amen in Thebes, and like Geb in this land. You repeat renewal (*wḥm.k mswt*)...

I set down your goodness in writing as Re commanded, the blessing of my mouth is your magical protection, my words are a talisman for you; my hand writes of your benefactions, as sister of Thoth.

Atum himself speaks a greeting: I am happy with your plans. United in homage to you are the South and North, set under your sandals. Homage to you has joined the Reed to the Papyrus, you having become King of the South and North..." [154]

"[Words spoken by Thoth the Mighty, Master of speech:

O my beloved son, Lord of Both Lands, Menmaatre], Son of Re, Seti I Merenptah! Pay heed now, O excellent King, Champion [?for his father Osiris,....] watching over Wennefer like Horus, ever since he has existed. Your benefactions are a blessing in the Sacred Territory; your monument is accepted ...

154 KRI I (1975), 186:1 – 188:3. KRI I Translations (1993), 161-162.

1 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

> You are counted as one who will endure upon earth. Established is your office, your kingship, and you are promoted to (the status of) Justified One ….
>
> [I] am the Scribe of your righteousness, and witness to your goodness; I am happy because I put it (down) in writing....
>
> You have filled the (solar) shrine with exultation over your good deeds. I have come forth from heaven to Nile-land. I have found that you have governed it and established Justice (maat) within it and it has united everyone.
>
> You have pacified all the gods, you have supplied their alters, you double the offering-bread for them by myriads, over and above their regular daily offerings.
>
> You have purified the sanctuaries and temples, you have increased their offering-tables, you have strengthened Egypt for her Lord, you have spread yourself out (protectively) over its people. You are for her a wall of bronze, its battlements of flint, and your turrets upon it of copper. The foreign countries shall not bring it down, for the populace are those you have delivered...." [155]

The last few lines lead to the final consideration, Pharaoh as guardian and protector of Egypt.

"In the dedicatory stela for Ramesses I's memorial chapel at Abydos, Seti I claims that his father relied heavily on him during his short reign, especially in military affairs. As crown prince, Seti led the army into battle in Djahy, a vague geographical term corresponding to an area of Palestine. This, as Murnane has argued, may have later been considered to be King Seti I's 'first campaign of victory'. Seti claims to have been instructed by his father 'while he (Ramesses I) was Re effulgent, I being with him like a star at his side'. As Crown Prince, he seems to have been in command of the army in particular, along with some domestic responsibilities..." [156]

"Seti I was long credited with restoring Egypt's empire in Western Asia... widening the empire to the greatest extent since the palmy days of Thutmose III. Egypt did, in fact, face significant challenges within its sphere of influence from the Hittites, the Apiru and the renegade state of Amurru." [157] "Nothing on this scale, and requiring the personal intervention of the Pharaoh, had occurred in these provinces since the days of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty." [158] "The war in 'the lands of the Fenkhu' under Ramesses I and both the Shasa and Yenoam campaigns occupied the first period, and the

155 KRI I (1975), 189:5 – 190: 18. KRI Translations (1993), 164-165.

156 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 379.

157 Ibid., 372.

158 W. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh (1990), 103.

ventures into central Syria the second. That this pattern makes good strategic sense is patent: it might even reflect Seti's grand design." [159] "What Seti had to do, in fact, was to reestablish the credibility of imperial Egypt. Sustaining this image involved him in an aggressive, conspicuously military policy that could only escalate, if carried to its logical conclusion, into a major war with Hatti." [160]

"It was well over a century since the key city of Kadesh in central Syria had explicitly been subject to a pharaoh. This must be put right; Seti was determined 'to vanquish the land of Kadesh and the land of Amurru'." [161] Seti met a Hittite army, in part composed of diverse northern Syrian levies – the 'Asiatics' mentioned in the Karnak scenes... There is scarcely any doubt that the Egyptians were victorious... Egypt's success in taking and then holding on to both Kadesh and Amurru carries with it a strong presumption of Hittite overconfidence and miscalculation: the king of Hatti does not seem to have met the challenge in person, nor does he appear to have met it in sufficient strength, even after Seti had overrun his two southern border provinces." [162] But, it also may have reflected Muwatalli's situation. "Since the days of his grandfather a terrible plague, probably spread by the Egyptian soldiers, decimated the population of Hatti and caused a constant sense of self-accusation at the royal court. This calamity must have weighed heavily on the conscience of Muwatalli as well, bringing about a deep sense of penitence and piety... His grandfather's violation of the Egyptian border was conceived as the major cause for divine irritation, especially since the Storm-god was the one who guaranteed the treaty between the two empires. His renewed support was desperately needed." [163] This attitude was not dissimilar from Tutankhamun's admission in his Restoration Stela that "the land was in chaos because the gods had abandoned it [Egypt]. Whenever the army was sent to Syria to extend Egypt's territory, it always failed." [164]

"Historians generally consider Seti's foreign policy to be his greatest achievement, as is reflected in the vast literature on the subject. Recently, Murnane has called the wisdom of Seti's invasion of Amurru and Kadesh into question, suggesting that Seti abrogated a treaty with the Hittites negotiated by Horemheb in order to pursue a military venture aimed at distracting attention from internal political difficulties." [165] Although more likely, the primary intent was to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the military and the gods (with their priesthoods) by restoring Egyptian control over former territories and by the offering of the tribute extracted to the gods. The enhanced prestige from reestablishing the empire of Thutmose III would certainly benefit Seti's claim and solidify his right to rule. "Aspiring to

159 W. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh (1990), 75.

160 Ibid., 105.

161 K. Kitchen, Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt (1982), 24-25.

162 W. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh (1990), 99.

163 I. Singer, "The Failed Reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli" BMSAES 6 (2006), 39.

164 See above notes 36 and 43 in Section 1.2.

165 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 372.

match Thutmose in war, he largely succeeded. His battle reliefs and related monuments boast of triumph after unmitigated triumph over his enemies." [166]

"Here is a monarch, as Kitchen noted, consciously modeling himself on two of his most illustrious predecessors, Thutmose III and Amenhotep III. His titulary blends elements of both these role models, and follows many traditions of the Eighteenth Dynasty." [167] Again, we see here a major characteristic of the periods of *wḥm mswt*. "Despite his relatively short reign and untimely death, it was Seti I who laid a secure foundation for the Nineteenth Dynasty and reestablished the principle of dynastic succession to the throne. His reign was a time of transition that saw the close of the turbulent post-Amarna and the dawn of the Ramesside age." [168]

1.4 THE REALM OF OSIRIS RE-CREATED

Abydos was one of Seti's "major preoccupations as early as year four, when the king issued his famous decree [on I *prt* 1], found at Nauri, to exempt the huge and diverse properties of the god [Osiris] in Nubia... just one of a number of such decrees to protect the revenues and chattel of the Abydos foundation from abuse.... The resources Seti lavished on this foundation were enormous, and included the revenue of gold mines in Nubia and the eastern desert of Egypt itself, where he founded a settlement and speos temple at the site of Kanais.... Here again [as discussed above] the gold supplied by this mining settlement was to go exclusively to the Abydos temple." [169]

Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years at Abydos is a masterwork in many ways. Foremost among them is the fusing of the pantheon of ancient Egyptian gods into a single cohesive unit at the sacred site of the burial grounds of the first pharaohs. Here, in its unique design of seven main chapels and their associated complexes, [170] the King of the Gods, Amen-Re of Thebes, stands side by side with the other key gods. To the right are the Osirian triad of Osiris, Isis and Horus. To the left are Re-Horakhti of Heliopolis and Ptah-Tatenen of Memphis, and together with Amen-Re, these three state gods "mysteriously form a trinity which is also a unity, and in them all the gods as a whole are embodied....

166 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 380.

167 Ibid., 380.

168 Ibid., 394.

169 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I and Their Historical Significance (1998), 381. Ph. D. Dissertation Toronto.

170 A. El-Sawi, "The Deification of Sety I in his Temple of Abydos" MDAIK 43 (1986), 225.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The conception of the triad means here the plurality of the gods as such. Three is the first number to signify a plural. But the number three contains at the same time the three components that express the essential qualities of a god – name, appearance, and essence. Amen, Ptah, and Re embody in this sense all the gods, and at the same time, they are only aspects of one god. From a hymn of the Ramesside period we learn this meaning of the triad:

> 'Three are all gods: Amen, Re and Ptah.
> He who hides his name is Amen,
> He who is visible is Re,
> and his body is Ptah.' [171]

The two triads Osiris – Isis – Horus and Amen – Ptah – Re are joined by the king himself.... In this way is reached the otherwise uncommon number seven. Probably the Egyptians would have gone still one step further and explained the seven as a triad, that is, the gods around Osiris, the gods of the country, and the king.... The seven gods actually represent the religious dogma of a state religion", [172] developed by Seti I early in the Nineteenth Dynasty, as part of his declared era of Renaissance (*wḥm mswt*), following the Amarna Heresy.

The deified living king Seti reigns as the head of "the official unbroken hereditary line" of the seventy-five royal ancestors. This cultic assemblage of deceased kings runs back to the very beginning of dynastic rule, the time of Menes and the founding of Memphis, the first capital of the united Upper and Lower Egypt. [173] "The strong cultic connection between the Memphite royal house of the Old Kingdom and the Abydos list is duly reflected in the orderly progression from Menes to the fifty-sixth name, even the later scions, to us ephemeral names only, are entered, since they, being in the legitimate line of the Memphite succession, were as much honored in the offering ritual at Abydos as their predecessors." [174] There are 76 kings' names in vertical cartouches, 38 to a register... and the whole finds its completion in the columns of the third register (each lined up directly under the upper columns), which read 'through the bestowal' of Seti I. The latter's prenomen, preceded by *nsw* and determined by seated king in white crown, alternates throughout the bottom register with the nomen preceded by *sꜣ Rʿ*, and determined by king in red crown. The complete formula which Ramesses is reading from his papyrus, runs as follows: 'a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, etc. to king

171 For the rest of this hymn from p.Leiden I 350, which elaborates on this concept and other hymns to Amen-Re see: J. Oswalt, The Concept of Amon-Re as Reflected in the Hymns and Prayers of the Ramesside Period (1968).

172 E. Otto, The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1968), 52.

173 D. Redford, Pharaonic King-Lists (1986), 18. "The term 'king-list' is often, misleadingly applied to those groupings of royal names or images which occur in temple contexts. While reasonably complete, and in chronological order, the purpose of these lists was not 'historical', but rather cultic."

174 Ibid., 20.

so-and-so, through the bestowal of King... (Seti I)'." [175] To this description should be added that the 76 cartouches in the upper two registers are determined by the seated god Osiris directly linking king to god. [176] (Plates 447, 448, https://www.360cities.net/image/list-of-kings-temple-of-seti-1-abydos-egypt) From Redford's description, it is readily apparent that the organization of the list is not arbitrary. It is structured on the number 19 as determined by the alternating pattern of Seti's cartouches in the third register; where one group of 19, the seated king wears the white crown of Upper Egypt preceded by *nsw* (king) and the other group of 19 wear the red crown of Lower Egypt preceded by *sꜣ Rᶜ* (son of Re). As Plutarch noted, [177] the number 19 was a consecrated number of Osiris, specifically related to the god's rejuvenation, which is precisely the purpose of this offering ritual. It provides the sustenance necessary so that each of the royal ancestors who is now an Osiris might also live. But, there is another important reason that the list is restricted to seventy-five royal ancestors and the reigning king. It mirrors the structure of the 'Book of Praising Re in the West, Praising the United One in the West' (the Litany of Re) to which it is directly related. "The two sequences [of figures] are constantly divided between the gods Re and Osiris, just as the union of these two gods receives special treatment in the text.... The texts speak of seventy-four 'forms' (kheperu [*ḫprw*])....But because each of the last two figures of the left series has two names ascribed to it, we can actually assume seventy-six figures, which ... belong to the seventy-five invocations [of the Great Litany]." [178] So the reigning king Seti, son of Re, the seventy-sixth king in the line of royal succession, makes seventy-five invocations to the seventy-five royal ancestors as Re in the West and as the United One [Re-Osiris] in the West. Here Seti, the living Horus, is linked to his fathers through the invocations and the offerings provided in the exact pattern that establishes royal legitimacy according to the Osirian mythology.

That the Litany of Re is directly connected to ancestors is further evident "already in the tomb of Useramun [179], the divine figures are supplemented … by his own figure … and his wife and other members of his family.... Thutmose III … had himself and female members of his family.... In his temple at Abydos, Ramesses II expanded the sequence of figures to include royal ancestors – his parents and his grandfather, as well as the founder of the New Kingdom." [180]

The cultic assemblage of the royal ancestors is in the temple proper and the offering ritual, therefore, is made "on earth" on their behalf. Its counterpart, the Book of Praising Re in the West and

175 R. Redford, Pharaonic King-Lists (1986), 19.

176 A. Mariette, Abydos I (1869), plate 43.

177 J. Rousseau, "The Puzzle of the Consecrated Numbers" BSAK 2 (1988), 113.

178 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 138.

179 Useramun [Dynasty 18] was the vizier of Thutmose III and the only non-royal individual to be granted permission to use the Litany of Re in his private tomb before the late period.

180 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 140.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Praising the United One in the West is located in the West, where it was recited and performed. (Plates 318, 319) That is to say in the Osireion, specifically in the Central Hall which corresponds architecturally to the fifth hour of the "Book of the Hidden Chamber" (Amduat) replete with its secret cavern of Sokar. [181] This arrangement of "on the earth" and "in the *ḏuat*" must have held a special significance to the early Nineteenth Dynasty rulers because it is repeated in Ramesses II's temple at Abydos, which is also a Mansion of Millions of Years. Here the ancestors list is located in room II (N of Mariette) and inscribed in the normal fashion above the base line. [182] But opposite it in room III (G of Mariette), [183] the Book of Praising Re in the West and Praising the United One in the West is not. Rather, it is inscribed below the base line, where it is accompanied by Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead, entitled "Spell for making provision for a spirit in the God's Domain" and states that 'it is the Book of Wennefer", [184] the rejuvenated form of the god Osiris. Its position on the wall and the accompanying spell reveal its location as being in the *ḏuat*, just as both texts are placed side by side in the subterranean Osireion. (Plate 317, 318) This distinction between the two realms; on the earth, and in the West *(ḏuat),* is significant in that the emphasis on the dual realms reflects a reaction to Akhenaten's theology. For Akhenaten, there was no Osiris or a nightly rejuvenation of the sun god in the *ḏuat*. There was only the Aten.

"The tomb of Seti I also seems to intimate a relationship with the seventy-five scenes of the Opening of the Mouth Ritual [and the Litany of Re]." [185] It is a revivification rite necessary in order to partake in the food offerings, which sustains new life. Spalinger sees a relevant connection to the rite of Opening the Mouth in the Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II from Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years at Abydos, which he interprets as a Solar-Osirian Tractate. "Most certainly, the overriding concept at the close of the inscription is one of resurrection … I … conclude that this rite (if that is the correct word) ought to have taken place between that physical representation, the dead Seti now alive, and Ramesses, the living Horus. The image, which is more than once referred to in the main text, is called a *sšmw*. A similar father-son orientation to the ritual can be traced back to the old rite of Opening the Mouth. With regard to the New Kingdom performance of this ritual, Otto further indicated that we have to consider seriously the role of the inheritance of the throne of Egypt." [186]

181 B. Richter, "The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers" JARCE 44 (2008), 87-90.

182 B. Porter & R. Moss, VI: Upper Egypt Chief Temples (1970), 35.

183 Ibid., 36.

184 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 35.

185 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 138.

186 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 113. See also E. Otto, Das Agyptische Mundoffnungsritual (1960), 12-13 for his remarks.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Notably absent from Seti's cultic assemblage of royal ancestors are Akhenaten and the Amarna kings, a clear and decisive part of the *damnatio memoriae* enacted against these illegitimate kings.

At Gurna in Western Thebes, Seti constructed a Mansion of Millions of Years where his deified form is a manifestation of Amen-Re [187] Whereas at Abydos in his Mansion of Millions of Years, the deified Seti is identified with Osiris. [188] In O'Connor's words: "Since Amen-Re was lord of the living and Osiris of the dead, Seti's mortuary temples at Thebes and Abydos, respectively provided his posthumous, cosmic kingship with the widest possible authority. Thus, the lord of Seti's Abydos temple was actually Seti-as-Osiris." [189] To this authority should be added that of the other state gods, Ptah and Re-Horakhti. At Memphis the temple of Seti I is named "Beneficial (*ꜣḫ*) is Seti-Merenptah in the Domain of Ptah exactly parallels that of his Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak [also called a Mansion of Millions of Years]. This, as Kitchen points out, is clearly deliberate. They are just two of a whole series of temple foundations bearing similar names. Two others are at the king's memorial temple at Gurna in western Thebes and the Osireion at Abydos", [190] Beneficial is Seti for Osiris. [191] At Heliopolis, the surviving evidence is less specific. "One would expect Seti to have built a memorial temple there and a major addition to or reconstruction of the main temple of Re at Heliopolis named something like 'Beneficial is Seti-beloved of Re in the domain of Re', by analogy to his Memphis and Karnak buildings." [192] What is known from an offering table for Atum-Khepri (Cairo CG 23090) is that "Seti is called ' the perfect god, *nṯr nfr*, who is beneficial for his father, great of monuments' … [and that] he is 'the effective (*ꜣḫ*) offspring of the Bull of Heliopolis'." [193]

In the Temple of Millions of Years at Abydos, the rear wall in each of the seven chapels is decorated with a large false door, dedicated to the god of the chapel, "which is a rare element in the temple of the gods though a regular item of the royal mortuary temples." [194] The texts above them contain the titulary of Seti I including his Nebti name *wḥm mswt*. The need for a false door, originally the focal point of the cult, had disappeared under Akhenaten's radical reforms. [195] Seti restores the

187 G. Haengy, "New Kingdom 'Mortuary Temples' and 'Mansions of Millions of Years'" in B. Shafter, Temples of Ancient Egypt (1997), 107.

188 KRI I Notes and Comments (1993), 115 (b).

189 D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009), 45.

190 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 146.

191 Ibid., 174 -175.

192 Ibid., 354.

193 Ibid., 137.

194 E. Otto, The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1968), 52.

195 E. Hornung, Akhenaten and the Religion of Light (1999), 97.

practice and has them placed prominently in the most sacred position on the rear wall of each of the chapels. "The false door at the back of the king's chapel shows the king himself, followed by his *ka*, stepping out of the door. Here the function of the architectural elements follows the mode of the royal mortuary temples, since the false door is a typical element of tomb architecture.... In the tombs it signifies from the Old Kingdom onward [except, of course, at Amarna] the place where offerings and prayers were dedicated to the dead. It is therefore an intermediary between this world and the next. In the temples of the pyramids, too, the false door forms the ritual link between the temple of worship in the east and the king who is buried in the pyramid [in the West]. We meet it again in the mortuary temples at Thebes; here it is quite logically in the room set aside for the worship of the dead king. As all the offerings need a transubstantiation to reach through the door to the other world and to the dead, an actual connection in space with the burial chamber is not necessary. Here in the temple of Abydos, too, the doors represented the link of communication between the gods of the chapel who were present during their worship and the unearthly world of the dead." [196]

The united pantheon of deities formed by the gods of the seven chapels and merged to the Osirian realm of the adjoining Osireion served an important purpose. It created a unity which allowed no possibility for another breakaway cult like the Aten. This was no doubt a reaction to the Amarna episode and Seti's intention. Just as was it the cause for his curse on future pharaohs against diverting gold, as Akhenaten had done, from the gods' temple at Abydos. It was another attempt to secure the continued operation of the cults of, not just Osiris, but all the deities and through it their continued survival.

Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years "was partly designed and arranged for the celebration of rites and ceremonies connected with the worship of Osiris.... It is clear that the series of chambers referred to as the 'Osiris Complex' (Plate 20) are entered from the Chapel of Osiris which forms part of the Sanctuary. In architectural terms, therefore, the Osiris Complex may be considered as a continuation of the Osiris Chapel.... By designing the temple in this way, the architects achieved two basic aims; firstly, Amen [Re], as the chief god of Egypt, possessed the largest central shrine in the Sanctuary; secondly, Osiris, with his particular connections with Abydos, and his position of unrivaled power as King of the Dead, warranted a complex of rooms in this temple worthy of his status, so he too was provided with a suitable set of chambers. From the inscriptions and reliefs on the walls of these rooms, it is apparent that this unit was dedicated primarily to the rites of Osiris … the door in the West Wall of the Chapel of Osiris [is] the sole entrance to the eight interconnected rooms..... The scenes in [the 'First Osiris Hall'] depict rites in the Osiris Mysteries", [197] which were performed annually in Abydos during the month of Khoiak. "It seems most likely that the temple and the Osireion were part of a single plan; from the point of view of ritual, the temple is constructed to link with the Osireion … with the 'Osiris

196 E. Otto, The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1968), 52.

197 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 125.

Complex' situated at the rear of the temple where it would be directly in line with the Osireion itself." [198] (Plate 26) As is the case in Luxor temple, which shares the same axis, the design of the Mansion of Millions of Years is laid out on a double axis. The central axis aligns the Chapel of Amen-Re with the Central Hall of the Osireion, whereas, the Osiris Complex is aligned along the transverse axis from west to east, mirroring the course of the nocturnal journey of the sun god through the *ḏuat*. [199]

With the extensive cult place for Osiris in the main temple, what then was the need for the Osireion? While the Osiris Complex did serve as an elaborate cult center for the god, the Osireion, that Seti designed, served a related but distinctly different purpose. It was to become a critical element of his era of renewal (*wḥm mswt*), restoring what Akhenaten had abolished. The subterranean location, unique architectural features and decoration program of the Osireion reveal its intended meaning and function. They transform this subterranean structure into a fully functional Underworld, the *ḏuat*, and re-create all that transpires on the first occasion (*zp tpj*) within the mysterious hidden realm of the Ruler of the West. This complex treatise on the first occasion (*zp tpj*) ends with the conception of Horus, the origin of dynastic rule, and the means for the legitimate transferal of kingship from father to son through divine *jmyt-pr*.

The unique architectural feature in the Central Hall is the island representing the primordial hill. (Plates 44, 293) The distinct land (Tatenen) is literally rising out of the surrounding watery abyss of the Nun, "the waters of preexistence and where Ptah[-Tatenen] precedes the sun god [Atum] in the execution of rulership." [200] The text inscribed on the walls of the entrance doorway to the Central Hall address Osiris, "who is on his sand": [201]

> Your son Horus is vindicated in the presence of the entire Ennead;
> the kingship over the land has been given to him,
> and his uraeus pervades the entire land.
> The throne of Geb has been allotted to him,
> and the potent office of Atum has been confirmed in writing
> in a testament (*jmyt-pr*) [202] which has been engraved on a block of sandstone [203]
> according as your father Ptah-Tatenen commanded from upon the great throne." [204]

198 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 10.

199 For the issue of the temple axial alignment see below Chapter Two.

200 J. Assmann, "Theological Responses to Amarna" (2001), 2.

201 H. Frankfort, Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 66. "On the lintel and the door jambs of the doorway leading to the Central Hall are to be seen some traces of Chapter CLXXXIII of the Book of the Dead." The text quoted is the standard version of BD 183.

202 E. Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbuch I (1886, reprint 1971), Pl. CCIX, column 14.

203 H. Frankfort, Cenotaph I, 16. "The large doorway leading to the Central Hall is of red sandstone." Note how carefully the architectural features correspond to the description given in the text, right down to the building materials used to construct the Hall.

204 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 134.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Central Hall is not only a representation par excellence of the Memphite cosmogony depicting the first occasion (*zp tpj*). It *is* the first occasion, the moment of creation. "The initial transition from chaos to cosmos, the first time *zp tpj*, provides the paradigm for all transformation, as manifestations of the binary potential of the pre-creation state." [205] "In ancient Egypt the creation was perceived as an ongoing process, and the creation myths were used metaphorically for any new beginning [especially the eras of *wḥm mswt*] where order had to be established from chaos once again, like the coronation ritual of a new king..." [206] Following the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries on the night of IIII *ꜣḫt* 30, at sunrise on I *prt* 1 in the Mansion of Millions of Years of Men-maat-Re, the coronation ceremonies began. [207] But the secret rites were completed that night in the Osireion.

Unlike the earlier post Amarna pharaohs, who had done relatively little on behalf of the cult of Osiris, Seti I moved to completely restore his cult in grand fashion with the eight chambers of the Osiris Complex opening off the Osiris Chapel in the main temple and the subterranean Osireion Complex as the functioning abode of the Ruler of the West, the *ḏuat*. In addition, Seti also made other additions to the Abydene landscape which are discussed at the end of this chapter. Together they formed an important component of his official program of *wḥm mswt*. The new texts found in the Osireion stress the Re Osiris unity to a degree unparalleled in the pre-Amarna orthodox state religion. [208]

The fact that the Osireion and the Mansion of Millions of Years were constructed so that they are on the same axial alignment as the Colonnade Hall of Luxor temple is subtle but significant. [209] In a certain sense, the same axis points to the same function through the same orientation.

The Colonnade was built by Amenhotep III, decorated with scenes of the Opet Festival by Tutankhamun, usurped by Horemheb and completed by Seti I early in his reign. The Theban Opet Festival is of eighteenth dynasty origin. [210] That dynasty's line of rulers "had based their right to rule on the dogma of the king's divine birth and the theology of the mutual regeneration of the royal *ḳa* and Amen-Kamutef of Luxor temple through their mystic union during the annual Feast of Opet." [211] "The name of the festival, *ḥb ỉpt*, relates to that of Luxor temple, *ỉp(ꜣ)t-rsyt*, which was perhaps the Upper Egyptian counterpart of an earlier Heliopolitan *ỉpꜣt* … the 'southern' specification relating to Luxor temple to that northern shrine and not to Karnak; the Opet Festival's relationship to Heliopolitan

205 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History(1986), 146.

206 A. Bettum, Death as an Eternal Process (2004), 30-31.

207 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 56. She did not comment on the role of the Osireion in the coronation.

208 A. Niwinski, "The Solar-Osirian Unity" JEOL 30 (1987-88), 89-106.

209 J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.), In Search of Cosmic Order (2009). Data taken from Appendix II (*Corpus Mensorarum*), 347-352.

210 J. Darnell, 2010, Opet Festival. UEE, 1. "no suggestion of a pre-18th Dynasty origin is conclusive...."

211 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 377.

prototypes would explain a number of Helopolitan toponyms that appear in Luxor temple as probable references to portions or aspects of Luxor temple itself.... Opet was also a *ḥieros gamos*… a divine marriage, the result of which was the renewal of Amen in the person of his ever-renewing human vessel, the reigning king… so the Opet Festival celebrated the renewal of the *ḳa* force of Amen, and the transmission of the spirit of kingship in the eternal present. As a festival of annual renewal, the Opet Festival could reconfirm the royal coronation, which under Horemheb actually occurred at the time of the Opet Festival." [212]

The festival of annual renewal at Luxor was directly tied to the Osirian annual renewal at Abydos by the two temples' common axis. Together the festivals form a cycle of the renewal of kingship through the participation in the mysterious unions with Amen at Luxor and then with Osiris at Abydos. They fuse the two great Heliopolitan and Memphite traditions and cosmogonies into a complimentary cosmology. At another level, these festivals also serve as an annual declaration of legitimacy. In the reign of Thutmose III, the Opet Festival began on II *ꜣḫt* 15 at Luxor. [213] The time line for this cycle of renewal ran for seventy-six days. It culminated in Abydos on the night of IIII *ꜣḫt* 30 (30 Khoiak) with the climax of the Osiris Mysteries. Sunrise on the following morning, I *prt* 1, marked the beginning of a new cycle with what appears to be a confirmation of the renewal of Osiris as the Ruler of the West, Amen-Re regenerated as King of the Gods, during the coronation ceremony for Seti I, the living Horus, the Ruler of the Two Lands and Seti's own deification resulting from his participation in the mysterious unions. [214] This Second New Year's Day started the new planting season after the receding of the Nile Inundation and was celebrated by "the extremely important religious event", the Feast of Nehebkau. [215]

As we have seen, the structural foundation for both the Book of Praising Re in the West and Praising the United One in the West, first attested in the reign of Thutmose III, [216] and the cultic assemblage of deceased kings in Seti's temple are built on multiples of nineteen, the sacred number of rejuvenation. Each one is divided into two groups or halves and totals seventy six. The Litany of Re's division is between the gods Re and Osiris, [217] whereas the royal ancestor assemblage is between those

212 J. Darnell, 2010, Opet Festival. UEE, 1-6.

213 Ibid., 1.

214 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 55-56. David is not at all clear on this complex but crucial renewal ceremony.

215 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II (2009), 118.

216 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 136.

217 The same ending sequence for the last five figures of the Litany of Re as they are arranged in the tomb of Thutmose III are carved on the end of the southern architraves of the Central Hall in the Osireion. Compare A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 15 with H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II, plates 71 and 72.

of the red crown of Lower Egypt as son of Re and those of the white crown of Upper Egypt as king. It is unlikely to be merely coincidental that the royal cycle of the annual renewal of kingship is structured in exactly the same fashion. The reigning king stands at the head of the long line of dynastic rulers and is both the son of Re and the son of Osiris, directly linking the king to the royal ancestors as enumerated in the Abydos list and the seventy six manifestations of Re and Osiris in the Litany of Re. In the 76 day annual cycle of the renewal of kingship (Table I), the division into two is marked by the arrival in Abydos and "the mythic time of the occasion of Horus' coronation".[218]

In Ramesses II's first regnal year,[219] he celebrated the Opet Festival, took part in the mystical union at Luxor Temple and was "crowned" there.[220] On III *ꜣḫt* 22, the 38th and final day at Luxor, the act of presenting Maat occurred[221] presumably by the newly crowned Ramesses. This concluded the first half of the 76 day royal cycle. Following Verhoeven's analysis, Spalinger suggested that Ramesses then traveled to Abydos and arrived on III *ꜣḫt* 23.[222] The arrival in Abydos on the 39th day marked the first day of the second half of the renewal cycle. On the next day, III *ꜣḫt* 24, "Horus is said to have been given the kingship of Egypt".[223] Here then Ramesses would or "could have performed the age-old ritual of the Triumph of Horus"[224] on III *ꜣḫt* 24 - III *ꜣḫt* 29 or 30.[225]

At dawn on IIII *ꜣḫt* 12, Shentayet, who resides in Abydos and was a manifestation of Isis, is taken to the "Place of the Festival of Turning Over the Soil".[226] There she prepares a special mixture "that

218 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II (2009), 118.

219 "According to the Feast List of Amen of Elephantine, the festivities of the Opet Festival lasted for eleven days on II *ꜣḫt* [akhet]15 - 25 during the reign of Thutmose III.... At some point in the reign of Ramesses II (Medinet Habu Festival Calendar) and during the entire reign of Ramesses III (Great Harris Papyrus), the Opet Festival is known to have started on II *ꜣḫt* 19.... The date of the Opet Festival, thus, seems to have varied from reign to reign and dynasty to dynasty." H. Jauhiainen, "Do Not Celebrate Your Feast Without Your Neighbours" A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina (2009), Academic Dissertation: 95-98. While Ramesses II did change the date of the Opet Festival, it seems unlikely that he would have done so in the first few months of his reign. It also seems probable that Seti I would have chosen to celebrate the Opet Festival as Thutmose III had done, just as he chose to reintroduce the Litany of Re into his tomb and place it in the Central Hall of the Osireion at Abydos.

220 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II (2009), 118.

221 Ibid., 118.

222 Ibid., 118 and U. Verhoeven, "Ein historische 'Sitz im Leben' " (1996), 347-363 .

223 Ibid., 118.

224 Ibid., 118.

225 Ibid., 118 note 213: "The crucial days in Leitz's calendars are III *ꜣḫt* 24 to 29."

226 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996),169. Also more commonly called the Festival of Hacking the Earth.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

TABLE I

THE CYCLE OF 76:
THE ANNUAL RENEWAL OF KINGSHIP

THEBAN CYCLE: DAYS 1 – 38

DAY 1 (II *ꜣḫt* 15) : Opening in Luxor – The Start of the Opet Festival

DAY 19 (III *ꜣḫt* 3) : Completion of the First Sequence of 19 Days -
Feast of Udjat, the Restored Eye of Horus

DAY 38 (III *ꜣḫt* 22) : Conclusion at Luxor - The Presentation of Maat

ABYDENE CYCLE: DAYS 39 – 76

DAY 39 (III *ꜣḫt* 23) : Arrival in Abydos - First Day of the Osirian Cycle

DAY 40 (III *ꜣḫt* 24) : Horus Is Given the Kingship of Egypt -
Celebration of the Triumph of Horus

DAY 58 (IIII *ꜣḫt* 12) : First Day of the Final Sequence of 19 Days -
Shentayet Fashions the Body of the Figurine of Osiris

DAY 76 (IIII *ꜣḫt* 30) : Conclusion of the Cycle of 76 -
The Burial of the Body of Osiris
and the Raising of the Djet-Pillar

DAY 1 (I *prt* 1) : SECOND NEW YEAR'S DAY
Coronation of the King and the
Feast of Nehebkau

only Shentayet could prepare" according to the texts.[227] "The mixture was divided into four parts, two parts to be used for the two halves of the golden mold to cast the figurine of Osiris Khentamentiu [Foremost of the Westerners] and two for the silver mold for the Abydene relic of Osiris. The form of the silver mold for the relic is not known."[228] But the symbolic meaning is nevertheless clear: gold and silver; sun and moon; Re and Osiris, or more accurately here Osiris in his solar and lunar aspects.[229] Together they form a unity through opposites. This, of course, occurs at the start of the Osiris Mysteries on the first day of the second and final 19 day cycle of the Abydene half of the annual renewal of kingship. In the final 19 days, the mysterious rejuvenation of Osiris is enacted. After Isis-Shentayet had fashioned the god's body initiating the cycle, more rituals were performed to assist in the rejuvenation of Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, and the Abydene relic of Osiris.[230] The rites culminate on the night of IIII *ꜣḫt* 30, with the interment of Osiris in his tomb and the raising of the Djed Pillar, signifying his successful regeneration and rebirth.[231] IIII *ꜣḫt* 30 completes the annual cycle of 76 for the renewal of kingship.

In Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years at Abydos on the list of kings that form the cultic assemblage of royal reigns, the seventy-fifth and final ancestor king is Ramesses I. Osiris-Ramesses I, the deceased father of the living Horus, pharaoh Seti, on this night his burial is reenacted and rebirth celebrated by the raising of the Djed. But the final recitation as depicted in the Central Hall of the Osireion (Plate 318) of the seventy-five invocations of the Book of Praising Re in the West and Praising the United One [Re-Osiris] in the West by pharaoh Seti, son of Re and son of Osiris, on behalf of his fathers; Re, Osiris, and the seventy five ancestor kings was on the night of I *prt* I. The list embodies the structure governing the annual cycle of 76 for the renewal of kingship and with it the legitimate right to rule. In designing the ancestor list in this manner, Seti directly links the age-old Memphite tradition of the transfer of royal power from father to eldest son. Just as he has depicted in the offering scene to the cultic assemblage where both Seti as king and Ramesses as crown prince participate in the making of the offering. (Plates 447, 448) There is a clear intention on Seti's part by

227 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 169.

228 Ibid., 170.

229 "Inside the doors of the outermost shrine [in Tutankhamun's tomb] were two staffs, one of gold (131.7 cm) and one of silver (130.5 cm), surmounted by exquisite miniature effigies of the young king … it is thought to have featured in the coronation." see N. Reeves, The Complete Tutankhamun (1990), 178.

230 I have omitted Meeks remarks regarding the Sokar figurine, reflecting Eaton's opinion that in Abydos at Seti's Temple "the internal rites for Sokar's Festival were still independent of Osiris' Khoiak Festival at Abydos." K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 406, 425-435. Nor is there any fusion of the deities on the East Wall of the Central Hall in the Osireion. However Meeks comments show that both Osiris Khentamentiu, and Sokar's mold were made of gold and the figurines the same size which is significant. Gold rather than the use of silver molds highlight the solar aspect of these two chthonic deities and equal size indicates their equal importance.

231 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 173.

the announcement of his desire that his son Ramesses should inherit the throne of Geb and the rulership of the Two Lands, which he makes before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and the seventy-five ancestors who had once ruled Egypt. Seti speaks as Ramesses assists:

> "Hail to you, O Ptah-Sokar South of his Wall!
> Come that I may do for you the things that
> Horus did for his father Osiris." [232]

As we have seen, it was Ptah who commanded from upon the great throne in primeval times that it be set in stone that Horus, son of Osiris, will be given the kingship over the Two Lands. [233] At the same time, Seti also is addressing the ancestor kings including the last one, his father, who himself had by divine decree (*jmyt-pr*) granted to his son, Seti, the rulership of the Land. This request is made by Seti in the context of the *qui pro quo* of the daily offering.

Following the completion of the cycle of 76, the next day is a Second New Year's Day (*wp rnpt*). It is marked by the reenactment of the king's coronation and the celebration of the Feast of Nehebkau, as it initiates the start of a new cycle and the season for planting. Nehebkau, "translated as 'Bestower of Dignities' or as 'Uniter of the *Kas*' (of Horus and Osiris); and we have, in both cases, an allusion to the definitive assumption of power by the new king [on this day]. In the pyramid texts, moreover, we find that Nehebkau receives the newly arrived dead king among the gods or prepares him a meal or that the new arrival is announced to him and to Re. This ceremony may be a heavenly counterpart of Nehebkau's function at the late king's coronation, or it may be part of his duties at the coronation of the late king's successor; for the Interment of Osiris was on the eve of the coronation of a new king, on the last day of the month of Khoiak. In other words, the late king was interred (and was announced to the gods as a new arrival in the Hereafter) just before the new king was crowned" [at sunrise on I *prt* 1]. [234]

Spalinger alluded to this cycle of 76 when he perceptively remarked that: "Perhaps it is not stretching the evidence to conclude that Ramesses was 'crowned' in Luxor but also could have received his inheritance at Abydos." [235]

The evidence seems to suggest that this cycle originated during the reign of Thutmose III, when the

232 KRI I, Translations (1993), 153.

233 See n. 204 above.

234 H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1978), 104.

235 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II (2009), 118.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Litany of Re first appeared and the Opet Festival opened on II *ꜣḫt* 15.[236] The Feast of Nehebkau followed after the completion of the 76 day cycle on I *prt* 1, the second New Year's Day.[237] Since the Book of Praising Re in the West and Praising the United One in the West had disappeared from the royal tombs for over a hundred years,[238] Seti's decision to: (1) reintroduce the Litany of Re of his esteemed ancestor, Thutmose III, into his own tomb and into the Osireion's Central Hall; (2) design his cultic assemblage of royal ancestors at Abydos, based of the sacred Osirian number nineteen and, in accordance, to the 75 – 76 sequence of the Litany of Re; (3) build and align the axis of both his Abydene Mansion of Millions of Years and the Central Hall of the Osireion to that of the Colonnade at Luxor temple, where he also completed the decoration of the scenes of the Opet Festival early in his reign; were all clearly deliberate actions. Their aim was to highlight the importance of this unified 76 day cycle of the renewal of kingship to his fledgling dynasty. In so doing, he not only emulates and honors his greatly admired ancestor, Thutmose III, but strengthens his claim to the legitimacy of his right to rule in both the eyes of men and the gods. It also elevates the importance of the cult of Osiris in both the role of the transmission of kingship and in its position within the hierarchy of the gods. As a result, the concept of the Solar-Osirian unity begins to dominate post-Amarna theology far earlier than has been previously recognized.

There is also “a fundamental change [that] has taken place in the celebration of the mysteries of Osiris:

> 'I let a statue remain in it [the memorial chapel of Ramesses I],
> provided like the [other] kings.
> When the Majesty of the sacred god Wennefer came in order to rest there,
> he greeted my father as he did the ancestors...'

The meaning of this is that the god Osiris-Wennefer visited the king's temple during his procession and stayed there with them in the same way as Amen used to stay inside the Theban mortuary temples during the procession on the occasion of the Valley Festival. This addition to the procession of Osiris was doubtless an imitation of the Theban ritual customs, and the reason for its introduction in the reign of Seti I was to give to the mortuary temple at Abydos a ritual similar to that found in the Theban temples.”[239] Furthermore, it had the effect of putting the Abydene Osirian half of the 76 day cycle of the renewal of kingship on par with the Theban Amen-Re portion.

“By the Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1307-1196 BC) Abydos had been a major cultic center for over seventeen-hundred years; and Osiris' 'divine' temple, located near the edge of the flood plane at the

236 J. Darnell, 2010, Opet festival. UEE, 1

237 A. Spalinger, “A Remark on Renewal” SAK 17 (1990), 289-294.

238 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 136.

239 E. Otto, The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1968), 50.

north of the site, was well established as its pivotal cultic feature (Plate 5) … the sacred landscape of Abydos was arranged around two processional routes extending from this temple precinct.

The more famous route linked Osiris' temple to his tomb at Umm el-Qaab (ancient Peker), in front of the cliffs separating the high and low desert. During his annual festival, Osiris' corn mummy was carried along the wadi, where building was suppressed until the Third Intermediate Period (c.1070-712 BC...). This route first passed the chapels of the 'votive zone', clustered to the west of the temples …, including a pair of buildings dedicated to Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425) flanking the entrance to the wadi … It continued between the North and Middle Cemeteries – the former dominated by two Early Dynastic enclosures and the latter by the mastabas of the late Old Kingdom high officials … The route ended at Umm el-Qaab, where Osiris was believed to be buried among the Early Dynastic kings....

Another processional route extended south from Osiris' temple, connecting 'memorial' temples dotting the edge of the flood plane. (Plates 2, 5) The 'Ramesses II Temple', 'Ramesses I Chapel', and 'Seti Temple' are the northernmost extant stops on this route. A significant gap … lies between these Ramesside memorials and south Abydos. New Kingdom processions would then pass the ruins of Senwosert III's temple, which closed at the end of the Middle Kingdom (c. 1640 BC…). The Ahmose Complex [founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the New Kingdom], active until about the time of Merenptah (c. 1224-1214 BC…), was the southernmost point on the route. Although textual accounts indicate that there were other memorials, none survive..."[240]

"If both the Osiris Temple and the Seti Temple had sets of processional equipment for Osiris and his followers at Abydos [as was most likely the case], they probably made different, overlapping circuits."[241]

On the night of 30 Khoiak, the culmination of the Osiris mysteries, simultaneous processions could have been conducted. One from the age old "divine" temple of Osiris, where the corn mummies were carried to Osiris' tomb in Peker in the middle of the night to be buried and the rejuvenated statue of Osiris returned to his temple amid great jubilation.

The other, a longer and much more elaborate two day sacred ceremony concerning the hidden and mysterious rites that complete the transfer of royal power, encompassing both Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and the Osireion. The Osireion rites are described in detail below.[242]

"Seti I may have envisioned connecting the cult centers of the major gods of the state – Memphis, Heliopolis and Thebes – with Abydos. A similar expansion in deities receiving devotion occurred in

240 K. Eaton, "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.) Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 231-232.

241 Ibid., 245.

242 See below Chapters Four and Five.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Seti I's Theban memorial temple, and became the standard for Ramesside memorial temples [Mansions of Millions of Years] at Thebes. Seti I's memorial temple innovations displayed the major deities of Egypt as united in approval of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which was less than two years old when he came to power. Abydos, burial place of the earliest kings, was an important location in which to display this legitimacy."[243] "It was obvious that Abydos was a major focus of his building program."[244] In addition to renovating the metropolitan temple of Osiris, Seti I appears to have begun the construction of the "so-called" portal temple of Ramesses II.[245] "Seti I undertook the construction of at least three and perhaps four buildings as part of a grand design to transform Abydos into a large cult center to rival those at Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis."[246]

243 K. Eaton, "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.) Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 246.

244 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I and Their Historical Significance (1988), PhD. Dissertation, Toronto, 383.

245 Ibid., 383-384.

246 Ibid., 384.

1. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.5 THE ORIGIN OF THE OSIREION

Frankfort's excavations provide a strong case in support of Seti I, as the pharaoh who ordered and began construction of the Osireion. [247] More recently, Brand arrived at the same conclusion. [248] Yurco did as well, who produces additional evidence. "So far as is evident, the Osireion was constructed by Seti I. His name appears on the bottoms of the [granite] pillars, though the pillars are themselves uninscribed. This is evident in several pillars reused in a Coptic Church of which the ruins are around Nag Hammadi. So, this is quite conclusive that the Osireion was the work of Seti I and no one else." [249] But, there is still some skepticism that exists. [250] Furthermore, it is not yet definitively conclusive that no kernel of a much earlier structure might have existed there as Frankfort had argued. [251] The fact remains that Frankfort was unable to completely drain the canal around the island in the Central Hall in order to examine the foundation upon which the Osireion is built. He proposed "there is, therefore, some probability that the ancient builders went down to this layer [called 'gebel moiya' by the local villagers who were experienced in the making of wells, a more or less impermeable stratum] when they wished to found the walls of a building which, like a well, was always to hold water... Anyhow, the assumption that on this layer the walls of the channel rest is well in keeping with the fact that we could not reach the end of these walls with our long probing stick." [252]

It should also be recalled that Seti personally had experience in successfully locating and supervising the construction of a well, which determined the location for the Kanais temple and may well have been the case with the Osireion. On the Threefold Inscription, Year 9 at Kanais, the text states:

> "After His Majesty had formulated these matters in his own mind,
> he reconnoitered the desert, seeking out a (suitable) place for making a well.
> Moreover, God guided him, so as to grant the petition of him whom he loved.
> Stoneworkers were commanded to dig a well in the mountains,
> in order that he might uplift the weary and cool the heart of him
> who was parched by the summer heat.
> Then this place was built in the mighty name of Menmaatre,

247 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 23-31.

248 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 174-178.

249 F. Yurco, Osireion Abydos EEF txt thread February 9, 2002.

250 For example see Osireion Abydos. EEF txt thread February 2002.

251 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 24-25.

252 Ibid., 19-20. See his more detailed remarks in "Preliminary Report of the Expedition to Abydos 1925-6" JEA 12 (1926), 160-162.

and it welled up with water in great amount,
just like the cavern of the Nile-sources at Elephantine.

Then said His Majesty,

'See, God has fulfilled my request,
he has brought forth for me water from the mountains.
(Ever) since the time of the gods, the road was difficult,
and is now easy under my reign..." [253]

It is well known that the ancient Egyptians had a propensity to build and rebuild on their sacred sites. The most striking example of this known today is the temple of Satet on Elephantine Island at Aswan. The German Archaeological Institute has uncovered some seven shrines and temples built successively one on top the other dating back to predynastic times. [254] The temple itself is thought to date from circa 3500 BC (Naqada III period) by the dating of the pottery found there. [255] The first evidence of the goddess Satet there dates to 3200 BC. The first inscription is from the reign of Pepi I, where he erected a mud brick temple in the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2300 BC). The red granite naos found there is now in the Lourve (E12660) and was inscribed and donated by Pepi I and bears the name of Satet. [256] The Eleventh Dynasty temple was enlarged, made of mud brick and limestone by Mentuhotep II and III. Senusret I constructed the first all limestone temple in the Twelfth Dynasty. Hatshepsut built the remarkable Eighteenth Dynasty temple, with Thutmose III completing the West Wall and the other columns. This temple is unusual in design to accommodate a shaft in the center of the temple (Room E), which went straight down 16 meters to the original predynastic temple altar. Wells has studied the extensive astronomical and calendric features of this structure, its axial alignment to the winter solstice and special relationship of Satet to the heliacal rising of Sothis (Sirius), heralding the annual Nile inundation and opener of the New Year. [257] Finally, Ptolemy II built a completely new temple again in 280 BC. [258]

253 KRI I Translations (1993), 57.

254 D. Raue, "Who was who in Elephantine in the third Millennium BC?" British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 9 (2008), 2. "... working with the Swiss Institute of Architectural Research and Archaeology since 1969."

255 Lecture by Wolfgang Mayer given on June 23, 2002 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York provided the history of the Satet Temple outlined below.

256 R. Wells, "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: A Direst Connection" SAK 12 (1985), 258.

257 Ibid., 255-302 and R. Wells, "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: An Egyptian 'Stonehenge'" BSAK 4 (1980), 105-115.

258 Ibid., 288.

Moreover, similarities of the Osireion's Central Hall to the Fourth Dynasty structures at Giza, especially the Temple of the Sphinx and Chephren's Valley Temple noted by earlier Egyptologists look to be superficial due to the incomplete state of the intended decoration program.[259] Traces of the cartooned drawings on a column on the island and partially completed inscribed reliefs of Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead and the figures of the Litany of Re on the architraves (Plates 317, 318, 319) and the decorated East Wall (Plate 298), if completed, would have provided a very different appearance and feel than the Fourth Dynasty monuments. Brand's observation that it was only in the Memphite region and nowhere else in Egypt did the Fourth Dynasty pharaohs build their enormous structures, granite temples and pyramids further discredits a connection to the Old Kingdom.[260]

In the case of Naville's evidence of only a partial copy of the very important Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead being proof that Seti's work was made to fit a pre-existing structure is misleading.[261] Later scholarship, notably Allen's analysis of BD 17, clearly shows that the chapter is composed of two distinct parts.[262] The first part, the speech of the sun god, is the only part germane to the ritual sequence unfolding in this part of the Sloping Passage and so it is complete here. It concerns Re's journey, accompanied by pharaoh as the living Horus, to the eastern horizon.[263] The second part, the address of the deceased to Re is not relevant to the royal ritual portrayed here and is, therefore, logically omitted.

"Some indirect evidence for the presence of an earlier building behind the Seti temple is sometimes considered to exist in Professor Petrie's theory as to the original plan of Seti's temple. According to this view the plan of the temple as we know it is a secondary distortion of that which was originally made, and the rooms that now form the southern wing of the temple were meant to follow in the main axis behind what is now its most westerly room. This change of plan would have been caused by the fact that Seti's builders found an older building in the place of the Cenotaph when they started to lay the foundations for the back of the temple. The 'original plan' which this hypothesis would accept is little in keeping with that found in other temples in Egypt. We never find an important group of rooms, such as the 'Slaughtering Hall' and the 'Hall of the Barques', interposed between the chapel and the back wall of the temple; if there are any rooms at all they are few and secondary, such as magazines for cult

259 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 23 note 2 cites: E. Naville, JEA 1 (1914), 166; G. Jequier, Manuel d'Archeologie Egyptienne I (1924), 153; H. Kees, Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen (1956); W.B. Kristensen, Life out of Death. Studies on the Religions of Egypt and of Ancient Greece (1992); W. Wreszinski, Bericht ueber Photographische Expedition, 1927, 47; in addition, R. Clark, Myth and Symbol (1959), 131 citing Kees; Egypt Exploration Society, The Excavation of the Osireion at Abydos (1925), 4 for a Dynasty 12 dating; same for W. F. Petrie, Notes and News, Ancient Egypt (1922), 31.

260 P. Brand, private communication (June, 2011).

261 E. Naville, "Excavations at Abydos – the Osireion" in F. Griffith, Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report 1911-1912, 4.

262 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 31; more recently, H. Willems, "The Embalmer Embalmed, Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins" in J. van Dijk, Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde (1997), 361-372.

263 H. Willems, "The Embalmer Embalmed" (1997), 361-362. See n. 262 above.

objects. That the rooms which actually form the western section of the temple were meant to occupy that innermost position from the beginning is, moreover, probable from the fact that they seem of a particularly sacred character, some of the Osiris mysteries being displayed in their reliefs. It seems hardly likely that a 'processional way' led through them, as is assumed in Professor Petrie's reconstruction of the plan on one main axis. Obviously our objections to that reconstruction are based on some analogies which are not entirely safe, because the Abydos temple is in any case abnormal in that it possesses seven chapels in a row. This very arrangement, however, may explain why it was necessary to build the southern wing, because the rooms which are situated in that wing find elsewhere – in Seti's own temple in Gurna, for instance – a place on either side of the chapel. In any case, whatever views one may hold of the original plan of the temple, the matter is too uncertain to justify us in invoking as its explanation the existence of an earlier building on the site of the Cenotaph, for there is not a single fragment found on the site, nor a feature in the building, to support that claim."[264]

Some twenty-five years after Frankfort's excavations were completed, in 1955, a large group of mudbrick magazines and a Reception Hall, 13.5 x 16.0 meters, with ten limestone columns and a limestone dais were uncovered in front of the southern wing of Seti's temple.[265] (Plate 21) With the inclusion of the "palace wing", the unusual shape attributed to Seti's temple created by the southern wing no longer appears to be unusual, as it forms a perfect rectangle when the whole complex is taken into consideration as shown in Plate 19. This additional discovery further undermines the theory that the southern wing had to be relocated when the builders unexpectedly ran into the hypothesized ancient structure behind the temple. As does the fact that the main temple axis that runs through the center chapel of Amen-Re aligns directly with that of the Central Hall of the Osireion. This indicates that if there had been an older structure there at all, it had to have been known before the start of the construction of the main temple.

After some hundred years of scholarly debate, it seemed as if the answer was finally to be at hand. In 2012, the SCA in cooperation with James S. Westerman, a Chicago engineer, attempted to drain a section of the canal surrounding the island in the Central Hall to inspect the foundation for the platform that supports the island. If successful, this could have provided the answer as to whether: it is built directly on the "gebel moiya" layer as Frankfort had proposed; on a platform of Nineteenth Dynasty sandstone blocks; or on the kernel of a more, or possibly much more, ancient structure as Westerman suspects.[266] Unfortunately, they were only able to lower the water level by about 4 meters (13 feet) before the upward water pressure overwhelmed the pumps. For details see http://jameswesterman.org

As exciting as the prospects for a resolution of this issue would have been, the focus of this study is on the design, function and use of the Osireion as planned by Seti I.

264 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 24-25. Also see https://isida-project.org/egypt_april_2018/osirion_en.htm

265 E. Ghazouli, "The Palace and Magazines Attached to the Temple of Sety I at Abydos and the Facade of this Temple" ASAE 58 (1964), 99-186.

266 J. Westerman, "Exploring the Osireion – Underwater Archaeology in the Desert" (2011). Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in Chicago. H. Frankfort, "Preliminary Report of the Expedition to Abydos 1925-6" JEA 12 (1926), 161. "At a depth of about 24 feet below the ledge however we struck what the natives call gebel moiya..."

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

2.1 OVERVIEW AND ANCIENT NAMES

The Osirieon is dedicated to the god Osiris as is indicated by its name 'Beneficial is Menmaatre for Osiris', *ꜣḫ Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ n Wsjr*. It formed an integral part of the greater temple complex of Seti I's Abydene 'Mansion of Millions of Years', *ḥwt nt ḥḥw m rnpwt*.[1] (Plates 53, 54) As discussed above in 1.4, it is a recreation of the *ḏuat.* Its restoration was necessitated by the fact that both the *ḏuat* and its ruler, Osiris, had been abolished by the heretic Akhenaten.

The Osireion lies completely within the main temenos wall of Seti's temple complex with its only entrance located in the notional west wall near the southern end. (Plate 19) Its axial alignment, cardinal orientation, and placement within the Abydene landscape reveal key aspects of its intended function. The main temple's axis and that of the Central Hall of the Osireion are oriented 36 degrees East of North. [2] It is unfortunate that all major publications of Seti's temple complex and the Osireion chose local north based on the river orientation at Abydos rather then true north, which was used by the ancient Egyptians. [3] (Plate 20 see Key) This proves to be a source of constant confusion which can be outright misleading at times. Therefore, I use the term, notional, to indicate the cardinal direction that the ancient Egyptians intended. Take for example, the location of the entrance archway to the Osireion. Frankfort states that it is "in the bottom of the temenos wall near its north-western corner."[4]

1 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 92 and plates. XC, XCII. P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 155, 174. For similarly named temples built by Seti I, see above 1.4.

2 J. Belmonte and M. Shaltout (eds.), In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 348-349. For its alignment to Luxor Temple and significance, see above 1.4.

3 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III (1969), 16.
" The one block in situ [on ceiling in Second Osiris Hall] of the northern constellation panel establishes that true north was observed and not the river orientation followed by Miss Calverley in her publication. [The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos I-IV (1933-1958)]", following M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933) etc. Further confirmation is found by the positioning of the three Nut figures and accompanying texts on the ceilings of the two transverse halls in the Osireion as well as the placement of the hours in the Book of Gates and the divisions of the Book of Caverns in the Entrance Passage.

4 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 9.

Whereas, it is actually in the notional west wall near its notional southern end. Thus the alignment of the entrance passage, like both transverse halls in the Osireion and the Osiris Complex in the main temple runs from notional west to notional east according to the ancient Egyptian design. In other words, they follow the path of the sun on its nightly journey as it sets in the western horizon and travels through the *ḏuat* and rises again in the east. This is not at all apparent from the north-south orientation assigned to it by Frankfort, et alia. Furthermore, recognizing that the Entrance Archway's location is in the notional western wall near its notional southern end has significant implications as well, when viewed in terms of the annual course of the sun along the ecliptic. When the sun reaches the southernmost point along the path of the ecliptic, it marks the winter solstice and the beginning of a new annual solar cycle. The positioning of the texts in the Entrance Passage by the ancient Egyptians further support that this orientation was intentional. [5] Thus, by the location of the entrance to the Osireion within the temple complex we have a subtle but clear reference here not just to the nightly solar journey but also to its annual cycle as well. Again, if one were to follow Frankfort's suggested designation for the cardinal directions using north instead of west as the ancient Egyptians had clearly intended, the reference to both the nightly course of the sun and its annual cycle could be completely missed. They are extremely important to the understanding of the decoration program and function of the Osireion.

With respect to the overall architectural design of Seti's Abydene complex, O'Connor's comments provide a valuable perspective. “Significant aspects of the plans of both the Osireion and the temple underline the relationship between them. [Plate 19] For example, both are L-shaped, and the Osireion's access tunnel is almost exactly the same length as the distance between the temple's pylon and the seven barque chapels, reminding us that both are essentially access routes to a sacred core, i.e. respectively, the barque chapels with the Osiris Complex behind, and the Osireion itself. Moreover, the short 'foot' of the L in both cases (i.e. the Osireion, and the annexe) are almost identical in overall size and proportions, as well as linked in a conceptual way. In the annexe, the cults of Sokar and Nefertem are highlighted, while the burial chamber in the royal tomb (to which the Osireion is an equivalent) was associated with the 'Cavern of Sokar' at the heart of the netherworld, and also had scenes celebrating the solar rebirth of king, an event associated with Nefertem.” [6]

The sheer size of the Osireion complex attests to its importance. Its design is unlike any other temple, and as such is no ordinary temple. [7] In fact, it is unique. Its architectural features and ritual function are discussed at length in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. The Osireion served a specific ritual function in

5 For example, take the placement of the hours of the Book of Gates along the notional southern wall of the Entrance Passage. The First Hour is located nearest the Entrance Archway in the notional west, the place of sunset. The hours then are laid out sequentially through the Twelfth Hour with the Final Scene at the far notional eastern end of the Entrance Passage which opens into the Antechamber, the place of sunrise. This sequential ordering of the hours is rarely the case in the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. See below 3.2.

6 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 51.

7 In a paper delivered in 2002 at Leiden, von Lieven was the first publicly to correctly identify and classify the Osireion as a temple and not a cenotaph (for Seti I) or the tomb (of Osiris). Having arrived at the same conclusion independently, I was gratified to see such a well respected scholar come to the same conclusion. I would like to thank her for her kindness in providing me with a draft of her article “Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos” that was later published in B. Haring, A. Kling (eds). 6. Agyptolische Tempeltagung (2007) , 167-186.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

the cult of Osiris throughout the course of the year. But, the daily cult, "the backbone of liturgical activity in Egyptian temples", [8] does not appear to have been performed for Osiris in the Osireion. [9] Rather it was performed in his Chapel adjacent to that of Amen-Re in the Mansion of Millions of Years and in the First Osiris Hall behind it, [10] suggesting that the Osiris Complex and the Osireion together formed an integral unit in the cult of Osiris.

There are three known references to the Osireion from ancient times. The first is its name found on an ostraca when the building was under construction: (Plates 53, 54)

> "What is dragged from the Quay of the Castle [Fortress] of Menmaatre
> to the south of 'Menmaatre is Serviceable [Beneficial] to Osiris."[11]

The second is a hieratic graffiti Dyn. XXII? in the Entrance Passage: (Plate 52)

> "... and his companion the scribe Pedamun of the Temple of Osiris,
> who came to see the underground crypt of King Menmaatre l.p.h.
> *tꜣ štꜣj n dꜣt* (lit.) "hidden place/chamber of the underworld."[12]

The third is a hieratic graffiti Dyn. XXI? also in the Entrance Passage: (Plate 52)

> "Homage to <thee>, Isis in the Birth-House!
> Osiris, Horus, and Isis
> may they cause to endure the names of the scribe(s)..."[13]

8 R. Egberts "Action, Speech, and Interpretation: Some Reflections of the Classification of Ancient Egyptian Liturgical Texts" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Egyptologists (1998), 360.

9 While there are clearly major offering scenes in the Osireion, the ritual cycles and, most importantly, the time of performances at night suggest that the daily cult was performed in the main temple.

10 David raised the issue that argued that "it is a debatable point whether Osiris, as a god of the dead ever received a morning ritual in the same way as the other gods, in this or any other temple. It is arguable that the Chapel of Osiris served merely as the only means of access to the Osiris Complex as a whole and that its decoration in this manner was performed solely for reasons of symmetry." R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981) 74. David apparently appears to have backed off this position since later she wrote. "In the sanctuary area of the temple, the priests performed the Daily Temple Ritual in six shrines which were all dedicated to Gods- the two triads of imperial Ramesside gods (Atum, Re-Horakhti, and Ptah) and the Osirian family of Osiris, Isis and Horus." R. David, Religion and Magic in Ancient Egypt (2002), 253. Eaton in her in depth analysis recognized that the Daily Ritual and Ancestor Ritual formed a core or base ritual upon which other rituals would expand, with respect to the Chapels in Seti's temple she observed: "The only deities who are depicted receiving their daily ritual alongside other deities are Re-Horakhti, in whose case the 'other deities' depicted are various forms of the sun god; and Osiris. In the Osiris Chapel and the First Osiris Hall, many deities received the Daily Ritual and Ancestor Ritual with the Abydene Triad." K. Eaton, The Ritual Function of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), PhD. Dissertation, 240.

11 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 92, Plates XC, XCII.

12 H. Frankfort, Cenotaph (1933) 88, Plates LXXXVIII, XCI.

13 H. Frankfort, Cenotaph (1933) 89, Plates LXXXVIII, XCI.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

This last designation as will be shown provides a vital clue to the ultimate function of the Osireion. [14]

"In the birth house (Arabic mammisi), the birth of a juvenile god was celebrated in the form of a mystery drama or nativity play that identified the young deity with the rising sun. The celebration of the divine birth therefore assumed 'cosmic dimensions'. The concept of the infant god and the daily rebirth of the sun encouraged an equation between the young king and the eternal renewal of kingship. The birth house could therefore be understood in the wider sense as a royal cult chapel. Simple (but lost) forerunners of this temple type seem to have existed since the Ramesside period." [15] Specifically here, it is "Isis in the Birth House." Therefore, the birth of a juvenile god which was celebrated in the form of a mystery drama is Horus and as such, most certainly, has cosmic dimensions. The concept of the infant god Horus and the daily rebirth of the sun, Re-Horakhti, (lit.) 'Re-Horus of the Two Horizons' encouraged an equation between the young king, the living Horus, and the eternal renewal of kingship. This Birth House of Isis in every sense is a forerunner of this temple type at the beginning of the Ramesside Period.

The Birth House "is a special, independent structure located within the temple precincts [as is the Osireion].... Symbolically, these structures may be seen to be related to the birth rooms which were dedicated to the divine conception and birth of kings [the Living Horus] in some New Kingdom temples [Luxor for example]. Though the focus on the birth of a god is clearly primary in mammisi, the divine relationship of the king to the gods is also frequently stressed."[16] As will be shown, it is most certainly the emphasis in the Osireion.

The Osireion Complex consists of a vast subterranean series of passages and chambers. (Plates 24, 31) Although generally believed to have never been completed, Frankfort, who excavated the structure, concluded that it was intended "to be covered over entirely and completely". [17] But he did acknowledge that "allowing for activities of the stone plunderers, and those of the different expeditions which excavated at intervals, it is impossible to be very definite about the state of completion in which the building was left by Seti or Merenptah; it seems likely however that all the passages and rooms and part of the Central Hall had been roofed over". [18]

14 See below 5.5 and 5.6.

15 D. Arnold, Temples of the Last Pharaohs (1999), 285-286.

16 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt (2000), 73.

17 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 12. See below discussion in 6.1.

18 Ibid., 13.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

Above the subterranean structure an even larger area appears to have been sectioned off from the rest of the temple precinct by an inner enclosure wall. (Plate 25) Because of its size and the enormous amount of debris that Mariette had dumped in the area behind the Mansion of Millions of Years in his clearance of that temple,[19] this area has never been properly explored. Thus, the full extent and possible structures within the inner enclosure wall are yet to be determined. However, with what sketchy features that are known and some intriguing clues, a general, albeit very preliminary reconstruction of this very important sacred precinct can be determined and is presented in Chapter 6.

2.2 SUBTERRANEAN STRUCTURE – A TRULY FASCINATING PLACE

Like ancient Egyptian art, their architecture can express multiple levels of meaning as well. The subterranean portion of the complex consists of six main chambers and passages. (Plate 24) In addition, there is a small annex to the Antechamber located its notional eastern side. (Plate 30) In the Central Hall, there are seventeen smaller niches or cells, using Frankfort's terminology, that surround the island. (Plate 44) There is a clear division of the structure into two parts, an upper half and the lower half, separated by a descending passage which Frankfort called the Sloping Passage.[20] (Plate 40) The zig-zagged shape of the Sloping Passage brings to mind the layout of the Fourth Hour of Amduat, specifically the lower portion, which separates the upper *ḏuat* from the lower *ḏuat.* (Plate 330) The Central Hall with its island surrounded by water is a recreation of the Fifth Hour of Amduat, where the Cavern of Sokar deep inside a large mound is also surrounded by water. (Plate 338) The island represents the primeval hill Tatenen, the rising or distinct land of the first occasion. Inside the island, there is an inaccessible and therefore hidden and mysterious cavity like the Cavern of Sokar itself.[21] However, because of surrounding water, for what was to be depicted inside the island, the ancient Egyptian builders had to construct a chamber behind the island for this purpose. It is the Second Transverse Hall, which Frankfort called the Sarcophagus Chamber.[22] (Plates 41, 44)

19 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933) 1.

20 Ibid., 15.

21 Ibid., 28. See below for the detection of the cavity in the island in 2008.

22 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 21.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

The intervening First Transverse Hall, as does Chamber Jb in the Tomb of Amenhotep II (KV 35), separates the Sloping Passage and end of the Forth Hour of Amduat from the Central Hall and the Fifth Hour. (Plate 334) It represents the Hall of Two Truths as will be demonstrated in chapter five. Embedded in the architectural design of the lower half of the Osireion there is the earliest of the Underworld Books, Amduat, called 'Treatise of the Hidden Chamber' by the ancient Egyptians. [23] Only included are the portions pertaining to the very depths of the *ḏuat*, where the lower *ḏuat* meets the dark watery abyss of the Nun at the Place of Destruction and where transfiguration begins. It is here that cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, arises out of *ḏt* time, at the beginning of creation.

The upper half of the subterranean complex is also composed of two halves, the Entrance Passage and the Antechamber. (Plates 24, 40) As will be shown, the decoration of this part of the upper half, that is the Entrance Passage, is also divided into two halves, known as the Book of Caverns, a composition set in *ḏt* time.[24] Importantly, this halving process utilized in the architectural design and decoration of the Osireion is the basic underlying pattern of the reconstitution of the six parts of the Udjat-eye, the restored Eye of Horus which Horus then gives to his father Osiris to revivify him. It unfolds in a geometrical progression of 1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, 1/64 and serves to reconcile the monthly lunar cycle with the civil calendar of 30-day months, the two key methods used by the ancient Egyptians for the measurement of time, which also arose out of *zp tpj*, the first occasion. Thus, it would appear that the architectural design of the Osireion into two halves with its six main passages and chambers mimics the structure of the Book of Caverns, set in *ḏt*-time, and where the transformations at the heart of the Osiris Mysteries occur. Here, the division into two halves would correspond to the Entrance Passage, Antechamber and Sloping Passage constituting the upper *ḏuat* or upper half and the two Transverse Halls and Central Hall, the lower *ḏuat*. As such, it has significant lunar associations. [25]

The notional west to east axis on which the Entrance Passage, Antechamber and smaller Annex lie replicates the nightly course of the sun god through the *ḏuat*. (Plate 30) The axis shifts 90 degrees to a notional south to north alignment for the Sloping Passage and Central Hall and shares the same axis as the main temple, specifically that of its Central Chapel dedicated to Amen-Re, King of the Gods.

Placing the vast size of this subterranean complex in perspective highlights the immensity of this undertaking and attests to its great importance.[26] Seti's royal tomb (KV17) is one of the largest, longest and first completely decorated tomb in the Valley of the Kings. It is 137.2 m (452 ft) in length.[27]

23 T. Abt, E. Hornung, Knowledge for the Afterlife: the Egyptian Amduat (2003), 20.

24 See below 4.3.

25 See below 4.4 and 5.6.

26 Measurements of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings are those of the Theban Mapping Project (www.thebanmappingproject.com), Osireion measurements are based on scale drawings and text in H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933) excavation report.

27 The length does not include the recently cleared 135 m (443 ft) tunnel which leads down from chamber J. The unfinished chamber at its end may well have been intended to be the original burial chamber as Cross has suggested in S. Cross, “An Alabaster Coffin and Sety I's Last Secret” Ancient Egypt (February/March 2010), 28.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

The total area is 649 sq. m (7068 sq. ft). (Plate 57) The spectacular burial chamber (Chamber J) is 126.5 sq. m (1,378 sq. ft) alone. In comparison, the length of the Entrance Passage to the rear of the Annex is 145 m (479 ft), greater than that of Seti's entire tomb. The Osireion's Central Hall and adjoining Second Transverse Hall behind it, encompasses an area slightly larger then Seti's entire tomb at 656 sq. m (7,144 sq. ft). The island in the Central Hall alone is more then twice the size of Seti's burial chamber 264 sq. m (2,842 sq. ft). The Osireion is almost exactly twice the size of his royal tomb but its layout is quite different. (compare Plate 24 and 57) Seti followed Horemheb's new design for royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. It bears no relationship in design to that of the Osireion, the so-called Cenotaph of Seti I. In fact, the only similarities are: (1) they are both subterranean; (2) decorated in part with underworld books and; (3) there is a clear division of both structures into two parts, representing the upper and lower *ḍuat.* However, it will be shown that their functions differed.

The design of the earlier 18th Dynasty royal tomb of Amenhotep II (KV35) has been compared with that of the Osireion.[28] (Plate 55) But it is roughly only a quarter the size of the Osireion at 363 sq. m (3,907 sq. ft) and its entire decorated portion, the burial Chamber J is only the size of the second Transverse Hall. The chief characteristics of the early 18th Dynasty royal tombs were their perceived likeness to the *ḍuat*[29] and that they were decorated with the earliest of the royal underworld books, Amduat (lit. 'What is in the *ḍuat*'). Ramesses II utilized a similar design for his royal tomb, (Plate 56) choosing not to follow the design of his father's innovative tomb. This proved to be the last of the "Amduat type" tombs to be constructed in the Valley of Kings and also the largest at 868.4 sq. m (9,347 sq. ft). But even at that, it is still only about two-thirds the size of the Osirieon. In fact, only the vast royal tomb complex built by Ramesses II for his sons (KV5) is comparable in size at 1,266.5 sq. m (13,632 sq. ft), but is completely different in layout and function. (Plate 60)

O'Connor's comments regarding the tomb of Osiris in nearby Umm el-Qaab are revealing. "The subterranean shrine of Osiris, accessible to priests and perhaps very distinguished visitors must have been a fascinating place. The floorspace in Djer's tomb was about 156 sq. m (1,677 sq. ft)..."[30] Yet, by comparison, it is not even one-eighth the size of the Osirieon and has less then 60% of the floorspace of the island in the Central Hall alone, making the Osirieon a truly fascinating place. (Plates 13,14,15)

Approximately 48 m (160 ft) from the notional southern edge of the notional western temenos wall (plates 24, 45) at a distance of about 20 m (66 ft) in front of the wall in "the hard marl of the desert is a roughly cut stepped slope, which at a distance of 8.50 m [28 ft] ends in a vertical drop, where the entrance shaft to the Osireion starts. (Plate 47) It is 3.25 m [10.7 ft] wide and 4.70 m [15.4 ft] deep."[31]

28 First noted by H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 11-21.

29 Also commonly referred to in the literature as the Underworld or Netherworld.

30 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 134.

31 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 13.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

The vertical shaft leads down to the Entrance Archway, so that even the entrance to the Osireion was subterranean and as such in the Underworld (*duat*). (Plates 46, 47) "The temenos wall stands up 9.20 m [30 ft] above the door-sell."[32] (Plate 45) Interestingly, Wilkinson made an observation about the structural layout of the Nineteenth Dynasty royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings that is relevant here. He correctly recognized that the well shaft at the threshold of the inner half of the tomb forms the main dividing point between the realms of Re and Osiris, and that the inner half was viewed as the heart of the Underworld and was clearly under the control of the god Osiris and associated chthonic deities.[33] The shaft here at the entrance to the Osireion could be viewed as serving this same function, where the subterranean portion of the Osireion complex is the domain of Osiris, Foremost of the West and Ruler of the *Duat.*

"A brick vault, continuing that of the entrance arch, forms the beginning of the entrance passage for 32 meters [105 ft]. Then sandstone walls start up, without any transition or door-way, the bricks coming straight up to the stone.[34] (Plate 50) It seems that the passage, like the Central Hall, had a limestone casing, and blocks of this are still standing for four courses above the top of the passage walls, filling up the space between the sandstone walls and the cutting in the desert."[35] The downward sloping Entrance Passage runs for another 86.5 m (285 ft) to the entrance of the Antechamber and was originally completely decorated. The total length of the Entrance Passage (including the vaulted brick archway) to the Antechamber is 118.5 m (390 ft). (Plates 48, 49) "The width of this passage is 2.70 m [9 ft] and the height 2.85 m [9.4 ft]."[36] From a construction standpoint and not from the point of the decoration program, the Annex "is in its measure a continuation of the entrance passage, and the large one [Antechamber] is only a widening of the same before it turns sharply to the east [notional north] and becomes the 'Sloping Passage'.... (Plate 30) The small room [Annex] was roofed with a pitch-roof... It appears most likely that the whole entrance passage has been roofed with beams similar to those used in the small southern [notional east] room. This would have brought the straight wall on the north [notional west] of the large room [Antechamber], where the last roofing beam of the passage would lie, up to 4.4 m [14.5 ft], the height of the other three walls; it would also provide an excellent fit with the brick arch, the top of the pitch-roof, as revealed by the south [notional east] wall of the small chamber [Annex], being exactly as high above the floor as the top of the brick vault at the north [notional west] end of the passage [its entrance]. Finally, there is at one point on the east [notional north] wall of the passage a minute fragment of a roofing-block left cemented on the wall, which shows that the roof sloped upwards at a 71 degree angle with the horizontal, the same angle, in fact, as the triangle on the south [notional east] wall of the small room [Annex] shows. The roof was apparently yellow sandstone, and seems to have displayed the cartouches of Merenptah in bands surrounded with the names of stars, as a few stray fragments would suggest."[37] The wall decoration survived in far

32 Ibid., 13. For the details of the temenos wall see: A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902), 11-13.

33 R. Wilkinson, "The Motif of the Path of the Sun in Ramesside Royal Tombs" JSSEA 25 (1995), 78-81.

34 See below 2.5 for the symbolic significance of this design feature.

35 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 14.

36 Ibid., 14.

37 Ibid., 15.

better condition allowing for the identification of all the texts in the Entrance Passage, Annex, and Antechamber with the exception of the notional north wall leading into the Sloping Passage which was destroyed in antiquity.

"The sloping passage leading to the Central Hall measures 14 m [46 ft] by 2.60 m [8.5 ft] by 3.05 (height) [10 ft]. It slopes down towards the east [notional north] at an angle of about 15 degrees [Plates 51, 268]. It starts, however, with a horizontal piece of 1.20 m [4 ft] and ends also with a horizontal piece of 2.40 m [8 ft].... At the eastern [notional northern] end there are traces of a doorway." [38] The ceiling was decorated with a decan star table where a portion still exists in situ on the lintel at the upper end of the passage. (Plate 266) The wall decoration is largely in tact with a couple of large gaps, but the texts are easily identifiable as are the associated vignettes in the register above the texts. The Sloping Passage opens into a Transverse Hall.

This First Transverse Hall is 27.15 m (90 ft) by 5.25 m (17 ft) wide and had a more pronounced pitch-roof than that in the Entrance Passage and Annex. Nothing remains of the decoration of this Hall save "one remaining roofing-stone in the north-east [notional north-west] corner of the Transversal Room [which] shows faint traces of the head of a figure of Nut with arms outstretched towards the earth, a ship sailing forth and swimmers, such as are shown in the tomb of Ramses IV. The background is painted in red, with darker red spots." [39]

A large doorway in the center of the notional north wall of the First Transverse Hall leads into the Central Hall. It is 3.65 m (12 ft) long and constructed of red sandstone. "On this doorway some small painted fragments of the texts from the Book of the Dead [BD 183] are preserved."[40]

The Central Hall would have been a magnificent structure, unique in its design. (Plates 291, 44, 293) It is 31 m (102 ft) long by 17 m (56 ft) wide. The red sandstone walls are unfinished. However, "all the walls were to be smoothed and covered with sculptures, like the east [notional north] wall (Plate 298) and the southern [notional eastern] architraves: (Plates 317, 318, 319) in fact, the western [notional southern] face of the middle [granite] pillar in the southern [notional eastern] row still shows traces of the sculptor's sketch in red ink, which was preliminary to the cutting; it represents a kneeling male figure, in all probability the king."[41] (Plates 43, 44) It faces the center of a large rectangular cut out in the center of the floor of the island.

38 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 15-16. This error in measurement is sufficiently large to render any attempt to convert into Royal Cubits futile, which is most unfortunate. In O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, EAT I (1960), 34, the measured length of the Sloping Passage at 14.34 m not 14.0 as Frankfort had indicated. Note that the architectural features of the stepped top and bottom of the Sloping passage plus traces of the doorway provide the basis for equating the Sloping Passage with the lower portion of the Fourth Hour of Amduat cited earlier.

39 Ibid., 16. For the figure of Nut in the tomb of Ramses IV see M. Lefebere, Les Hypogees Royaux de Thebes III (1889) pl. 27. This composition today is known as the Book of the Night and is also found in the same location in the Second Transverse Hall. (Plate 380)

40 Ibid., 16.

41 Ibid., 17.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

"On each of the long sides of the Hall there are six cells; two more are on the west [notional south], and three on the east [notional north] side. They measure 1.98 [6.5 ft] by 2.15 [7 ft] by a height of 2.00 m [6.6ft]. (Plate 43) They are entirely bare, and obviously not finished. The doorways were meant to be surrounded by a pylon-shaped door-frame, worked out in relief when the stones were finally dressed. This is shown on the southern [notional eastern] wall. Inside the cutting into which the door (which would open outwards) was to be fitted, there are in the two upper corners hollows to take the pin of the door-leaves, which could thus be lifted into their place."[42] There are seventeen cells in total surrounding the island. The number is significant and by design. It is a number sacred to the cult of Osiris.

The island is 22 m (73 ft) long and 12 m (40 ft) wide, more than twice the size of Seti's magnificent Sarcophagus Chamber in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings. "Round the island runs a ledge similar to that in front of the cells of the outer walls of the Hall. It is, however, interrupted in the middle of the east [notional north] and the west [notional south] sides by two narrow and somewhat rough stairways, which descend in eleven and twelve steps respectively for 3.15 m (10.3 ft) ending in a broader step from which there is a dead drop to the channel. (Plates 292, 294) These steps are as little finished as the rest of the Island; in fact, it seems that there was no time to cut all the steps on the west, and the two at the top were merely indicated by a removal of the stone over about a third of the breadth which they were ultimately to have. For these steps are all cut out into blocks of the island. They are uneven, and on an average 0.20 m (8 inches) to 0.25 m (10 inches) deep and wide. The eastern [notional north] bottom step is however, 0.90 m (3 ft), the western [notional south] 0.65 m (2.1 ft) wide."[43] In addition centered on the main axis of the Central Hall (Plate 43), two spaces have been cut out of the island's floor. The larger rectangular one is 4.27 m (14 ft) long by 2.23 m (7.4 ft) wide and 0.52 m (1.7 ft) deep. The smaller square one is 2.13 m (7 ft) sq. by 0.52 m (1.7 ft) deep, separated from the northern staircase by only 0.3 m (1 ft).[44] (Plates 294, 295)

There are 10 large granite pillars which were to support the roof. "The rose granite architraves rest upon the pillars, and upon piers which jut out from the east [notional north] and west [notional south] walls of the Central Hall. They supported the roofing-slabs which rested on the north [notional west] or the south [notional east] wall of the Hall, and further projected over the middle aisle with a slanting piece, which is preserved in the last stone on the north [notional west] side, while in the corresponding place opposite clear traces of a similar stone are still to be seen."[45] (Plates 294, 293)

Seismic surveys conducted in May 2008 by Penn State University show: (1) that the island is not solid block, indicating that there is a cavity or cavities inside the island; and (2) the depth to the base of

42 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 17.

43 Ibid., 17.

44 Ibid., 17.

45 Ibid., 18.

the island and the surrounding water is approximately 15 meters (49 ft).[46]

The water surrounding the island was a key component in the design of the Central Hall. It's presence like that of the island were necessary to express the cosmogonic concept of the first occasion, *zp tpj*. According to Frankfort, the water level in Seti's time would at its highest been about level with the lowest steps on the island.[47]

The last of the six main chambers and passages of the Osireion lies behind the Central Hall. Its entrance is through the center cell in the notional north wall of the Central Hall. Frankfort wrote: "It is difficult to decide whether the Sarcophagus Room was intended to have an entrance. One enters nowadays through the middle cell in the east [notional north] wall of the Central Hall; and above that 'entrance' to the Sarcophagus Room there is, indeed, a larger stone than those used in the corresponding places of the two cells on either side, which do not open into the Sarcophagus Chamber. One is tempted to see in the large stone of the middle cell an architrave for a doorway. Even so, however, it is not certain that a permanent doorway was intended; for in any case some kind of an opening was necessary to allow the craftsmen to enter the Sarcophagus Room, where even now the reliefs are not finished. One wonders whether the narrow opening under the so-called architrave is anything but a temporary entrance, meant to be eventually walled up; for the opening is actually not in the center of the cell, (Plate 129) and shows not a single sign to suggest that the rough blocks would eventually be worked into a proper doorway. The top on the south side is broken off. When discovered in 1914, this entrance into the Sarcophagus Chamber was found filled up with white limestone blocks, such as are used in the retaining walls above, etched out with mud bricks."[48] It will be demonstrated that the use of rough blocks, broken off and off center, was a deliberate part of the original design of the entrance into this final chamber, just as were the rough cut and seemingly unfinished stairs leading up from the water to the top of the island. They are similar to another architectural feature found in the Entrance Passage to the Osireion. The three express symbolically the nature of the realm to which they serve as an entry way.

The Second Transverse Hall is 27.15 m (90 ft) long and 4.75 m (15.7 ft) wide.[49] It is 1410 sq. ft, a little less than half that of the 2920 sq. ft of the island in the Central Hall. Only scant traces of its wall texts remain. (Plate 359) However, most of the ceiling texts have survived and are all identified.

"In the northern [notional western] end of the east [notional north] wall of the Sarcophagus room a hole was broken. (Plate 129) This was done from the inside of the room, for below it the scratched line is still visible which outlined where the stone was to be taken away. The hole is about 1.60 m (5.1 ft) above ground, and about 0.70 m (2.3 ft) high and wide. It passes through the wall and outer limestone casing of the building, to a total depth of 2.80 m (9.1 ft), and ends in sand which comes pouring down when one attempts to remove it. It was apparently made by treasure hunters; and the reason why they

46 S. Alexander, "Summary of New Findings from Seismic Observations at Abydos" Geosciences, Penn State University (2008).

47 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, 20.

48 Ibid., 22.

49 Ibid., 21.

chose this point is not difficult to guess, for in the direction of the hole which they made they would come exactly underneath the remarkable two-storied 'room' in the north-west corner of the Seti temple to which there is no entrance at all. It does credit to the exact observation of these ancient robbers that they realized the correspondence. But their attempt to find a subterranean entrance and a treasure had to be given up, for the whole sand-bed upon which the Temple is built came pouring onto them."[50] The location of the opening relates to the decoration directly above it adding support for von Lieven's observations. "The entrance lies 1.6 m (5 ft) above the floor level of the chamber. The tunnel is carefully worked, a scratch line, that served as a guide for the stone mason can yet be seen. All of these characteristics that are also described by Frankfort, definitely would exclude his interpretation as a secondary 'robber's hole'. Actually, it seems certainly an element of the original plan, which would connect the Osireion with the Osiris Complex of the [main] temple. Whether this plan was completed, could be clarified through an additional excavation. If the conduit continued on a straight line as the existing portion suggests it would run directly under the floor of the three chapels of Isis, Seti-Osiris, and Horus."[51]

2.3 AUTHOR OF THE DECORATION PROGRAM

The brief description just provided of the physical layout and architectural features of the subterranean passages and chambers of the Osireion will take on meaning when placed in the context of its decoration program.

The identification of the original author has been resolved. According to Brand, "there is evidence that the decoration of the Cenotaph was largely, if not entirely, laid out in paint under Seti I.... In the reign of Merenptah most of the designs were converted into sunk relief.... Although Seti's name has been replaced by that of Merenptah in the rooms beyond the sarcophagus chamber, certain iconographic features of these tableaux point to Seti as their author. Throughout these scenes, many standing royal figures lean forward, while kneeling ones have their torsos inclined forward, often with knees splayed."[52] Both are hallmarks of Seti's portrayal of himself.[53] "With the accession of Ramesses II, the traditional erect posture seems to have reappeared almost immediately.... After Seti's reign, splayed-knee kneeling figures are less common."[54]

50 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 22.

51 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6 Agyptolische Tempeltagung (2007), 181. Author's translation.

52 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 177-178.

53 For examples, see my Plate 301 (Frankfort 1933, plate 73) and Plate 61 (Frankfort 1933, plate 50).

54 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 15 and 17.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

"Moreover, in one case Seti's name was written without a cartouche and this was overlooked when the sculptors replaced Seti's name with that of Merenptah."[55] This is in a text located in the Antechamber on the notional east wall and entrance to the Annex on the left side. (Plate 233) Another instance also occurs. "The Text on the west [notional south] wall of the entrance passage is identical, with a few minor variants, with that which is engraved on Seti's alabaster sarcophagus; and this text again contains Seti's name in one place, without a cartouche."[56] These two oversights provide valuable confirmations that Seti was indeed the author and had completed the decoration program at least in polychrome cartoon. Taken together with his cartouches found in the Second Transverse Hall, each of the three ritual sequences depicted in the Osireion are directly connected to Seti by name. "By the end of Seti's reign, construction of the Osireion was largely complete, with the tableaux laid out in polychrome throughout.... Years later, Merenptah began to convert the paintings into relief, after replacing cartouches of his grandfather with his own. Work reached the entrance corridor before the project was finally abandoned."[57] The fact that Merenptah replaced Seti's cartouches with his own even in the polychrome cartoons coupled with his efforts to finish carving the texts and reliefs indicate that the Osireion was a ritually functional cultic unit still in his reign as it most likely was in Seti's reign.

2.4 RITUAL CYCLES IN THE DECORATION PROGRAM OF THE OSIREION

To gain an understanding of the complex decoration program and related architectural features in the six main passages and chambers of the subterranean structure, it is most useful to analyze them in terms of the ritual cycles. They reveal the functions of the Osireion, which in turn explain why such an enormous effort was expanded to create this magnificent complex.

"The best way to study temple decoration is to read the temple texts, since the two form a type of closed system, both informing each other."[58] From a detailed analysis of the texts, textual fragments and decoration, I have determined that there are three well-defined ritual cycles. Each begins with the

55 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 178.

56 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 23 and plate 59.

57 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 178.

58 E. Cruze-Uribe, Hibis Temple Project III (1988), 3.

setting of the sun and was to be performed at specific times throughout the year. Briefly, there is a nightly ritual cycle following the course of the sun god through the *ḏuat.* There is a monthly ritual cycle for the Rites for the New Moon, which began on the night of last crescent visibility. Finally, there was the two-night annual rites performed on IIII *ꜣḫt* 30 (30 Khoiak) and I *prt* 1, enacting the climax of the Osiris Mysteries, the conception of Horus.

All were to restore what Akhenaten had abolished. All were deemed crucial to the restoration of *mꜣꜥt*. All were part of the necessary reconstruction of the first occasion, *zp tpj* as part of *wḥm mswt*, "the New Era" and Renaissance, which was the official state sanctioned program to reestablish maat and with it the legitimacy of the fledgling Nineteenth Dynasty.

Each will be discussed in detail. Following Hornung's advice to readers of his book, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Underworld, to begin with the Book of Gates,[59] I will begin with the ritual cycle of the sun god's nightly journey through the *ḏuat.* By starting with an analysis of the shortest and least complex of the three ritual cycles, it is hoped that the reader will be in a better position to grasp the structure underlying each of the three of what I have termed "ritual cycles" following Eaton's designation. [60] Furthermore, it is consistent with the internal pattern used in the Seti temple complex. As in the seven main chapels, the daily ritual to be enacted begins on the right side of the entrance to each chapel, just was the nightly journey of the sun god is depicted on the right side of the Entrance Passage in the Osireion.

First, however, the undecorated entranceway to the Osireion needs to be examined, where the architectural features provide the key to its interpretation.

2.5 SYMBOLISM ENCODED IN THE UNDECORATED ENTRANCEWAY

To the ancient Egyptians, an entranceway formed a transitional zone whether it be defined by a pylon, gate, door, tunnel, shaft or passage way. As Assmann recognized: "the gate is a most pregnant symbol of transition."[61] The ancient Egyptians viewed the cosmos as tripartite consisting of the

59 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 27.

60 K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual (2013), 19-20. "A ritual cycle is a group of ritual episodes read together as a unit... A ritual 'episode' is a single unit set apart by ancient Egyptian writers and artists... Ritual episodes depicted on temple walls are usually arranged in registers, set apart by ground lines. Within each register, vertical lines, often with columns of texts between, separate episodes."

61 J. Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt" in W. Simpson (ed.), Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt (1989), 147.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

sky/heavens, the earth and the *ḏuat.* [62] All were created on the first occasion, *zp tpj*. "The entrance to and exit from the *ḏuat* are not precisely at the visible horizon, where the sky seems to touch the earth. Rather, they lie somewhat below the apparent intersection of sky and earth. This explains why the sky remains light after sunset and becomes light before sunrise; the sun does not 'rest from life in the *ḏuat*' until 'her second hour of pregnancy' and is born some two hours before actual sunrise." [63]

The approach to the entrance of the Osireion starts outside the notional western temenos wall of Seti's temple complex where the hard marl of the open desert is roughly cut with a stepped slope for a distance of about 20 meters (60 ft) and ends with a 4.2 m (15 ft) vertical drop.[64] (Plates 45, 47) Here the image elicited, symbolically represents the chaotic conditions that exist outside of creation, long associated with the desert by the ancient Egyptians.[65] The shaft literally drops below the visible horizon leading to the entrance of the *ḏuat,* which is described in the opening texts of Amduat, "a Treatise of the Hidden Region"[66] as:

> "The beginning is the horn of the West,
> the gate of the western horizon." [67]

This gate of the western horizon is located at the bottom of the notional western temenos wall. Frankfort describes it: "Then five similar courses of the thin bricks made especially for the roofing of the arch. Their use as headers here is, of course, contrary to their nature, it extends only for the depth of one brick from the outer face of the wall, and serves merely an ornamental purpose."[68] As can be seen, (Plates 45, 46, 47) the construction and use of mud bricks of the ornamental roofing of the arch intentionally convey a crude and chaotic sense extending the image created by the rough cut steps in the opening desert to the gateway of the Osireion in the notional western temenos wall. Architecturally, then it represents the gate of the western horizon leading to the *ḏuat* (netherworld), which the ancient Egyptians considered to be located in the western desert. [69]

62 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988). 7. "Together, sky, land and Duat comprise the world of the ancient Egyptian - a kind of 'bubble' of air and light within the otherwise unbroken infinity of dark waters. These elements form the background to the Egyptian understanding of the cycle of life and human destiny, determined by the daily drama of sunset and sunrise. They are also the starting-point for all Egyptian speculation on the origins of the universe."

63 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 6. Commentary on and quotations from the Cenotaph of Seti I (Osireion) texts of the Book of Nut located on the ceiling in the Second Transverse Hall.

64 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I (1933), 13.

65 M. Lurker, The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt (1984), 46.

66 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 11.

67 Ibid., 12.

68 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I (1933), 13-14.

69 M. Lurker, The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt (1984), 46.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE OSIREION

It is here where in the first hour of the night according to the text in Amduat that:

> "This god [sun god] enters through the western gate of the horizon
> Seth stands at the desert edge (*jdb*) [70]
> 120 *jtrw* is the journey through the gateway [71]
> before the barque reaches those of the Netherworld"[72]

Frankfort further states: "A brick vault continuing that of the entrance arch, forms the beginning of the entrance passage for 32 meters. (105 ft) Then sandstone walls start up, without any transition or door-way, the bricks coming straight up to the stones." [73] (Plate 50) There is no explanation for this peculiar construction other than to convey a symbolic meaning. The interstitial realm of the first hour of the night which is 120 *jtrw* in length corresponds architecturally to this 32 meter (105 ft) undecorated mud brick vault forming the beginning of the entrance passage. Where the sandstone walls start up, mark the beginning of the *ḏuaṯ* (netherworld) proper. Importantly at the same time this abrupt transition from undecorated mud brick to decorated sandstone expresses architecturally the moment of creation, the first occasion, *zp tpj*. [74] The long and dark expanse of the entrance passage, a most pregnant symbol of transition, represents the undifferentiated matter (undecorated mud brick) of the Nun, the primordial abyss, " 'the eldest father'. Within Nun, as an inherent element of his being, was found the god Atum, whose name, derived from the verb *tm,* means both 'the one who is not (in existence)' and 'the one who is complete'. Atum, as both that which is not (yet) in existence and that which is the completed creation, is the link between the precreation state of only inherent life and that of the created cosmos."[75] Out of the Nun, Atum initiates creation expressed architecturally by the sandstone walls which start up without any transition.

Apparently seemingly out of nowhere emerges the beginning of the Netherworld proper created on the first occasion at the beginning of time. The length of 32 meters of the undecorated mud brick portion of the entrance passage is not random. It is tied to the inner enclosure wall defining the sacred precinct, which is directly above it "upon the earth" (*tpj tɜ*).[76] This portion of the sacred precinct

70 The word *jdb* also can refer to the desert edge which I have chosen to translate it here rather than as Hornung's river-bank. See P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 126. The god Seth is associated with the desert and the forces of chaos. At the same time, he is also associated with the protection of the solar bark. See M. Lurker, The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt (1984), 46 and 109-110; H. te Velde, Seth: God of Confusion (1977), for an in depth study on the role of Seth.

71 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2014), 128. *jtrw*, a measure of long distance, is 20,000 royal cubits (6.52 miles, 10.5 kilometers).

72 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 18, Introduction to the First Hour.

73 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos I (1933), 14.

74 Both the *ḏuaṯ* and *zp tpj* were ignored and therefore, in effect, abolished by Akhenaten and are here symbolically reestablished in *ḏt* time, Eternal Sameness, and in *nḥḥ* time, Eternal Recurrence, reversing their demise during the Amarna Heresy.

75 L. Troy, "The First Time: Homology and Complementority as Structured Forces in Ancient Egyptian Cosmology" in Cosmos 10 (1994), 5. See also J. Allen, Genesis (1988) for an in depth analysis.

76 See below Chapter 6 for a full discussion.

would appear to be the fortress (*bḫnt*) of Menmaatre mentioned in the ostracon from the work crew when the temples were under construction. (Plates 53, 54) Gunn was the first to suggest a possible link: "The Fortress of Menmaatre was perhaps a fortress similar to the very ancient Shunet el Zebib...."[77] Supporting this supposition, I have determined that the area within the sacred precinct is just wide enough and more than long enough to house a structure the size of Khasekhemwy's Second Dynasty enclosure in the North Cemetery. Furthermore, I have also discovered that the entrance archway of the Osireion is aligned in that direction either, intersecting it diagonally or more probably just to the notional north where Djer's enclosure lies buried like the Osireion. The parallax phenomenon encountered with using Google Earth prevents a more precise alignment.[78]

The first figure to be encountered in the newly created universe is that of the king who is depicted on both walls of the entrance passage where the decoration begins. (Plates 61, 63 and 173).

77 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I (1933), 92, plates XC, and XCII.

78 See below Chapter 6.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD- THE FIRST RITUAL CYCLE

3.1 THE BEGINNING OF CREATION: THE OPENING SCENES

This ritual cycle spans the entire length of the right (notional southern wall) of the Entrance Passage. (Plate 28) It consists of exactly 103 scenes. [1] As discussed, its location beginning at the notional southwestern end of the Osireion is orientated to the winter solstice sunset at the start of the annual solar journey along the ecliptic. [2]

When the sun reaches the southernmost point along the ecliptic, it appears to hover there for three days until its reversal in direction becomes visibly apparent and the new solar journey is underway. [3] Interestingly as an aside, this may explain why the date chosen for the celebration of the birth of Christ was December 25th and not the winter solstice. With the sunrise on that day, it would be clearly visible to all that the sun, the source of light and all life, had reversed its course, and begun a new cycle of ascent across the sky until it reached its pinnacle on the summer solstice in June. Then after three days, it would again reverse its course and begin its descent. This descent heralded the heliacal rising of Sothis (Sirius) marking the beginning of the Egyptian New Year and the start of the life renewing annual Nile inundation, the efflux of Osiris, and with it the creation of cyclical time (*nḥḥ*) on the first occasion. [4]

More precisely, this ritual cycle begins at the entrance to the western akhet where the sun will set leading to sunrise on the winter solstice, which is depicted in the well known final scene of the Book

1 The significance of which is detailed in 3.4 below.

2 See above 2.1.

3 L. Sims, “The 'Solarization' of the Moon: Manipulated Knowledge at Stonehenge”, Cambridge Archaeological Journal 16:2 (2006), 199. “The unaided eye cannot detect any change in the sun's horizon setting position for three days either side of the solstice.”

4 On the ideal calendar, the Egyptian New Year was marked by the heliacal rising of Sothis (Sirius). In the Book of Nut in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, on the first occasion the heliacal rising of Sothis occurred on the summer solstice at the time of the New Moon on I *ꜣḫt* 1, New Year's Day.

of Gates. (Plates 121, 123) It is located at the opposite end of the notional southern wall at its eastern end. It is equated in this ritual cycle with the eastern akhet, the place of sunrise. The western akhet, the place of sunset leading to sunrise on the winter solstice, marks both the start point of the annual solar cycle as well as its culmination point and thus the complete solar cycle. The architectural features at the notional western end of the Entrance Passage express symbolically the moment of creation. [5] This is where the decorated sandstone wall abruptly begins out of the undifferentiated mud brick representing the primordial abyss. (Plate 50) It is the start of the created cosmos. Thus, this ritual cycle represents the unfolding of the first sunrise of *zp tpj*, which is the reason why the king calls upon Atum, the creator in the opening scene.[6] (Plate 63) Here the king as the living Horus is depicted kneeling with arms raised in praise. He is initiating the ritual cycle which marks the unfolding of the solar journey leading to the first sunrise of *zp tpj* on the winter solstice. He does this by invoking Atum, "the 'complete' and pre-existent god of the beginning, to whom every cycle returns in order to be able to begin truly anew."[7] The act by the king is significant. Horus, the living king, here is at the same time both the culmination of the Heliopolitan creation process and through the recitation of the ritual invoking Atum also the initiator of creation. The begotten becomes the begetter. The king "is the earthly representative of the gods, but above all the embodiment of the primeval sun god, Atum. It is his office that the Egyptian rulers exercises in the realm of human beings as he sits on his throne... All the ritual actions which pharaoh performs in the context of the temple occur at the instant of the creation, *zp tpj*; and it is the king, the recipient of *ꜥnḫ* and *wȝs*, who causes the re-creation of the universe to come about... The re-creation of the world and its rejuvenation in the person of the king stresses the significance of pharaoh to his people as he bridges the human and divine worlds."[8] Just as does this point in the Entrance Passage, where the king is depicted, represents both the start of the solar cycle leading to the sunrise on the first occasion as well as the point of the culmination of the annual solar cycle just created. This complex interplay is described by Allen. "Paradoxically too, the sun can be understood not only as the source of the [Heliopolitan] Ennead (in his identification with Atum) but also as the product of the Ennead, in his identification with the god Horus [Book of Gates, scene 8]. As the son of Osiris and Isis, Horus is the 'tenth member' of the Ennead. (Plate 37) As 'heir of his father' ([CT 575] CT VI 185d) he is both the culmination and the prime beneficiary of the great cycle of natural elements incorporated in the Ennead:

> Horus is justified before the complete Ennead
> for kingship has been given to him on earth …,
> the throne of Geb and the functional office of Atum
> have been allotted to him.
> (BD 183) [A key text also found in the Osireion.]

7 J. Assmann, Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom (1995), 57.

8 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 279-80.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

This pivotal role places Horus at the focal point of the cycle represented in the Ennead, as the sun is the focal point of the created world. His 'kingship on earth' is the same natural principle that is manifest in the sun's domination of all creation:

> Horus, son of Isis, has become effective since his entrance:
> he has become lord of the bark and has inherited the sky;
> he has become the representative of the lord to the limit [Atum]
> since his entrance into it.
> It is this Horus, son of Isis,
> who officiates over the skies in their totality
> and the gods in them. ([CT 352] CT VI 390d-h)

Horus is therefore manifest in the sun as well: he is 'Horus in his disk,' 'lord of the sky', 'the one of Nut at the zenith.' His name (*ḥrw*) is probably an original reference to the sun, as the 'Far One.' In this aspect he is often called 'Horus of the Akhet' (Harakhti) - 'Horus of the Ahket at the break of day', 'son of Nut … lord of the sky ...alive like the sun' - or more fully, 'the Sun, Horus of the Akhet' (Re-Harakhti). At the same time, however, Horus's function is not limited by this physical manifestation. As with Re, the sun can be viewed as merely one aspect of the god: 'that great bright eye of Horus, at whose perfection the Ennead grows excited when it rises in the eastern Akhet.' Horus, in fact, is 'chief of the starry sky, who makes the sun live every day,' ([PT 301] Pyr. 449b)."[9] This concept is explicitly stated and highlights the active role of the king in this ritual cycle. In the speech of Thoth to Seti I in the Stairway Passage leading out to the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion. "You [the living Horus Seti] cause the Great Soul [Re] to rest on his corpse [Osiris]."[10] Thus, the complete arising out of the first occasion is, in essence, embodied in this first scene. Both the figure of the king and the invocation of Atum are the start and culmination of the Heliopolitan process of creation represented here by the setting sun (Atum) and the son of the sun (the king) who invokes him. (Plate 61) The paradoxical begotten becomes the begetter.

As the "tenth member and product of the Heliopolitan Ennead, Horus is the start of a new cycle." "Ten, as a number of a new unity, is indicated in its use as a new unit of measurement in the ancient Egyptian system of mathematics."[11] This time the new cycle is the rulership of the Two Lands by Horus, son of Osiris and son of Re. Its significance is that it marks the beginning of dynastic rule in

9 J. P. Allen, Genesis (1988), 11-12.

10 Kitchen, KRI I 191: 5-10. for a discussion see A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II (2009), 113-114. As will be shown this text along with its companion speech by Seshat to Seti I is of enormous significance in understanding the function of the Osireion as well as its connection to Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. See 5.7 and 6.2 below.

11 L. Troy "The First Time" Cosmos 10 (1994), 42.

Egypt of which Seti I is the legitimate heir and seventy-sixth ruler. [12]

Just as the complete cycle arising out of the first occasion is embodied in the first scene, so too is the concept of the complete cycle of kingship. In the text, the king is designated as both the living king and at the same time as Osiris, true of voice.[13] (Plate 61) In other words, the dual designation expresses the full cycle of kingship, both in life upon the earth and in the afterlife.

The structural organization of the invocation of Atum is also revealing. My reconstruction of this text shows that there were originally nineteen columns of hieroglyphs, (Plate 62) which consists of eleven invocations. As we have already seen, nineteen is a number sacred to the cult of Osiris that specifically refers to his revivification.[14] But in the context of the first occasion, it also represents the creation of Osiris's kingship as Ruler of the West and by extension his son Horus' kingship over the Two Lands, mirroring the dual designation of the king in the text. At the same time, the two components of the number nineteen, nine plus ten, express the essence of the Heliopolitan cosmology. The number nine represents the Ennead itself and the number ten, its tenth member, the product of the creation process Horus, son of Isis, the living king. In a lunar context, it is Horus as the waxing moon from his birth at first crescent visibility and Osiris as the waning moon until his death on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon (new moon). [15]

On the 19th day of the first month of the civil year, the Feast of Thoth was celebrated. As Spalinger astutely points out: "The Feast of Thoth must refer back to Thoth as a moon god, the deity of the Egyptian year... Day 19, nevertheless I feel that a lunar connection is overt. Remember that a lunar year containing 12 lunar months on the average comes out to 354 days. This is 11 days short (-11) of the expected 365 days [of the civil calendar]. This figure, minus 11 is very important in any lunar cycle. I have chosen P. Carlsberg 9 to indicate that the importance of the figure -11 (or + 19) in lunar calendrics was not unknown in the Nile Valley. As a result of the connection between the original lunar calendar and the later civil one in Egypt, day 19 of the year was reserved for the god Thoth and this is why in the second calendar I *ꜣḫt* 19 was the day of the feast *ḏḥwty*... Therefore, the Thoth feast on day 19 of the first month is associated with the inception of the civil calendar." [16]

Embedded in the structure of this text invoking Atum and his manifested form of Re-Horus of Two Horizons is yet another aspect of his creation; that of time, its measurement and reconciliation of solar based time (civil calendar) with lunar time (the older lunar calendar) expressed through the numbers 19 and 11. This relationship of solar based time to the lunar cycle is likewise found embedded in the

12 See Above 1.4, The Realm of Osiris Recreated.

13 See translated text below in 3.1 and Plate 61 for the hieroglyphic inscription.

14 See below 4.4 for a discussion of the significance of the number nineteen.

15 See below 4.7.

16 A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time. Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics (1994) 52-54.

texts of the Book of the Hidden Chamber (Amduat), which as I hope to demonstrate was cartooned on the walls of the Central Hall. [17] To the ancient Egyptians, measurement of time and distance were interconnected. [18] In the first hour of the night, which is an interstitial realm preceding the actual underworld, the length of the region called Wernes (the second hour of Amduat) is 300 *jtrw*. [19] Yet in the introduction to the second hour, Wernes is stated to be 309 *jtrw*. [20] This is not a "scribal error". In the 300 civil months of the 25 365-day civil years there are 309 lunations. So what is being expressed here about Wernes reflects a shift in the base used for measurement. The length of Wernes is the exact same distance. In the transitional realm of the first hour when it is still light, a solar base is used. Whereas in the second hour of the night, which begins the *ḏuat* proper and it is dark, a lunar base is used to express the length of Wernes. To the Egyptian way of thinking, the distance of the length of Wernes would appear to be best expressed in terms of time, i.e. the amount of time it takes to traverse the second hour of the night. In this way, the 300 *jtrw* are equated to 300 civil months and on a lunar scale of time measurement is exactly 309 lunations. Horning has suggested that "time in the underworld may be measured on another scale (the judges of the dead 'consider a lifespan as one hour')."[21] Interestingly, a lifespan for an ancient Egyptian is thought to have been around 25 years, one generation. [22] Thus, tying together/correlating the length of Wernes, the second hour of the night at 300 *jtrw*, to 25 civil years of the 300 months. Furthermore, it leads to an interesting observation. Wernes is a vast expanse, 300 *jtrw* in length and 120 *jtrw* wide. Expressed in modern terms it is 3150 km (1956 miles) by 1260 km (782 miles), or roughly an area of 3,969,000 square km (1,530,374 square miles), or roughly the size of the subcontinent of India and Pakistan. [23] So it seems, it well could have taken "a lifetime" to traverse that vast a region. While the number varies in other variants, there appear to have been eleven invocations to the creator god in this text which finds a parallel in the structure of the remaining eleven hours of the nocturnal solar journey of this ritual cycle depicting the unfolding of the first sunrise, the prime act of creation. [24]

17 See below 5.5.

18 The connection is both overt and logical. For example, the distance between Memphis and Thebes could be expressed in two different ways either by the time in number of days it took to travel between them; or by the number of *jtrw*, a measure used for long distances equal to 20,000 royal cubits. See note 23 below.

19 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 28.

20 Ibid., 48.

21 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 18. Citing the Teachings of Merikare, line 55. The earliest copy is from the 18th Dynasty, but Lichtheim considers it to be a work composed in the reign of king Merikare of the First Intermediate Period. M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I (1973), 97.

22 E. Hornung, The Conception of God (1982). See now S. Zakrzewski, Life Expectancy UEE (2015), 5.

23 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2000), 101. "*jtrw* 'river'=20,000 [royal] cubits (6.52 miles, 10. 5 kilometers)." and Ask.com for the comparative size.

24 J. P. Allen, Genesis (1988), 25.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

This prime act of creation exists in *ḏt* time. "The concept underlying this term is one of Eternal Sameness. It refers to the pattern of existence that was established at the creation and will continue until the end of the world." [25] The nightly ritual to renew and thereby sustain creation is performed by the king in *nḥḥ* time where "time is eternally repeated and renewed in the daily cycle of the sun..." [26] These concepts, *ḏt* and *nḥḥ*, are best understood by Allen's analogy to a play. The written script (*ḏt*) is fixed, static and unchanging but each performance of the play (*nḥḥ*) like the nightly recitation of the ritual is different with new settings and new actions." [27]

"In Egyptian terms, creation is not a matter of making something out of nothing. Rather, it is a process of revealing things which already have a latent existence by summoning them forth into full existence. Thus naming is a necessary concomitant of creation."[28] As is the case in this text, we will encounter naming throughout most of the texts in the Osireion, not surprisingly since all three ritual cycles occur on and represent the unfolding of creation on the first occasion, *zp tpj*. "As Finnestad has noted, calling things into being by uttering their names is chiefly characteristic of ritual contexts."[29]

The text reads as follows.[30] (Plate 61)

Text before the king:

[Adoring Re-Horakhti at his setting] [31] in life
by the king, the lord of the Two Lands, Ba-n-Re Meryamen
Son of Re, Merenptah, true of voice.

He says:
Hail to you! Who comes as Atum [who created the gods].
May you give the sweet breath of life to Osiris [….]-Meryamen.

25 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2000), 104.

26 Ibid., 104.

27 J. P. Allen, Genesis (1988), 27.

28 M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 5 and note 19. See R. Finnestad, Image of the World and Symbols of the Creator (1985), 68-74 and 113-114.

29 Ibid., 200.

30 Author's translation, where restored phrases are based on other variants of BD 15g and BD 15B3g. See T. G. Allen, Book of the Dead (1974), 14-15 and 23-25. Sources of BD 15g (Dyn. 21) see p.BM 10554 in E. A. W. Budge, The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum (1912), 53-54, pl. LXXV; BD 15B3g (Dyn. 19) see p.Berlin 3002 Nachtamun HAT 4, Plate xx, line 21; BD 15B3g (Dyn. 21) see R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 69-71 and Plates XI, 19 – XIII, 9. For an extensive bibliography on this important Chapter of the Book of the Dead see B. Baches, S. Gulden, M. Muller-Roth, I. Munro and Stohr, Bibliographie zum Altagyptischen Totenbuch (2009) SAT 13, 116-119.

31 My choice of restoring Re-Horakhti instead of the more frequently used Re will become obvious from the discussion that follows.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Hail to you! As the *Ba* of *bas*, sacred *Ba* who is in the West.
[May you give the sweet breath] of life to Osiris [….] *bꜣ-n-rᶜ mrj jmn*.

Hail to you! Chief god who illuminates the *ḏuat* with his eye. [32]
[May he give you the sweet breath] of life to Osiris [the lord of]
appearances/risings *mr-n-ptḥ*.

Hail to you! Who conveys his *aḫu*, rower who is in his disk.
[May you give the sweet breath] of life to Osiris,
lord of the Two Lands Ba-n-Re.

Hail to you! Greater than all the (other) gods,
dawning in the sky, Ruler of the *ḏuat*.
May you give the sweet breath of life to [Merenptah].

Text above the king (restored). [33]

[Hail to you! (God) who penetrates the *ḏuat*
and governs the double doors of the necropolis/desert region]
[May you give the sweet breath of life to Ba-n-re.]

[Hail to you! Who hears the Gods and judges them in the silent land,
May you give the sweet breath] of life to Osiris Merenptah, true of voice.

Text behind the king.

[Hail to you! Whose secret mysteries are hidden],

32 Other variants have "with his two eyes", the sun and the moon. But here the focus is on the creative power of the solar right eye which again appears near the end of this ritual cycle in the Book of Gates, scene 81:

> "It is the eye of Re
> This god is pleased with it
> when it takes its place in the barque."
> E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 179.

33 As shown in my reconstruction (Plate 62) there is room for 8 columns above the head of the king. The final column before the king ends with " you give the sweet breath of life to" with the cartouche of the king above his hands raised in praise, concluding the fifth invocation. In all variants of Chapter 15g and 15B3g given by T. G. Allen, Book of the Dead (1974), 14 and 23-24 and H. Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns of the New Kingdom (1966), 68-70, the same two invocations follow the fifth one and precede the eighth invocation, which is in the first full column behind the king, allowing me to safely conclude that they constitute the destroyed texts above the king, which I have restored here. It also brings the total to eleven for the number of invocations in this text.

who creates the *ḏuat* with his rays.
May you give the sweet breath of life to
the Son of Re, Ba-n-Re Meryamen, true of voice.

Hail to you! Great and exalted one
whose enemies [are slain in] their place of execution.
May you give the sweet breath of life to the Son of Re
Ba-n-Re Meryamen, true of voice.

Hail to you! You have driven off [the rebels] annihilated [for you Apophis]

As a result, the text concludes:

Then the West will open for the great Elder, [34]
as Re sets in the western mountain.
He illuminates the *ḏuat* with [his sunlight/rays].
He protects [the *ḫas* in their concealment].
[He who lights them that] preside over their caverns.
[He inflicts evil on *n*]*jk*. [35]
May you annihilate the enemies for king Merenptah, true of voice.

"*Njk* is particularly used in connection with Apophis as the chief enemy of Re and therefore head of all sinners. The Book of Gates calls them 'who punished the evil one of face (Apophis).' About Apophis it is said: 'He is punished, but Re stands in time, while he rests.' About beings with staffs in their hands we read: 'Their staffs are in their hands. They have received their knives. They punish Apophis. They are the ones who make the slaughter'. *Njk* refers to a bloody punishment, the cutting to pieces of Apophis... The punishment of Apophis is the destruction of the power of chaos, so that Re may rise and life goes on. 'The two very great gods say to Re: O behold us, we charm the evil being to be punished (*njk*, determined with the snake), [as it is in this text]. We cut the *ḫa* out of him who surrounds you, that you may become a becoming, O Re'. In this way *njk* becomes a denomination of Apophis as a serpent inimical to Re, which must be punished. Also those in the netherworld condemned to the torturing-post are called *njky.w* [B.D 180]... In the tombs of the kings of the New

34 Here I think it is more appropriate than Horus the Elder. See below.

35 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 491. "*njk* seems only to have been used in religious texts and particularly in connection with Apophis as the enemy of Re and head of all foes who have gone against Maat.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Kingdom *sswn* is a term often used for the punishment of the godless. Just as in the case of *ŋjk* this chastisement implies bodily injury and even total destruction... Atum says to Apophis: 'I chase you away for Re; I punish you for Akhte'... Horus punishes the enemies of Osiris: 'Horus, he orders their evil against them'. Re says on his journey through the realm of the dead: 'I have come here... to do evil against my enemies,' that is to say punish my enemies... The punishment is repeated incessantly. The tortured cannot escape it. 'Their souls do not escape.' Re says: 'I count them out to the place of destruction, where there is no escape'. In the realm of the dead Re's enemies are tied to the torturing-posts of Geb. About them it is said: 'Let them not come from under your hands. Let them not escape from your fingers'.... In the netherworld there are punishing demons 'whose guarding one does not escape.' The netherworld, is irrevocable, everlasting." [36] All the texts quoted from Zandee are found in the Osireion texts. Note that a large number of them are from the Book of Gates which follows BD 15 in this nightly ritual cycle.

The Great Elder (*ḥr-wr*) for whom the west will open in the text of BD 15 above can refer to Re-Horakhti (Re-Horus of the Horizons) in his form of Atum, the creator god to whom the text is addressed. However, as is so often the case with Egyptian symbolism, there are multiple levels of meaning. Translated as Horus, the Elder as Allen has chosen to do would provide an added dimension which enhances the depth of meaning of this opening text. [37] It also then compliments the opening scene on the opposite (left) wall of the Entrance Passage as well as the Nut Book at the opposite end of the subterranean complex in the Second Transverse Hall. [38]

"The Elder Horus, the hero who champions the creator-god's cause... is the personage whose eyes are nothing more or less then the sun and the moon. When on pitch-dark nights, these two heavenly bodies are invisible, Horus finds himself temporarily blinded, becoming 'He who has no eyes.'" [39] This occurs at the time of the New Moon, when the sun and moon are not visible in the night sky because they both are in the *ḏuat*. According to Mercer, the Blind Horus (*ḥr-ḥntj-n-jrtj*) as he shows him depicted is exactly as it is found in our text. [40] (Plate 62, column 18)

This is indeed interesting. This subtle depiction of Horus the Elder as "He who has no eyes" places the nocturnal journey of the sun god on the night of the new moon and as we have seen at the time of

36 J. Zandee, Death as an Enemy (1960), 283-285.

37 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 15 and 24.

38 See discussion in 4.3 below of the opening scene on the opposite wall and 5.7 for the so-called Nut Book.

39 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 24.

40 S. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt (1942), 127 fig. 61. A perfect example of the concept that "Individual hieroglyphs were icons of the created world in which the Egyptians lived: They were literally 'gods words' and as such, served as a catalog of and monument to creation itself." J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 1.

the winter solstice on the first occasion, *zp tpj*.[41] Furthermore, as we will learn from the Book of Nut (Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars), the positioning of the body of the goddess Nut in the vignette and the accompanying text pinpoints this composition in the Second Transverse Hall to the summer solstice at the time of the new moon on *zp tpj*, which coincided with the first heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius on I *ꜣḫt* 1, New Year's Day, heralding the first Nile inundation, the life giving efflux of Osiris.[42]

Horus the Elder (*ḥr-wr*), as Horus with no eyes, is the new moon which is also a manifestation of Horus, the son of Osiris, on the day of his conception! Thus, Horus the Elder on the first occasion links the conception/creation of the (new) Moon, Horus son of Osiris, and with him the start of Dynastic rule to the monthly lunar cycle. The Great Elder (*ḥr-wr*), as the creator Atum depicted in the southwestern most point of the Osireion complex directly links the annual solar cycle from the birth of Re on the winter solstice to the summer solstice, as well as the first helical rising of the Sothis, on I *ꜣḫt* 1, the first New Year's Day and with it the creation of the Egyptian civil calender. *Ḥr-wr*, it would seem embodies the concepts of the creation of the sun, the moon and of Dynastic rule and their cycles, which provide the means for the measurement of *nḥḥ*, cyclical time, arising out of the first occasion. Horus the Elder, whose eyes are both the sun and the moon, subtly hints at the near covert representation of the creation of the lunar cycle that is found throughout the Book of Gates, that follows in this first ritual cycle of the nightly journey of the sun god.[43]

The recitation by the king serves as more than a mere greeting to the sun god as he enters the underworld. "The important motif of the secret words, which are spoken in the divine world and which the king joins in as he performs his cultic recitation, also plays an important role in the Evening Text .... The idea of language as an animating force, which is characteristic of the underworld books, like food, the speech of the sun god makes the inhabitants of the underworld 'live' like life-giving air, his words make them 'breathe'."[44] Viewed in a ritual context, it is the king who actively invokes Atum's entrance into the *ḏuat* as the frame text to the litany makes clear:[45]

41 See 3.1 below.

42 See 5.7 below.

43 See 3.2-3.5 below.

44 J. Assmann, Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom (1995), 22. While Assmann is referring to a different version of the Evening Text, the concept is still relevant here.

45 H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1991), 71. "In his study Liturgische Lieder (1969), Assmann made the following subdivision of BD 15BIII: '(1) Rubrum, (2) Hymnus, (3) Litanei, (4) Rahmentexte zur Litanei." K. Bosse-Griffiths, "The Papyrus of Hapi-ankh" ZAS 123 (1996), 100. Where according to Assmann, "a 'LITANY' circumscribes the essence of the God independently of a present situation' (Assmann, LL 90)." The use of a litany here in this context is appropriate and reflects the essence of the timelessness of the first occasion *zp tpj* in *ḏt* time.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Then the west will open for the Great Elder
As Re sets in the western mountain.

The paradox is again present. I repeat, the first figure depicted in the created universe on the first occasion is that of the King, who initiates the creation by the words invoking the creator god's entrance to begin the first nocturnal journey of the nocturnal sun god.

Hail to you! Who comes as Atum, [who creates the gods]...
[Hail to you whose secrets are hidden],
who creates the *ḏuat* with his rays.

This recitation is an explicit example of the king, the living Horus, performing his role as sun priest. "Particularly important among these objects of knowledge are the words spoken by the members of the divine 'personal sphere' of the sun god on various occasions during his journey. This is because the cult performed in the temple is understood as a replica of events that take place in the divine world. In particular, the words spoken there are understood as divine speeches made by someone [the living Horus] or as the earthly repetition of words spoken in the divine world. One characteristic of Egyptian cult is that it celebrates the communication between gods, not the communications between god and man. Thus, the worship of the sun god on earth, according to its own understanding, merely joins in a hymn of praise offered to the god [the creator] in his 'personal sphere' and proves to be an extract of divine speech [as it is in this recitation]."[46]

Von Lieven observed: "The accompanying text contains a litany style hymn to the nightly sun god, which makes references to central themes of the underworld books."[47] More specifically here, it is as they are expressed in the Book of Gates that follows.

Immediately after the recitation, the king is again depicted kneeling but now upholding Maat before the falcon-headed deity Re-Horakhti and Osiris. (Plate 64)

"Just as on the pylons and exterior walls of the temple, the universe in microcosm, the battling monarch defeats chaos at the very fringes of existence, so too on the inner walls pharaoh upholds Maat. The Maat we see displayed in the ritual scenes [as it is here] represents a more symbolic enactment of creation, but it is no less significant or even different from the images of war. I maintain however, that when the king offers Maat in all its forms to the god, it is no simple abstract gesture whereby the king is rewarded with jubilees and a long life for his service, but an actual physical interchange between the king, the gods and goddesses. By his actions, pharaoh enables the most significant event in the universe to occur."[48]

46 J. Assmann, Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom (1995), 22.

47 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptolische Tempeltagung: Function and Use of Ancient Egyptian Temple Space (2007).

48 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991) unpublished PhD. Dissertation, 94.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

In one respect, Maat is what Atum creates. Maat is the created universe. The king who is the begotten and at the same time the begetter upholds his creation, Maat before the manifestations of the creation, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. This triad Re-Horus, Osiris and Horus-Atum-Pharaoh sustains the creation, Maat represented here by the active role the living Horus plays by upholding creation.[49] That is to say Maat. This very action ritually assures us that the unfolding of the creation of the cosmos will be successful with the first sunrise, which is depicted beginning to unfold at the end of this ritual cycle in the final scene of the Book of Gates. (Plates 121, 123)

Rather than Horus as Frankfort identified the falcon-headed deity in the Entrance Passage,[50] it is more probably Re-Horakhti (Re-Horus on the Two Horizons). A hieratic graffiti written by a scribe in the 22nd Dynasty that is next to the enthroned deity reads: (Plates 52, 64, 65)

> "Adoration of Re-Horakhti, Lord of the Two Lands....
> the great God, King of the Gods, Lord of the Horns, with pointed (?)
> may he save the scribe.... from the demons that are in this place."[51]

This graffiti also supports my preference for the preceding recitation being addressed to Re-Horakhti rather then simply Re as in some other variants of this text. Furthermore, Re-Horakhti is one of the three gods depicted in the top register, the key scene on the decorated rear wall (notional north) of the Central Hall, along with Atum and Osiris, (Plate 301) the same three deities as in the Entrance Passage, underscoring the importance of this triad to the rituals enacted in the Osireion. The choice of depicting Re-Horakhti and Osiris is significant as they are the result of the manifestations of creation arising out of the first occasion. They represent the sun and the moon respectively. They are the two aspects of Atum the creator god, essential to creation itself as it unfolds in the *duat.*[52] In the Re-Horakhti chapel in the main temple, Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, Atum is addressed:

> "You enter into the hall as Osiris
> having appeared as the lord of All."[53]
> "The king kneels before Atum... I am Horus. I have come seeking my two eyes.
> I shall not allow that it should be far from you Re-Horakhti Atum..."[54]

49 Interestingly, even though Atum is being invoked in the opening scene, he is not actually depicted. This may be because it is meant to be interpreted that Atum has assumed the forms of all his manifestations: Re-Horakhti, Osiris, Maat and pharaoh. Perhaps better still as the title of Walker's dissertation tells us that it is meant to be Aspects of the Primaevil Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum.

50 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), pl. LI.

51 Ibid., 88, pls. LXXXVIII, XCI. The demons, *ḫꜣytw/ḫꜣtjw* are 'the slaughters'. R. Lucarelli, "Demons" (2010). UEE, 3.

52 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt, the One and the Many (1985),126. See also K. Mysliwiec, Studien zum Gott Atum (1978); idem. "Die Parallele von Atum und Re-Harachte" SAK 10 (1983), 297-306; idem. "Beziehungen zwischen Atum und Osiris" MDAIK 35 (1979), 195-213; and idem. "Atum" in D. Redford (ed.) The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 25-26.

53 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 64 Episode 7.

54 Ibid., 65 Episode 11.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

The enthroned Osiris is once again the revivified Ruler of the West. Not only is he restored from his death by dismemberment by Seth, but also from his second death by Akhenaten. Re-Horus of the Two Horizons is the entity born out of the union of Re and Osiris in the depths of the underworld. "In the texts accompanying 'this [sixth hour Amduat] is the union of the sun god with its corpse (...). The life force characterizing it unites itself with the corpse, that otherwise rests separated from it motionless in the depths of the *ḏuat*, and fulfills it with new life.' In the texts accompanying the unification of Re and Osiris in the 'Embryological Treatise' [Books of the Earth] in the tomb of Ramesses VI these gods [Re and Osiris] are indeed speaking to one another: 'Passing through the body of Him-who-is-Mysterious-of-Forms by this Great God (sc. Re). He passes through the body of Osiris and he speaks (*mdw*) to those who are in his following. What Re says to Osiris, the body of the god who is the Netherworld : Oh Osiris, Mysterious One, Exalted of Forms, speak, you body of mine! Oh, behold. I pass through your cavern, you who are alone, who guard the West, for whom those who are in the Netherworld lament, you whose heart breathes at my voice!' The vignette showing the result of of this unification, (Plates 363, 364) the 'body of Horus' which literally comes forth from the 'body of Osiris' guarded by Isis and Nephthys, is introduced by the following text: 'What Re says to the two goddesses who guard the body of this god:

Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *Ḏuat*,
for the darkness which is you has been dispelled!
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *Ḏuat*,
for your Ba has gone to rest in your body!
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *Ḏuat*,
for I have made that your followers join you!
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *Ḏuat*,
for you will be content with (your) diadems!
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *Ḏuat*,
for Re...'

It is remarkable that this impressive divine Creative Word [which merges the two unions required for the birth of Horus, son of Isis, Osiris, and son of Re] is not addressed to the body of Osiris, but to Isis and Nephthys; like in the Ebers text, Re does not speak *to*, but *on behalf of* Osiris. The vignette makes it clear that the resurrection of Osiris manifests itself in the birth of Horus; thus the result of the unification of Re and Osiris (*prt-ỉm.k*)... may not only be called Re as the re-born Sun-god, but also Horus, son and reincarnation of Osiris. Hornung writes: 'When the sun god reappears again on the horizon in the morning, he is already no longer Osiris, and is free from all fetters of death',[55] and one may add: then he has become Horus or to use the Egyptian formula, Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon.... Osiris and Horus are actually 'two persons but one god' as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kingship: 'The legitimacy of the reigning king depended upon the principle that he was both the living

55 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt (1985), 96.

'son' of his dead predecessor and also the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor." [56] Additional support for the identification of the falcon-headed deity as Re-Horus of the two Horizons is found in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9). The entrance corridors mirror the decoration of the entrance Passage of the Osireion except that the Book of Gates is depicted on the left wall and the book of Caverns is on the right. Ramesses VI is shown offering incense instead of Maat, to Re-Horus of the Two horizons and Osiris in that order and is followed by the Book of Gates just as in the Osireion. [57] (Plate 66) The reversal of the positioning of the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns in KV9 was by design, so that the Book of Gates was on the notional southern walls of the Corridors A, B, C, D and Hall E in the tomb. [58] In other words, it was positioned such that it would maintain its symbolic alignment to the place of the winter solstice. This reversal was necessitated by the difference in the axial alignment of the tomb and that of the Entrance Passage of the Osireion. Both were also oriented to the constellation Orion, long associated with the god Osiris. The entrance to the Tomb of Ramasses VI was aligned to "the central asterism of the constellation Sah [Orion]' as it rose over the cliffs of the hills above Deir el Bahari in the southeastern sky. [59] (Plate 59) At Abydos, the transverse axis of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years on which the Osiris Complex in the main temple, both Transverse Halls and the Entrance Passage of the Osireion are aligned to mark a specific moment in the movement of the constellation Orion. As Rigel, " the toe star", crosses over the transverse axis, it points to the place on the horizon where the heliacal rising of the Sothis/Sirius will occur, opening the New Year and the coming of the efflux of Osiris, the life giving Nile inundation. [60]

The only inscription remaining in the scene in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion is: (Plate 64)

Presenting Maat to the Lords/Possessors of Maat

"To possess Maat as 'Lord of Maat', when this epithet occurs in conjunction with others which relate to the primordial time, seems to refer to the union with the female component of the demiurge at the point at which the primaeval sun god created himself and all existence." [61] At another level "the offering of

56 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979 - !980), 20-22. Horus and Osiris "two persons but one god" may explain why Seti is both officiating the ritual of the Royal Ancestors and at the same time is included in the list of the ancestor kings and determined with the seated god Osiris. See above 1.4, the Realm of Osiris Re-Created.

57 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 138, plates 36-37.

58 B. Porter, R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography I. The Theban Necropolis, Part 2. Royal Tombs (1973), 510-514. Also see below Appendix A.

59 J. Belmonte (ed.), In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 300. This is also the case for the alignment of the Tomb of Ramesses VII (KV1) and the placement of the Book of Gates on the left wall. See Porter & Moss, Royal Tombs (1973), 495-498.

60 For a detailed analysis of this alignment see below 6.6.

61 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 179.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Maat very specifically commemorates the willingness of the king to uphold the fundamental principles of the world order (*mɜʿt*) that was established at the beginning of time. The ritual also functions as a symbol of the king's legitimacy." [62] This takes on a special significance here where the recreation of the unfolding of the first occasion, *zp tpj*, is depicted, a key element of Seti's era of renewal, *wḥm mswt*. As Yoyette described it, a "program of necessary re-creations, a re-formation of the universal order, a total restructuring." [63] The offering of Maat or better the upholding of Maat by the king symbolizes her restoration. The Amarna Heresy and its memory are no more. Seti's act of this offering, literally shown as the king upholding Maat before the two gods, supports his claim to legitimacy and for his fledgling dynasty. (Plate 64)

This opening to the ritual cycle of the Nightly Journey of the Sun God serves as a frame text balancing that of the final scene of the Book of the Gates. It should be viewed as part of the transitional first hour of the night.

62 E. Teeter, The Presentation of Maat (1997), 1.

63 J. Yoyette, Tanis l'or des Pharoahs (1987) 55. Author's translation.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

3.2 THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY AND THE BOOK OF GATES

" The Books of the Netherworld have been most often interpreted as royal mortuary texts or 'guides to the netherworld' because they were recorded in royal tombs. In reality however, they are codifications of cosmological knowledge that belonged to the solar cult and constituted the basis of its successful practice. The sun cult is to be understood as a laudatory, supportive counterpart to the course of the sun, accompanying it with hourly offerings and recitations.

A major part of the Egyptians' astronomical knowledge served specifically to measure time. Above all, however, this knowledge was related to the course of the sun, which was conceived of as a journey through the sky and the netherworld and described down to the last detail.... All this elaborate store of knowledge, so oddly compounded of observations, speculations and mythological interpretations, had a cultic function. The priest of the sun had to know its course to be able to accompany it in the cult and thereby keep it in motion, and it was this knowledge that authorized him to make these collaborative interventions in the cosmic process. We are clearly informed of this by a text that sets down the role of the king as solar priest in the same descriptive manner that characterizes the cosmographical literature. Knowledge stands at its center.

> The king knows the mysterious words
> that the eastern *bas* speak
> when they make loud praise for Re
> at his rising, his appearance in Light-land;
> when the doors are opened for him,
> the gates of the eastern Light-land,
> so that he might travel on the roads of the sky.
>
> He knows their forms and their embodiments,
> and their home in God's-Land
> He knows the place where they stand,
> when Re begins his journey.
> He knows the words that the two crews speak
> when they tow the barque of the Heavenly One.
>
> He knows the birthings of Re
> and his self-generation in the waters.
> He knows that mysterious gateway from which the great god emerges.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

> He knows the one in the morning barque
> and the great image in the evening barque.
> He knows your landing place in Light-land
> and your course in the sky goddess. [64]

Baumann's research supports this conclusion. "Also like the Underworld Books, the Litany of Re was originally composed for use on earth and only subsequently adapted as royal funerary literature (evident from the fact that all references to the deceased king replaced original first person pronouns)..."[65]

We saw in the opening where the king by invoking Atum, the creator, initiates the creation. The same is the case, in essence, with the nocturnal journey. The king accompanies the sun god through the twelve hours of the night to facilitate the sun god's regeneration and renewal, at the same time, symbolically empowering the ritual and the ritualist, the king. Thus the ritual itself serves as the mechanism to accomplish the rebirth.

In the Osireion depiction of the Nightly Journey of the Sun God,[66] the king appears in the solar barque, again kneeling and upholding Maat before the sun god as he accompanies him through the night. (Plates 72, 73) Significantly, he is designated only as the Lord of the Two Lands (followed by his cartouche). In other words, he is clearly the living king in this ritual cycle and participating in the solar cult in his role as sun priest.

Borchardt was the first to point out that Seti's name is present in the Osireion version of The Book of Gates.[67] Therefore, it can be compared directly to the other two versions, one found in his royal tomb (KV17) and the other on his alabaster sarcophagus, a fortunate situation for discerning the subtle differences and providing a key to each version's possible use. Of critical importance here that is neither of the other two cases is Seti ever depicted accompanying the sun god in the solar bark. The reason for this is that the role of pharaoh has obviously changed. After death, Seti became Osiris, the Ruler of the West and not a nightly member of the crew of the barque of Re. However in the performance of the solar cult, before death it was the king's responsibility, as the son of Re to ensure that the offerings were actually presented as called for in the text. This would ensure that his father's nightly journey is successfully completed and the new day dawns. This is why in the Osireion

64 J. Assmann, Der Koenig als Sonnenpriester (1970), and J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001). 64-65.

65 A. Baumann, The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian as Evidenced in the Underworld Books (1998), unpublished PhD. Dissertation, 9.

66 "An original title is not attested. Although the structure of the book is quite similar to that of the Amduat, with twelve nocturnal hours each divided into three registers, it differs from it by means of the gates depicted at the end of each hour." Hence, the modern name Book of Gates. E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 57.

67 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 23 and pl. LIX. Note that it is also found in chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead in the Antechamber, both cases not in a cartouche.

composition the living king is depicted in the solar barque throughout and in the concluding scene of the Book of Gates but not on his alabaster sarcophagus or in his tomb.[68] (Plates 71, 72, 73, 103)

In addition to the king, there are two deities accompanying the sun god in the night barque. [69] They are the "two creative powers Sia and Heka (perception and magic respectively) [who] are along to aid the sun god as he exercises his creative powers in the nocturnal underworld. (Plate 71) Not only did he establish the world in the beginning [on the first occasion, *zp tpj*], but he did also renew it daily," [70] Sia, the herald, stands at the door and gives instructions, opens the doors separating one hour from the next. [71] Sia as the personification of perception possesses all knowledge. By knowing their names and speaking their names, [72] Sia unlocks each of the doors of the twelve regions of the underworld. At the first gate:

> "He [a giant serpent] is on this leaf of the door
> he opens it for Re.
> Sia speaks to him 'Who guards the Desert' [Underworld]:
> Open your gate to Re,
> open your door to Akhti!'
> The hidden room is in the darkness
> until the manifestations of the God has taken place.
> Then this gate will be closed
> after this God has entered..." [73]

In the second hour, seventh scene, Re says to the inhabitants:

> "Sia and Heka join me
> to look after you and to allocate your roles to you.
> (Two versus which are indecipherable.)" [74]

68 Only the first half of the Book of Gates is in KV17. Here too Seti is not depicted in this solar barque. This distinction is less clear in the other tombs in the Valley of the Kings. The tombs of Ramesses III and IV show the king in the solar barque, the rest do not.

69 In the Amduat, there are eight or more crew members.

70 E. Hornung, Idea into Image (1992), 99.

71 E. Hornung, Valley of the Kings Horizon of Eternity (1990). 77.

72 "A name was identical to the essence and individual characteristics of its bearer and changing or destruction of a name was equal to its owners death." M. Tarasenko, "Mythological Allusions Connected with Cosmology in BD 17" SAT 11 (2006), 346.

73 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 116.

74 Ibid. 119. The scene number cited throughout this study are those of Hornung.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

In the seventh hour, forty-fifth scene, Sia speaks to Re:

> "Sia says to this God,
> when he has reached the stakes of Geb:
> Consent (to the punishment), O Re, Greatest God,
> (for) look, you have reached the stakes of Geb!" [75]

In the eighth hour, forty-ninth scene, Sia speaks to "the Ones Who Carry That Which Devours and Gives Birth to Hours." [76]

> "Sia says to these deities:
> The Greatest God is waiting until He is supplied with His Hours
> through each and every one of these deities. (?)
> Then one Hour emerges from a coil
> then (it) takes (its) place." [77]

Other than these statements and the opening of the gates, Sia actions on behalf of the inhabitants of the underworld are not articulated further.

References to Heka are even fewer than those to Sia. Nevertheless, the presence of Heka in the solar barque is significant. In the tenth, eleventh and twelfth hours, magic (Heka) is the means by which Apophis is restrained, allowing the sun god to continue on his nocturnal journey. In other words, Heka is the vital force and key therefore for the unfolding of creation and " the prime act of creation, the first sunrise." [78] "Mythologically, Heka was believed to have existed from the time of creation and to have empowered the creation event so the the god Heka could likewise be seen as a creator god... and he was said to accompany the sun god in his bark as well as to protect the god Osiris in the underworld." [79]

Heka "is the principle through which a spoken command is translated into reality... [however, it] is not limited to speech alone. Anything that produces an effect can be thought of as having this force. Its role in creation [this is why Heka is in the solar Bark in the Book of Gates] is described in Spell 261 of the Coffin Texts.

> … I am the one whom the Sole Lord made
> before two things had developed in this world...

75 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 152.

76 Ibid., 156.

77 Ibid., 156.

78 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 25.

79 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 110.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

when he spoke with the one who developed with him,
than whom he is mightier
when he took Annunciation in his mouth.
I, in fact, am that son of the one who bore all,
being in protection of that which the Sole Lord commanded,
I am the one who gave life to the Ennead.
I am Acts-As-He-Likes, father of the gods, high of stand,
who made the god functional in accordance with
that which he who bore all commanded,...
All was mine before you developed, gods,
Go down, you who came at the end!
I am magic.'

As the text indicates, magic came into existence when the creator 'took' Annunciation in his mouth. 'Annunciation (*ḥw*) is a term derived from the verb *ḥww* 'announce' and refers to the (divine) principle of creative speech: 'speech which is so effective that it creates. It forms a conceptual pair with the principle of 'Perception' (*sjȝ*), with which it is often linked and from which it logically follows. In the created world, 'Perception' and 'Annunciation' are the means by which the forces of nature - the gods and the king - perceive what needs to be done and cause it to happen. Their function par excellence, however, is in the creation itself.... Magic [Heka, *ḥkȝ*] is the force that makes Annunciation effective. Through this principle, the creator's fiat acts to produce the world from the primordial Monad. Magic is what 'made the god functional in accordance with that which he who bore all commanded'. In effect, therefore, Magic brought about the existence of all the forces and elements that developed from the original source: it is 'father of the gods', 'who gave life to the Ennead." [80] Or as Ritner succinctly phrased it: "Described as a son of the creator [Atum], Heka is in actuality the hypostasis of the creator's own power which begets the natural order." [81] His presence here with Sia in the solar barque lends further support to my hypothesis that the Book of Gates as part of this nightly ritual cycle is about the unfolding of creation in the first occasion, that is *zp tpj*.

At the beginning of the Book of Gates (Scene 2), the sun god is depicted in the form of a scarab beetle, within his disk. "As the morning sun, Kheprer is also the sun at the dawn of creation: 'I have self-developed in my identity of the Khepre(r)' ([CT 484] CT IV 62m)." [82] He is surrounded by a large cobra with tail in its mouth. The text identifies him as:

80 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 37-38.

81 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 17.

82 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 10.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

"Hail to the One who is in his Disk"
the Greatest god with many manifestations (*ḫprw*)..." [83]

Recall that the "One who is in his Disk" is found in the fourth invocation in the opening text of this ritual cycle. This form of the sun god, as scarab beetle in the solar disk alludes to the fact that even at the very beginning of the nightly descent, the sun god's potential for regeneration and rebirth already exists and portends the jubilant outcome, the first sunrise.

The depiction of the successful outcome at the beginning of a ritual cycle is a motif frequently used by the ancient Egyptians. For example, Eaton points out in her analysis of the Horus Cycle in temple rituals that:

"Paradoxically, Horus is always present for his father's revivification and his own conception in such scenes. Thus, even in these protected areas, uncertainty is eliminated because the successful resolution of the crisis is present, personified in the adult Horus."[84]

It should be noted that this is also a technique used in the practice of both magic and meditation. "Concentration and visualization are powerful tools for divination and magic."[85] In the practice of magic visualization of a successful outcome makes it happen. Recall too that "the Tenth Dynasty 'Instructions for King Merikare' are explicit in their allotment to mankind of the defensive power of magic. A list of the benefactions of God for mankind includes the mention of the creation of heaven, earth, air, food, and government by stating:

'It was in order to be weapons to ward off the blow of events
that he made magic (*ḥkɜw*) for them (scil. 'men').

There can thus be no question of the legitimacy of magic in pharaonic Egypt [including its use in creation rituals]."[86]

The unnamed large cobra coiled around the solar disk like the uraeus on the brow of the king appears to be protective in nature. (Plates 67, 68) But this snake has its tail in its mouth and as such is also a form of the Ouroboros, here symbolically representing the "regenerating nonexistence that encircles the world." [87] Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead concerns the end of the created cosmos which only Atum and Osiris survive [88] "The primeval god [Atum] who outlives the existent world

83 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 113-114.

84 K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual (2013), 83-84.

85 E. Harris, Ancient Egyptian Divination and Magic (1998), 124.

86 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 20.

87 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt (1985), 164.

88 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead of Going Forth By Day (1974), 184.

changes into a snake at the end of time, and after the Amarna period the Egyptians devised the image of the snake coiled back on itself, called 'tail-in-mouth'; in the Roman period this image was called the Ouroboros the 'tail-swallower'. (Plate 170) The complete circle of the snake's body illustrates – so far as it is possible to depict it – the nonexistent, which encompasses the world continually on all sides. In late Antiquity this image remained so powerful as a symbol that Gnostic writings and magical gems influenced by Gnosticism used it freely; in them the Ouroboros still signifies the 'outer darkness' that encircles the world, that is ultimately, the nonexistent or extreme circumference of the world – the two amount to the same.

There is a similar image in the New Kingdom underworld books, a snake, out of which one hour after another is mysteriously 'born' and then 'swallowed' again when the hour is past – which thus embodies the limitless, vertiginous aspect of time [for example, Book of Gates, scenes 20 and 49]. This extreme circumference of the existent, to which the Egyptians give the visual form of the 'curled snake' (*mḥn*), is both spatial and temporal. The snake curled back on itself encompasses a four-dimensional world that has an end - which the spherical models of modern physics also present as turned back on itself; the Ouroboros seems to be the only visual symbol that shows this turning back on itself.

To repeat and to amplify: for the Egyptians the entire extent of the existent, both in space and in time, is embedded in the limitless expanses of the nonexistent. The nonexistent does not even stop short at the boundaries of the existent, but penetrates all of creation. The astronomical and cosmological text cited earlier [found in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion – the Book of Nut and p. Carlsberg 1, 2, 20-31 in O. Neugebauer, R Parker, EAT I, 52-54.] states that 'the distant region of the sky is in total darkness' and that this world, 'in which darkness (that is, the nonexistent) is present,' 'stretches under every place' - is omnipresent." [89]

The image of the scarab beetle in its disk surrounded by a cobra with its tail in its mouth appears to be unique to the Book of Gates (Plate 67) and conveys yet another concept of creation. In the concept of *zp tpj*, the disk, scarab and cobra taken together expresses totality, the entire creation, the complete cycle from Atum's emergence out of the Nun with the first sunrise in his manifestation as Khepri, marking the beginning of time to his return to Nun in his manifestation as a snake at the end of all time. In the final scene of the Book of Gates and the conclusion of this ritual cycle, the sun god is again depicted in the form of Khepri, but now the rising newly born sun is outside of its disk. (Plate 124)

"Although the text is most often called the 'First Hour' of the composition, the scene actually represents the first portal of the Underworld – the entire region portrayed in the scene corresponds to the *ꜥrryt* of the First Hour of Amduat, the 'approach' to the Underworld."[90] It depicts the western

89 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt (1985), 178-179.

90 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005) PhD. Dissertation, 36.

horizon with its desert gods and the solar barque setting in the western mountain (Plate 67), mirroring the Abydene landscape in front of the entrance to the Osireion. The *sšd*-fillet around the head of the desert –dwelling gods [scene 2 and 3] directly relates them to the mythical refilling of the eye of Horus [the waxing moon]. In the Pyramid Texts, the *sšd*-fillet is actually 'spun' from the colored linens that make up the eye of Horus (PT 519; Pyr. 1201a–1202c)."[91] The link between the western desert gods and the lunar cycle should be obvious to an observer of the night sky. The entrance portal to the Underworld into which the sun god sets is also the entrance portal into which the full moon, the restored eye of Horus, also sets just after sunrise. Furthermore, shortly after sunset the first crescent moon reappears in the night sky low in the western horizon, after having been rejuvenated in the *ḏuat* (i.e. not visible in the night sky at the time of the New Moon). The new crescent then quickly returns to the *ḏuat*, closely following the course of the sun from where it had just come, which may explain the enigmatic passage in the opening of CT 155, a Spell for Knowing the Bas of the New Moon.

> "Who is he who enters
> whence comes he who comes forth..." [92]

Therefore, the western horizon with its desert gods, each adorned with *sšd*-fillet, represents the place of the mythical refilling of the Eye of Horus from its first appearance in the night sky as the new crescent, to its setting as the restored or sound Eye, the full moon.

"Throughout the text accompanying the New Kingdom versions of the First Hour, the sun god's speeches emphasize removal – removal of all created beings from the gods of the [western desert] region and removal of the constituent elements of the gods themselves. The interpretation of the text presented above suggests that this removal links the desert gods with the waning and waxing of the lunar disk/Udjat-eye... Perhaps the strict separation of mankind and other creatures from the desert entrance to the Underworld, commanded [by the sun god] is to prevent damage to the divine eye..." [93] As it surely is, so that it may emerge unhindered out of the Underworld, newly reborn on the faint first crescent moon as it begins its waxing cycle of renewal. [94] In the context of *zp tpj*, it represents the creation of the moon and specifically that of the lunar cycle. Further support for a lunar interpretation is the number of deities chosen to be depicted in front of the first gate. They total thirty one. The reference is subtle but nevertheless distinct. This number represents and allows for all the possible combinations in any given single lunar cycle, which will manifest out of the first occasion. [95]

91 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005) PhD. Dissertation, 43.

92 R. Faulkner, Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I (1973), 133.

93 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005) PhD. Dissertation, 48.

94 Although the lunar cycle is alluded to in the Book of Gates being a part of *zp tpj*, it is more fully treated in the monthly ritual sequence.

95 Represented more explicitly in BD 168, tenth cave. See below 4.7.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

The deities outside of the solar barque are organized into two groups of fourteen each. (Plate 67) A jackal-headed pole is located in the desert mountain range in the upper register along with the first group of fourteen deities. This group corresponds to the fourteen phases of the waxing lunar cycle. The jackal-headed pole alludes to the role of the jackal-headed deity, Anubis as embalmer, who reassembles the limbs of Osiris-Moon. The texts stated that:

> The pole (is) the word of command from the Greatest God [*nṯr-ᶜ₃*]
> lit. causing his limbs to raise. [*sṯnj ḥᶜw.f*] [96]

In other words, the command of the Greatest God, in his mythical aspect of creator, causes the coming into being of the phases of the waxing moon and the refilling of the Eye of Horus, which also began on the first occasion. Because *zp tpj* embodies the totality of creation, an identical group of fourteen deities are depicted, but here instead with a ram-headed pole in the lower register. This pole is the word of command from the Greatest God in his manifestation as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, [97] which calls into being the waning lunar cycle, beginning with the setting of the full moon in the western horizon to last crescent visibility in the eastern horizon.

The two groups of identical deities on either side of the gate in the middle, are read as facing each other. (Plate 67) The portrayal in this fashion is meant to express the actual appearance of the moon in the night sky. During the waxing phase, the horns of the crescent face left. When the moon is waning the horns face right. When represented simultaneously they appear to face each other. (Plate 70)

The three deities in the solar barque are related to the period when the moon is not visible in the night sky. "Pyr. 1012C [PT 483] refers to three days of festival in connection with the New Moon and the First Crescent Festivals. This corresponds to the number of days (c. 2.5 days) from the last crescent visibility before the New Moon to the appearance of the First Crescent." [98] It is the period when the *ɓa* of Osiris, that is the moon, travels with the sun god inside the solar barque – *psḏntyw* as Depuydt has argued. [99] It is not depicted in the solar barque because it cannot be seen when in the presence of the brilliant light of the sun. This concept is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the monthly ritual cycle.

Finally, the scenes at the first gate, in terms of the means for the marking of time arising from *zp tpj*, subtly allude to the cyclical nature and interrelationship of solar and lunar cycles. The positioning of the opening scenes of the Book of Gates, as noted above, is in the notional southwestern corner of the Osireion complex, the place of the winter solstice, which marks both the start of the annual solar cycle and its end.

96 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Underworld (2005), 114. Hornung translates this last line as: "when he raises His body." The verb "to raise", *ṯnj* is causative here *sṯn* and *ḥᶜw* can be translated as either flesh, limbs or body. P. Wilson, Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 621. The context of the 14 deities makes 'limbs' the preferable translation.

97 Like the ram-headed deity depicted in the Central Hall, who is clearly identified as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. See 5.4 below.

98 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 24.

99 L Depuydt, "The Hieroglyphic Representation of the Moon's Absence (*Psḏntyw*)" in L. Lesko (ed.), Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies (1998), 71-89.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Furthermore, the two groups of fourteen deities in scene are each divided into a group of twelve and a group of two. (Plate 67) This embodies an important ratio 14:12 that has significance for both the length of the hours of the night and day over the course of a solar year. "Amenemhet [an Eighteenth Dynasty dignitary] tells us that he discovered the 14:12 ratio of the lengths of the (longest) night in the winter to the (shortest) night in the summer. Recall that this was the ratio [14 fingers to 12 fingers] of the longest to shortest monthly hour scales of the Karnak clock... [I] found them represented on the interior of the water clock and the movements of Re and the moon-god [100] with utterances of both, and an offering." [101]

The reason for their being two groups of fourteen deities can be found in the nature of the solar cycle itself. Over the course of a year, the Sun disk (Re) moves from its southernmost point along the ecliptic on the winter solstice to its northernmost point along the ecliptic on the summer solstice. Then it returns to the place of the winter solstice at the culmination of the yearly journey.

Whereas the ouroboros in the solar barque by its presence is related to the solar cycle, Scott has shown that the ouroboros can also be a symbiotic representation of the 354 day lunar year. The link appears to be through the interrelationship of the length of the solar and lunar years and the number five, which he also equates to the "five intercalculated 'festival' days, epagomeneia, which belong neither to the old, nor the new, year. These five days, which exist outside of time and space [i.e. outside of the 360 days of the Egyptian civil year and which Scott calls the sacred or perfect year], indicate the return to the uncreated potential from whence a regenerated new creation is to be born." [102]

The lunar symbolism contained within the solar barque in scene 2 of the Book of Gates is two fold. The three deities in the solar barque equate to the maximum duration the *ɓa* of Osiris can travel with the god Re. That is to say the time between last crescent visibility and first crescent visibility when the moon is again visible in the night sky. It reappears low in the western horizon, the location of the First Gate. The ouroboros signifies the length of the lunar year (354 days). Together they symbolize both the start and duration of the lunar year, paralleling that of the start of the annual solar cycle and its duration.

Interestingly, the solar barque used for the nightly journey is in "the same form as the Neshmet boat of the god Osiris, the boat which bears that [god] at his mysteries celebrated at the city of Abydos", [103] and which carries the *ɓa* of Osiris at *psḏntyw* when the moon is not visible in the night sky. Here again we find another subtle reference to lunar imagery and an important link between the sun god Re and Osiris-Moon.

100 M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science Volume II Calendars, Clocks and Astronomy, (1995), 46. "This was also suggested by Sethe and Borchardt, but what the moon-god's movements have to do with the water clock is not clear."

101 Ibid., 458-459.

102 T. Scott, "Remarks on the universal symbolism of the number 72," Eye of the Heart: A Journal of Traditional Wisdom (2008) Issue 1 www.latrobe.edu.au/eyeoftheheart/issue1.html

103 H. Hayes, Funerary Rituals (Pharaonic Period), UEE 2010, 4 and fig. 2.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

This additional evidence reinforces and confirms Manassa's conclusion that in the First Hour, “the solar god is the obvious pictorial focus of the scene, but the underlying significance rests upon the lunar disk represented by the Udjat-eye.” [104]

Speaking about the decoration of the royal tombs, Wilkinson perceptively notes: “Interestingly, those cases where the king is associated with the sun god usually show the association quite overtly, while those in which he is associated with Osiris [and his manifestation as the moon] are often much more subtle and almost covert in their association, though this is perhaps in line with the preeminently solar theme of the later [in this case early] Ramesside decoration program.” [105] His remark is to be kept in mind when analyzing the decoration program of the Osireion.

After having passed through the first gate as the sun god, he enters the netherworld proper, his form changes. He is now “the flesh of Re”, ram-headed crowned by the solar disk, the form in which he is depicted until the final scene. “... the ram-headed manifestation of the sun god on his nocturnal voyage through the Netherworld suggests that he descends into the Netherworld as a *ḥa*, seeking his ponderous body, which lies in the depths.” [106] The *ḥa* uniting with its body in the Sixth Hour describing the union of Re and Osiris on the first occasion is the model not only for all future sunrises – solar rebirths, but also for the means by which mankind achieves eternal life as *ꜣḫ*.

While labeled only as the “flesh of Re” in the Book of Gates and Amduat, in the Central Hall of the Osireion this same figure is identified. It is Re-Horakhti, variegated of plumage, to whom the opening text in this ritual cycle is addressed. (Plate 313) As we have seen, this is the special form of the sun god which arises out of the union of Re with Osiris and manifests with the new sunrise as Re-Horus. That is to say Re-Horakhti (lit. Re-Horus of the Two Horizons). [107]

Upon entering the Second Hour, the *ḏuat* proper, in the lower register, eighth scene, (Plate 75) Atum stands over four reclining figures, *nnyw*, 'Inert ones', who represent the four cardinal directions. This amounts to an announcement by the creator that unlike “upon the earth”, that is to say our world, things are very different in the underworld, where the cardinal directions no longer hold true.

“Darkness is the one prevailing aspect of this hidden and unknown land, joining it once again with the world before the Creation... The beyond is thus a world of confusion, where up and down, right and left, before and after are all reversed; [108] a world without straight lines, outside the bounds of time... The suspension or reversal of all earthly measures affects the most elementary things, such as the

104 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 49.

105 R. Wilkinson, “Symbiotic Orientation and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs” in R. Wilkinson (ed) Valley of the Sun Kings (1995), 80.

106 E. Hornung, Valley of the Kings Horizon of Eternity (1990), 90.

107 See above 3.1.

108 For a detailed explanation for this phenomenon, see below 3.4 and 3.5.

normal direction of the hieroglyphic script; whole passages of the Books of the Netherworld must be read 'backward' [as is the case throughout most of the Osireion]. The clear and obligatory order of the Creation is continually thrown into doubt in the Beyond."[109] This chaotic condition is expressed by the depiction of the group of twenty four figures guarded by Atum in scene 8. They perhaps allude to the suspension of both time and direction in the depths of the *ḏuat*, where it meets the primordial abyss of the Nun, represented here in the bottom register. "On the other hand it appears that only these bottomless and confusingly peculiar depths are capable of renewing the Creation, which is the real purpose of the sun god's nightly 'descent into hell'."[110] Scene 8 also alludes to another important theme expressed in the Book of Gates, where Atum says: (Plate 74)

"I am the son who came forth from his father,
I am the father who came forth from his son." [111]

Hornung comments that "this phraseology stresses the homogeneity of Father and Son. As 'son' Atum assumes the role of Osiris' son Horus." [112] This paradox of begetter and begotten was in the opening of this ritual cycle, where the king initiates creation by invoking the creator god, Atum. Here it is *ṯs-phr*, the Egyptian phrase for vice versa. The creator Atum as the 'son' assumes the role of Horus, son of Osiris. This homogeneity of Father and Son is critical in the concept of kingship and was being emphasized at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, about the time when the Book of Gates first appeared. It underlies the basis for the legitimate transfer of royal power from father to son and is a key component expressed by the Book of Gates. The text above the solar barque states: (Plate 74)

"The Great God moves along on the path of the *ḏuat.*
The Great God is towed by the Gods of the Underworld,
in order to distribute what is in the Earth,
in order to provide for those who are in it (the Earth)
in order to sit in judgment in the West
in order to reduce the mighty one to an unimportant one
among the deities who are in the *ḏuat*,
in order to put *ꜣḫw* in their proper place,
and to deliver the condemned to their decreed fate,
in order to annihilate the corpses of the punished,
in order to incarcerate the *bꜣ* of the annihilated (?)." [113]

109 E. Hornung, Valley of the Kings (1990), 74-75.

110 Ibid., 75.

111 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 120. Same as J. Zandee, "The Book of Gates" in Liber Amicorum, Supplement to Numen XVII (1969), 285.

112 Ibid., 314.

113 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 118-119.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

The emphasis here is not on the transformation itself, so extensively covered in the earlier Amduat,[110] nor on the union of Re and Osiris detailed in the earlier Litany of Re, but on the activity of the sun god, the greatest god, as he travels through each hour of the night. In the carrying out of these activities in the netherworld, this Great God is at all times accompanied by the king, 'the Lord of the Two Lords' in the solar barque in the Osireion version. What this Great God (*nṯr ꜥ⸗*) does in the *ḏuat*, the provisioning of its inhabitants, their judgment, upholding Maat, administering punishment to the evil doers and the destruction of enemies are all functions of the king, *nṯr nfr*, the good god, son of Re, on earth, including making the prescribed offerings upon the earth in the performance of the sun cult.

Here we see the insights of Berlev on the inseparability of *nṯr ꜥ⸗* and *nṯr nfr* from one another extended to the underworld, where *nṯr ꜥ⸗* carries out the duties of rulership but is at all times accompanied by his son – the son of the sun, *nṯr nfr*, who upholds Maat, thereby supporting and participating in his father's rulership. "Certainly, in the world there is a plurality of Gods, but only the sun; creator of this world [on the first occasion, *zp tpj*], creator of these gods, rules; he rules the sky over Egypt, while along side him his son, the younger sun, rules over the land of Egypt [and together they rule over the *ḏuat*]. They are indivisibly linked, forming two suns, elder and younger, father and son. Thus polytheism in Egypt constitutes only a background for these two principal deities, ruling the world, the two kings, the two suns. This principal of the two suns is the fundamental basis of Egyptian religion."[111] As we will see this concept of kingship two kings – two suns expressed in the Book of Gates is balanced in the texts on the opposite wall of the entrance passage by the father son constellation, Osiris and Horus.

"The principle of *unio liturgica* refers not only to knowledge and language but also to action and ritual performance. We see this in the variants of the remarks in the Amduat, where instead of 'knowledge,' the 'execution' of the original is mentioned. This practical-ritual aspect of *unio liturgica* is expressed more clearly still in the remarks of the Book of Gates, where the offering plays the same role that knowledge does in the Amduat. In the Amduat, it is the knowing one who is promised a share in the immortality of the transfigured ones, while in the Book of Gates, it is the one who makes offerings. The Book of Gates talks not of 'he who knows this on earth' but of 'he who offers to them (i.e., the beings who are described) on earth.' As to the understanding of this stereotyped formula, which is repeated constantly in the first nine hours of the Book of Gates, I agree with Wente ["Mysticism" JNES 41 (1982), 161-179], who also sees this offering as a mystical act that conveys a share in the essence of those in the netherworld. With this interpretation of the formula, the principle of *unio liturgica* assumes a new meaning. Just as the one who speaks joins in the words of those in the netherworld and

110 The Amduat, as well as the other Underworld Books, for those who live upon the Earth are considered by some Jungian psychoanalysts to be journeys deep into the human unconscious and provide the knowledge necessary to reunite the individual's soul with this inner guiding light. See:

A. Schweizer, The Sungod's Journey Through the Netherworld: Reading the Ancient Egyptian Amduat (2010);

T. Abt, E. Hornung, Knowledge for the Afterlife The Egyptian Amduat – a Quest for Immortality (2003);

E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007);

E. Hornung, "The Discovery of the Unconscious in Ancient Egypt" in An Annual of Archetypal Psychology and Jungian Thought Spring 1986, 16-28.

111 O. Berlev, "Two Kings – Two Suns – on the Worldview of the Ancient Egyptians" in S. Quirke (ed.), Discovering Egypt from the Neva (2003), 30-31.

thereby becomes one of them, so the one who makes an offering communicates with those in the netherworld and becomes one of them through his ritual action... In the Book of Gates, the one who offers to the beings represented acquires a share in their salvation. Offerings are made to the transfigured spirits, not in order to save them, but in order to gain a share in their salvation. Even more clearly than in the Amduat, the remarks of the Book of Gates, with their constant repetition of the phrase 'on earth,' stress that this information was important not just for the dead but also for the living. The remarks that accompany the offerings, the one who makes these offerings to the described beings 'on earth' is promised membership in their society...." [112]

"The Books of the Netherworld … document not so much theoretical knowledge as an explanation of the cosmos that yields understanding. They do not deduce meaning but rather impute it, and they make use of language to confer meaning on the world. They "describe" a normative reality that the Egyptians called Maat, a reality that is not yet realized in the given circumstances, but in whose direction the circumstances must be steered... In the sun cult, these ritual words became pregnant with meaning under the designation 'the elevation of Maat.' With the recitation of solar hymns, 'normative reality', the ultimate meaning behind events, was to ascend to the sun so as to influence its course in the ways described in the hymns." [113]

"The third hour introduces certain central motifs of the nocturnal voyage, (Plate 76) such as the resurrection of the mummies ['divine bodies'] and their installment in their shrines [scene 9] as well as the ambivalent lake of fire [scene 10] from which the blessed souls ['Lords of Revitalization (?) in this lake'] are saved, even though the waters of the lake [the place and means of resurrection] become as fire for the damned. (Plate 79) In the middle register [scene 11], the sun god passes through the 'Barque of the Earth', *wjȝ-tȝ*, a symbolic depiction of the entire voyage through the depths of the earth. (Plates 77, 78) At the end of the register [scene 12] even clothing is renewed, becoming shining white linen." [114] While here too, as in the case at the first gate, the sun god is the obvious pictorial focus of the symbolic depiction of the entire journey through the depths of the earth. However, the choice of again depicting 31 deities in the middle register, subtly alludes to the complete lunar cycle as well.

112 Sacrifices are made to them on earth to 24 groups of deities totaling either 282 or 284 beings.* There are 2 scenes (13L, 14L) in Hour 3; 4 scenes in (23U, 24U, 28M, 32L) Hour 5; 6 scenes (34U, 35U, 36U, 38M, 40L, 41L) in Hour 6; 4 scenes (42U, 43U, 46L, 47L) in Hour 7; 6 scenes (48U, 49U, 51M, 52M, 53L, 54L) in Hour 8; and 2 scenes (55U, 58M) in Hour 9. The upper registers have a total of 10 scenes; the middle 5 scenes and the lower registers 9 scenes.

I am at a loss to explain why these particular 24 groups of deities were selected while another 27 groups received offerings in the *ḏuat* and 9 received no offerings at all. Nor do I see any significance in the total number of groups receiving sacrifices on earth. The offerings are spread over six hours and thus do not appear to be connected with the number of hours in a day. It is also unclear as to why no offerings were made on earth in the fourth hour of the night when they were in hours 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. The only connection I can see is in the total number of groups receiving offerings – 51. It embodies the sacred number to Osiris of 17 times 3. The Litany of Osiris in the adjoining Antechamber and on the same wall as the Book of Gates is also structured on 17 times 3 and probably relates to the re-membering of Osiris which occurs in the *ḏuat*. The king is depicted also making offerings to each of the three registers of 51 deities in the Litany of Osiris and thus the ritual action of making an offering forms the connection.

*Note that the designations in parenthesis provide the scene number and location; U = Upper register, M = Middle register, and L = Lower register.

113 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 402-404.

114 E. Hornung, "Funerary Literature in the Tombs of the Valley of the Kings" in K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 130.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

"In the lower register the Apophis appears for the first time in the form of a huge snake [scene 13], in front of Atum who supports two Enneads [scene 14] as they overcome the archenemy."[115] (Plate 77, lower right) As in the opening invocation of this ritual sequence and scene 8 in the second hour, the creator god's active role in his creation is once more highlighted: "What Atum has done for Re". [116]

The subduing of Apophis, who has the potential to destroy all of creation, and the defeating of the enemies of Re an Osiris are a major and continuing concern throughout the Book of Gates and the king as the ruling monarch and intermediary between mankind and the gods plays an active role. It is not until the eleventh hour that Apophis is finally subdued (scene 69) which takes up the entire top register of that hour. With Apophis restrained in the *ḏuat*, the sun god can pass by, which is depicted in the middle register of the twelfth hour (scene 89) and be reborn as the first sunrise. The defeat and destruction of the enemies of Re and Osiris are a necessary prerequisite to both the rejuvenation of Osiris and the regeneration of Re. This is made clear in the final three of the seven stated objectives for the presence of the Great God in the *ḏuat* [scene 7]. [117] It will become apparent that the right to exist and continue to exist is only won through hard fought battles and ultimately only with the help of Heka.

The struggle starts at the beginning of the Netherworld proper in the lower register [scene 8]. Atum proclaims to the bound enemies, 'The Ones Belonging to the Desert': (Plate 75)

> "You are the ones who have committed evil,
> who have caused carnage in the Great Hall!
> Your bodies have been condemned to be decapitated,
> your *ḥau* to non-existence!
> You shall not see Re in his manifestation..." [118]

This scene is complemented by scene 69 in the upper register of the eleventh hour, (Plate 111) where Apophis is finally subdued. They highlight the significance of the events that begin with Atum's actions as the creator god, who initiates the first occasion, and end with those of Osiris, leading to the first sunrise – the prime act of creation. Together they symbolize the process of rejuvenation, rebirth and new life, which the ancient Egyptians associated above all with Osiris. [119] In fact, Osiris does not just represent the process. He *is* the process. It starts at the moment of entry into the *ḏuat* proper, the realm of Osiris. The carnage in the Great Hall that the now bound prisoners, 'The Ones Belonging to the Desert', i.e. confederates of Seth, had committed, was the dismemberment and death of Osiris. That

115 E. Hornung, "Funerary Literature in the Tombs of the Valley of the Kings" in K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 130.

116 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 125.

117 See above 3.2.

118 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 120.

119 R. Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (1978), 157-180, esp. 179-180.

is to say the waning of the moon which is also referred to as the injuring of the Udjat-eye. This is later made explicit in the seventh hour, scene 45, where Atum says:

> "He [Re] is ordering your [the enemies] execution,
> He assigns you to what you have done
> in the Great Hall of Re.
> While the gods mourn the (injured) Udjat-eye..." [120]

The Udjat-eye is the lunar left eye of the supreme deity, also called the eye of Horus. Barguet further connects the lamentation by the gods for the injured Udjat-eye to the death of the king who becomes Osiris. Its restoration symbolizes the ascension to the throne by the new king. [121] The Udjat-eye like the *sšd*-fillet are symbols of kingship.

> "What Atum does for [on behalf of] Re:
> To transfigure the God [Osiris],
> To praise the *ba* [of Re]
> To mete out punishment to His [Re-Osiris] Enemies." [122]

And so it begins. Either Apophis or the enemies of Re and Osiris are encountered in every hour including the Hall of Judgment. The struggle against the forces of chaos, the enemies within creation, are depicted in seventeen of the hundred scenes in the Book of Gates. [123] By their number they are intimately connected to the dismemberment necessary in the process of transfiguration for the gods. With the subjugation of Apophis in the eleventh hour not only is the regeneration and rebirth of the sun made possible so too is Osiris' own rejuvenation.

In scene 69 (Plate 111) there are thirty one deities depicted carrying out the final subduing and punishment of Apophis, who threatens the very existence of the created cosmos and its basic underlying structure of time. This triumph over Apophis and his confinement in the *duat* occurs under the direction of Khentiamenti, 'The Foremost of the West'. This manifestation of Osiris stands at the end of the register, holding the was-scepter of dominion and oversees his sentence of damnation.

Geb and the Sons of Horus say:

120 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 153.

121 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Portes et la Transmission du Pouvoir Royal" RdE 27 (1975), 32.

122 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 119 scene 8.

123 The struggle against Apophis occurs nine times: Hour 3, scenes 13 and 14; Hour 5, scene 27; Hour 6, scenes 34 and 35; Hour 10, scenes 66 and 67; Hour 11, scene 69; and Hour 12, scene 89. The struggle against the enemies of Re or Osiris occurs eight times: Hour 2, scene 8; Hour 4, scene 33, Hour 5, scene 32; Hour 7, scene 45; Hour 8, scene 51; Hour 9, scenes 59 and 60; and the Hall of Judgment of Osiris. Together they total 17, the sacred Osirian number of dismemberment and death. By this number, they too are ritually destroyed.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

"Beware of the sentence of damnation by Khentiamenti!"[124]

The number symbolism in this register is Osirian, lunar, and that of rejuvenation, which are encoded in the numbers thirty-one and nineteen. It is extremely subtle and complex. The reversal of the direction faced by the first four of 'the deities of the binding rope' effectively divides the scene of thirty-one deities into two groups. (Plate 111) The latter group overseen by Khentiamenti (Osiris) consists of nineteen deities including the hand of the god "The One with the Hidden Corpse [Re]... at the Gate of Khentiamenti"[125] These nineteen deities embody the essence of the union of Re, as the hand of the god, with Osiris Khentiamenti, and symbolize the victory over Apophis (chaos), resulting in their vindication, their mutual rejuvenation. Here though the emphasis is on Osiris by his own action, the sentence of damnation by Khentiamenti. [126] The thirty-one deities depicted in the scene who subdue chaos are referred to as the 'Limbs of Osiris' in the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD168) and represent all potential combinations of lunar phases in a given lunation (synodic month). Thus, in effect, it is the phases of the lunar cycle, the thirty-one 'Limbs of Osiris', at their creation through the union of Re and Osiris on the first occasion which ultimately subdue chaos, leading to the first sunrise and the birth of Re. In other words, it is Osiris who begets Re and paralleling the creator Atum's actions "What Osiris has done for Re". [127] The victory of the thirty-one 'Limbs of Osiris' over chaos alludes to the unfolding of *nḥḥ* time as the newly created lunar cycle. It begins with the sunrise on I *ꜣḫt* 1, the start of the (new) year on the day of the New Moon of *zp tpj*, the first occasion. It also denotes the beginning of solar time as measured by the Egyptian civil calendar.

In the fourth hour, (Plate 80) Re is said to be traversing Tatenen (scene 17). [128] Tatenen is the primeval mound which arose out of the primordial abyss, the Nun, on the first occasion. Its presence here is another indication that this composition pertains to the first occasion. In this hour two other aspects created on *zp tpj* are portrayed; the creation of time in the middle register (scene 20), and the transmission of royal power in the lower register (scenes 21 and 22).

"While the direction of time is repealed in the Realm of the Dead, time itself is omnipresent in the Books of he Underworld. Both the Amduat and the Book of Gates, [have] each one of its twelve sections corresponding to one Hour of the Night, through which the sun god travels on his journey." [129] The structured order of the Book of Gates, defined by each gate and accompanying hour, born out of

124 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 173 for the texts of scene 69.

125 Ibid., 173.

126 See also the remarks of T. DuQuesne, "The Osiris-Re Conjunction" in SAT 11 (2006), 23-33.

127 This section was written and dedicated to Gloria Rourke during her transfiguration and vindication!

128 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 130.

129 Ibid., 18.

the first occasion shows that the very existence of the created cosmos is built upon the foundation of the concept of time. Clearly both the sun and the moon are related to time, perhaps better, create time and its measurement. But additional aspects of time are the subject of six scenes in the Book of Gates indicating its importance. [130] They are found in all three registers and relate to the creation, allotment and destruction of time, arising from the first occasion. Scene 20 is the first of the scenes concerning the Hour Goddesses. (Plate 81, 82) Specifically here, they are 'the Hour Goddesses Who Are in the *ḏuat*', the twelve hours of the night. [131] They are depicted in two groups of six. Each group stands on a triangle half filled with wavy lines and the other half is black. Between them is an enormous coiled snake:

> "'The One Who Distances,
> Who gives birth to twelve snakes
> which are destroyed by her
> and devoured by the Hour-(Goddesses)...
>
> Re says to them:
>
> … Your life span is 'the One Who Distances'
> you live off that which emerges from it [time].
> May you guide me (for) it is I who have sired you!
> … Their sacrificial food is given to them
> as the ones who emerge in front [before] the *ꜣḫw*." [132]

This scene represents the creation of time, the twelve night hours of the *ḏuat* on the first occasion. It is Atum-Re who created them before there could be the *ꜣḫw* who exist inside of time. The two triangles are a depiction of where the black void of the primordial Abyss, the Nun, meets the waters of the lower *ḏuat* out of which Atum-Re created the Hour Goddesses. Their lifetime, while immense almost inexhaustible is still finite. In Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead, Atum says:

> "I will dispatch the elders and destroy all that I have made,
> the earth shall return to the Primordial Water,
> to the surging flood, as in its original state.
> But I will remain with Osiris
> I will transform myself into something else,
> namely a serpent." [133]

130 Scene 20 in Hour 4 middle register; Scene 31, Hour 5 lower register (Plate 87); Scene 36, Hour 6 upper register; Scene 49, Hour 8 upper register; Scene 76, Hour 11 upper register; and Scene 80, Hour 11 lower register.

131 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 131.

132 Ibid., 131-132.

133 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 29.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

It is tempting to make a connection between the serpent, 'the One Who Distances', who both creates the hours but also destroys them and Atum in serpent form. Together they form the ultimate cycle from the creation of the hours and their goddesses on the first occasion to the end of all time as the serpent Atum and Osiris.

There also appears to be a progression in the unfolding of creation depicted in the fourth hour as the Greatest of all the Gods, Re traverses Tatenen, the rising land emerging from the primordial waters of the Abyss on the first occasion. [134] As the creation of time was necessary before the *akhu* could exist as the text above affirms, so too does Osiris exist before time exists, i.e. 'the Hour Goddesses Who Are in the *duat*'.

In the opening scene (18) in the middle register of the fourth hour, Re commands his Towers [i.e. the ones who tow the solar barque], the four Gods of the Underworld to: (Plate 80)

> "Do turn round to the East of the Sky
> to the place which raises Osiris
> to that Secret Mountain!
> … Tow me, (while) I provide for you,
> to the Gate which Conceals the Ones of the Underworld!
> [cf. the Gate shrouding the 'Tired One' (Osiris)]." [135]

In scene 19, Re says to 'the Gods in Osiris' Retinue': (Plate 83)

> "Do raise you deities!...
> You rise up because of my Sun Disk
> you straighten up because of the radiance of my Sun." [136]

As Atum remains with Osiris at the end of time, it appears that the Greatest God also created Osiris before time.

The progression of the unfolding of creation extends well beyond the Fourth Hour. It permeates the entire structure of the Book of Gates. To find the creation of the other half of time. The twelve hours of the day, we must progress to scene 80 in the eleventh hour. (Plate 113) But this scene forms an integral part of the lower register comprising of scenes 79, 80 and 81 (Plate 111) and will be analyzed within the context of this three scene composition.

134 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 130.

135 Ibid., 130 and 314 n. 25 citing Westcar Papyrus, 7, 26.

136 Ibid., 131.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

It is clear that Re is preparing to be born i.e. embark with his retinue to the sky (scene 79). The crew of the day barque includes twelve 'Deities Who Never Set', who are imperishable stars.[137] The fact that the crew of the day barque includes imperishable stars is significant because it points to a specific sunrise, the sunrise on the summer solstice. This is the time when the sun is at the northernmost point along the ecliptic and it is the only point where the northern imperishable stars would actually appear to embark. Since the sun at the time of the solstice appears to hover at the same point along the horizon for three days, it is not difficult to see how the Ancient Egyptians, familiar as they were with sailing, could have envisioned the imperishable stars, the oarsmen, boarding the solar barque for the annual journey with the sun god across the sky.

It has been shown that the placement of the Book of Gates in the Osireion is explicit in its orientation to the winter solstice and the start of the annual solar cycle.[138] Yet, we have just seen a concrete reference to the summer solstice. This seemingly inconsistency can be explained by the first occasion as a reflection of *ḏt* time where the complete solar cycle was created; just as we have seen with the creation of the complete cycle of kingship in life and in the afterlife in the opening to this ritual cycle; and with the lunar cycle, where the first gate alludes to the place of the lunar birth with first crescent visibility and the setting of the full moon. Sun, moon and kingship are all born out of the first occasion.

It also reflects the peculiar inverted nature of the *ḏuat.* The setting of the sun in the western horizon occurs during the transitional first hour of the night, before the cardinal directions “become weary” in the second hour which marks the beginning of the *ḏuat* proper. Thus, it is correctly oriented for our world i.e. at the notional southwestern most point of the Osireion complex which symbolizes the southwestern most point along the ecliptic, the place of sunset at the time of the winter solstice. It is also the place of the culmination of the annual solar cycle. The famous final scene of the Book of Gates, that of the prelude to the first sunrise on the summer solstice, is located at the notional southeastern end of the subterranean Entrance Passage, which symbolizes the place of sunrise on the eastern horizon of the winter solstice on the earthly plane. This apparent contradiction can be explained. Located in the Osireion, the depiction of the final scene is actually located in the *ḏuat.* While the western entrance and the eastern exit to the *ḏuat* correspond to the western and eastern horizons on the earthly plane, north and south are reversed in the upside down, topsy turvy underworld where right becomes left and vice versa. In the otherly world, the placement of the prelude to the first sunrise is correctly located when viewed from the perspective of the *ḏuat*.[139] South having become

137 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 177.

138 See above 3.1. The importance of this orientation is underscored by its placement in the Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9). The template for the decoration of this royal burial place is the decoration program of the Osireion. However, in the entrance corridors, the Book of Gates is found on the opposite wall from its position in the Osireion. This is due to the difference in the axial alignments of the two structures. In order to maintain the relationship of the Book of Gates with the winter solstice, it had to be placed on the notional southern wall of the tomb, which is the left wall in KV 9 and not the right wall as in the Osireion.

139 As will be shown, the apparent contradiction in the placement of the Underworld Book corpus in the Osireion are all consistent and properly aligned from the perspective of inside the *ḏuat*.

north where the summer solstice occurs when the sun is at its northeasterly most point along the path of the ecliptic. With this inversion effect, the portrayal of the entire ecliptic path of the sun's annual journey through the sky and the *ḏuat* is accomplished on a two dimensional plane of the wall decoration, just as it is described in p.Carlsberg I through the positioning of the goddess Nut's arms and feet. [140]

The text of scene 79, lower register eleventh hour, describing the imperishable stars is revealing:

> "This is what they [the Deities Who Never Set] are like:
> They rise for Re,
> they receive their oars at this Gate of the [God]
> 'The One Belonging to the Hour'.
> However, they come into existence for Re's birth,
> they come into existence at the time of Re's birth
> they come from Nun with him.
> It is they who row this Great God
> after He has settled Himself in the Eastern Horizon of the Sky." [141]

Coming into existence at the time of Re's birth out of the Nun quite clearly indicates that it is occurring on the first occasion, *zp tpj*. The statement is so explicit that there can no longer be any doubt that the Book of Gates is describing events that unfold on the first occasion. It also provides an explanation of what happens to the imperishable stars, that special group of stars that never set or are at least visible in the sky every single night. [142] Unlike the unwearying ones, the non-circumpolar stars who disappear from the night sky often for months at a time as they rejuvenate in the *ḏuat*, the circumpolar stars are apparently regenerated directly by contact with the sun god daily as they accompany him in the day barque so that they can shine again every night in the sky.

Having his crew on board, Re then summons the 'Hour Goddesses Who Tow' in the next scene 80. (Plate 111)

> "This is what they are like:
> They receive the tow rope of the barque
> in order to tow Re and Nut.
> They are the ones who tow Re
> and accompany him (on) the paths in Nut
> They are the deities who lead this god from the *ḏuat.*
>
> Re says to them:

140 See below 5.7.

141 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 177-178.

142 J. P. Allen, Review of R. Krauss Astronomische Konzepte in JNES 61 (2002), 63-65.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

You have received the tow rope, so that you are content.
May you return my retinue to the Sky,
    may you lead me on <u>your</u> paths!
My birth is your birth, too,
    my coming into existence is also your coming into existence!
Ho, you fix your life span,
    you give years – corresponding to the (supply) that you have! [143]

The Hour Goddesses are depicted with stars on their heads. (Plate 113) They are stars along the southern edge of the ecliptic, and are part of the decanal stars.[144] As specified in the text, they are not in the solar barque but are in front and tow their paths in the southern sky. This action by the Hour Goddesses, while subtle, is significant. It causes the inversion of the cardinal directions announced by Atum at the beginning of the second hour (Plate 75, scene 8), that is in the *ḏuat* proper, to be righted for the upcoming sunrise. Coming from the west, out of the north, where the imperishable stars entered the solar barque on the summer solstice; the barque is being towed southward along the horizon to the east, where the sunrise will unfold in the southeastern horizon on the winter solstice six months later to restart the cycle. This action by the Hour Goddesses is what causes the sun to rise and set further south each day as the sun is being towed from the place along the ecliptic of the summer solstice to that of the winter solstice sunrise. Whereas, it is the oarsmen who account for the daily east to west movement of the solar barque from sunrise to sunset. Thus, both motions of the sun are accounted for by the actions of the Hour Goddesses and the imperishable stars, 'the Deities Who Never Set'.

Here again we encounter another explicit reference in the Book of Gates to *zp tpj*. In this instance, it is the creation of *ḏt* time at the beginning of time and the movement of time, *nḥḥ* time, since the first time. "My (Re) coming into existence is also your [Hour Goddesses Who Tow] coming into existence", [145] hence the means to measure time, the sun by day and the stars by night. "You give years,"[146] the Hour Goddesses are part of the decanal stars used to measure both hours and the year. The decanal stars are the unwearying ones, the stars along the southern end of the ecliptic and the counterpart and compliment to the northern imperishable stars in scene 79. [147] The complimentary nature is expressed in the juxtaposition of the phrases:

143 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 178. He translates it "who leads this God in the *ḏuat*." But the real sense is from the *ḏuat*, which is made clear by Re's command: "May you return my retinue to the sky."

144 Contra P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 123, who tries to identify them as the crew of the night barque in this scene.

145 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 178 is the text of scene 80.

146 Ibid., 178. Text scene 80.

147 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 126

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

"Your [Deities Who Never Set] coming into existence
is my [Re] coming into existence.
Your birth is my birth!" [148]

"My [Re] birth is your birth, too [Hour Goddesses Who Tow]
My coming into existence
is also your coming into existence." [149]

But it also hints at an order or sequence and direction to the unfolding of the first occasion. As the sweet breath from Atum is the north wind, so too does creation unfold from the north. First in scene 79 the northern imperishable stars come into existence for Re's birth, at the time of Re's birth and from the Nun with him. [150] This is then followed in scene 80 with the birth of the southern Hour Goddesses Who Tow and time itself, coming into existence from – as a result of – Re's birth. Thus the juxtaposition of coming into existence and the birth is subtle but of significance to the direction and sequence of the unfolding of the first occasion.

Scene 81 completes the lower register of the eleventh hour and further elaborates on the unfolding of the first occasion and with it, time and its measurement. (Plates 111, 114) There are seven deities each of whom has its own brief inscription. This scene is decipherable only if taken in context of all the deities in the lower register. There are the twelve oarsmen of the northern imperishable stars and the twelve southern Hour Goddesses. Together they account for the daily east-west motion and the yearly movement along the ecliptic of the sun god in his barque; visible signs of the progression of solar time. With the seven deities in the final scene, they total thirty-one. We have encountered this number in the first, third, and upper register of the eleventh hours. The thirty-one deities, like the thirty-one limbs of Osiris in the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168), represent all the possible combinations of lunar phases for any given monthly lunation.

The night is drawing to a close and Re is already preparing for the first sunrise. This is being reflected in the means for the measurement of time as well, to which the final three figures in scene 81 hold the key. The last figure, 'The One On His Throne' faces all the other deities who accompany Re. The inscription reads:

"He opens, [he is] the door-keeper of this Cavern.
He remains at his place
he does not walk with Re." [151]

148 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 178, text of scene 79.

149 Ibid., 178, text of scene 80.

150 Ibid., 178, text of scene 79.

151 Ibid., 179, text of scene 81.

Thus the door-keeper is not to be included in the retinue of Re which now numbers thirty. As this transition unfolds, like the actions of the Hour Goddesses Who Tow and restore the integrity of the cardinal directions, the base and means for the measurement of time also changes as night turns into day. It shifts from a lunar-night base, the moon, to a solar-day base, the sun, and with it to the civil calendar of twelve thirty-day months.

Appropriately, the thirtieth deity is the sacred Udjat-eye on a carrying pole, 'the Divine Eye'. [152] It is a fascinating but extremely complex symbol. "For the ancient Egyptians the sun and the moon could represent the right and left eyes respectively for the supreme deity. The lunar left eye can appear as the eye of Horus, the solar right eye as the eye of Re. Both the solar eye and the eye of Horus can be the avenging eye who shoots arrows of fire into the enemies of the solar deity; the solar eye is also a goddess, the wandering daughter of the sun, and the womb of the solar mother from which the morning sun is born. In the nature of raging, angry goddess of the solar eye the Horus eye and wandering daughter merge... Both the eye of Horus and the eye of Re may appear as the Udjat – according to Coffin Texts spell 335 [= Book of the Dead, chapter 17] the Udjat-eye is the eye of Re (CT IV, 238/9d-242/3c)..." [153] Fortunately, it is clearly identified for us in scene 81.

> "It is the Eye of Re
> This god is pleased with it
> when it takes its place in the barque." [154]

"The reconstruction of the solar eye in the first hour of the Book of Gates [scene 1] is a necessary prerequisite to the successful emergence from the eastern horizon, as suggested by the presence of a complete Udjat-eye in the lower register of the eleventh hour of Gates [scene 81]... The now restored Udjat-eye becomes the receptacle of the new born sun and assumes its rightful place in the barque of the sun god before ascending in the eastern horizon." [155]

The fact that the Eye of Re is depicted here specifically in the form of the Udjat-eye is significant for another important reason. Scene 81 depicts the preparation for the impending sunrise. It also expresses the transition of the measurement of time by the moon to the sun. Embedded in the six components of the sacred Udjat-eye is the means to reconcile the relationship between [the base for the] measurement of time by the moon and by the sun. The Udjat-eye embodies a geometric progression that "reproduces the progression of creation that is unfolding here and for the first time" [156] and is key to an important measurement of the lunar cycle. The six pieces of the restored eye represented a special set of hieroglyphic and hieratic signs to indicate fractions of a *ḥeqat*, the standard unit of dry volume for the measurement of grain. [157] "Noteworthy is the suggestion [by Derchain] that

152 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 179.

153 J. Darnell, "The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye" SAK 24 (1997), 35-36.

154 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 179.

155 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 49.

156 B. Stricker, "The Enemies of Re" DE 23 (1992), 63.

157 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian Third Edition (2014), Essay 9.

the fructifying power attributed to this celestial body [the moon] is what led to the adoption of the constituent parts of the lunar symbol of the sound eye [*wḏȝt*] to express the fractions of the Egyptian corn [grain]-measure."[158] It was Moller in 1910 who rediscovered that the signs for the fractions of the grain measurement derived from the six component parts of the Udjat-eye.[159] Junker demonstrated that the Udjat-eye was assembled one piece per day and on the sixth day was complete.[160] This day of "filling the Udjat", the sixth day of the lunar cycle was a significant monthly festival dating back to the time of the Pyramid Texts.[161] These six fractions (1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, 1/64) form a natural geometric progression. "That there was some rationale behind this series of dimidiated fractions is hinted at by the Egyptians themselves. For example, in one of the eastern crypts of the Dendera temple, the title of the scene describing the presentation of the *wsnb*, an object connected in all probability with time, or the measurement of time... is as follows:

> To be recited:
> Your *ḳȝ* is healthy, provided with its fractions
> its pupil is complete in its place,
> the Udjat-eye is hale as Isden (Thoth) [has made] it so
> all it forms are according to the right reckoning (*tp-hsb*)."[162]

Priskin recognized the significance of the phrase "right reckoning" (*tp-hsb*) and was able to demonstrate that the Udjat-eye stood for a basic mathematical operation connected with the 30 day lunar cycle.[163] Adding up the value of the six fractional parts of the Udjat-eye and multiplying that sum by 30, the number of days in each month in the Egyptian civil calendar, yields 29.53125 days. This is an extremely close approximation of the mean length of the synodic month, the period between two identical phases of the moon.[164] Given the symbolism of the restored eye as complete, it specifically refers to the full moon.

Egyptian symbolism is ever multifaceted. At another level, in the form of the Udjat-eye in the solar barque, it could also be alluding specifically to the time of sunrise on the first occasion. The treatise in the Second Transverse Hall on the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars (Book of Nut) seems to indicate that *zp tpj* unfolded with sunrise on the summer solstice on the day of the blacked-out moon (new moon) on I *ȝḫt* 1, the first day of the Egyptian civil year, when Osiris-moon enters into the solar barque to leave the *ḏuat* and travel with Re. This is a major theme of the Book of Caverns and the monthly Rites for the New Moon, which are discussed in detail below in Chapter Four.

158 M. Smith, On the Primeval Ocean (2002), 126. Citing P. Derchain, La Lune: mythes et rites (1962), 33.

159 G. Moller, "Die Zeichen fur die Bruchteile des Hohlmasses und das Uzatauge" ZAS 48 (1910), 99-101.

160 H. Junker, "Die sechs Teile des Horusauges und der 'sechste Tag' " ZAS 48 (1910), 101-106.

161 G. Hughes, "The Sixth Day of the Lunar Month and the Demotic Word for 'Cult Guild'", MDAIK 16 (1958), 147-160.

162 G. Priskin, "The Eye of Horus and the Synodic Month" DE 53 (2002), 77.

163 Ibid., 75-81.

164 Ibid., 75-81. The difference is 0.00066 of a day, which is 57 seconds.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Priskin further explains how the ancient Egyptians could have arrived at so precise a calculation of the length of the synodic month by using observational data over long periods of time coupled with their civil calendar, where the months are of an equal lengths of 30 days. At some point, it would have been noticed that after a 25 year interval the lunar phases systematically fell on the same civil dates. With this observation it would be a relatively easy matter to make the calculation even in the late Middle Kingdom (2055-1650 BC). It can be calculated by using problem number 36 in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, which not surprisingly concerns the *ḥeqat* measure. "Then it was sheer ingenuity on the part of the Egyptians that they approximated this value by collating a geometrical series of fractions and the length of the civil month." [165]

It also provides an insight into the magic of Thoth and a solution to Sir Alan Gardiner's dilemma. According to Gardiner: "Later, the ibis-god Thoth miraculously 'filled' or 'completed' (*mḥ*) the eye, joining together the parts, whereby, the eye regained its title to be called 'the sound eye'... These fractions together add up to 63/64; presumably the missing 1/64 was supplied by Thoth." [166] In fact, there is no missing piece. Nor is there any magic here. It is just mathematics. The symbolism of the restored Udjat-eye with its six pieces reunited, denoted the average length of the synodic month is a mathematical astronomical concept *par excellence.*

The figure directly behind the Udjat-eye in scene 81 and following it in the Osireion version (Plates 114, 111) is an ape on a carrying pole with arms raised in praise; 'the One from the Opposite Sky?' [167] or 'He of the nether sky' using Darnell's translation. [168] The ape is a manifestation of the god Thoth, regulator of time. He is associated with the moon as the name would suggest, [169] but as 'the One Who Guides Khepri' [170] he guides the unfolding of the first sunrise and is the 'messenger of Re' as well. Thus, Thoth has an equally close association with the solar cycle, which is the focus here as the text indicates.

> "He praises Re,
> he offers ovations to Akhti [lit. the one in the horizon]" [171]

It emphasizes Thoth's participating role in the unfolding sunrise rather than his lunar aspects, because the night in its eleventh hour is turning into day, even though the latent lunar symbolism is present in both the ape and the Udjat-eye, a good example of multiplicity in Egyptian symbolism.

165 G. Priskin DE 53 (2002), 79.

166 A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Third Edition, (1982), 197.

167 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld, (2005), 179.

168 "*nntj*, He of the nether sky." J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 254.

169 Both translations lead to a lunar interpretation. The 'One from the Opposite Sky' refers specifically to the full moon when at sunrise both the sun in the eastern horizon and the full moon setting in the opposite western horizon are visible. 'He of the nether sky' equates to the moon in the night sky and/or the new moon when it is not visible in the night sky but is in the *ḏuat's* nether sky..

170 As depicted in the vignette of Chapter 100 Book of the Dead, E. Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbuch I (reprint 1971), plate CXIII.

171 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 179.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

With the impending sunrise, the prime act of creation, one would expect the presence of the sacred Osirian number of rejuvenation and resurrection, the number nineteen. For without the union of Re with Osiris, there could be no sunrise. In the upper register of the eleventh hour the number nineteen is present in a distinctly Osirian/lunar context of the thirty-one deities/limbs of Osiris. (Plates 111, 112) In the lower register this is shifted from the lunar to a solar context. The thirty one deities are divided into two groups: the thirty who walk with Re and the figure facing them, "The One On His Throne [Osiris]... He remains at his place [in the *ḏuat*]."[172] Thus, the means to the measurement of time converts to a solar context with the birth of Re (sunrise) and is characterized by its fixed 30-day month of the Egyptian civil calendar.

The number nineteen is subtly segmented within the group of the thirty deities in the lower register by the spacing of the twelve oarsmen, clearly seen in the tomb of Ramesses VI. (Plate 112) The twelve imperishable stars are actually separated into two groups. The group of seven form a central unit of nineteen deities with the twelve Hour Goddesses to whom they are closely spaced. They are the two groups who account for the measurement of time by the daily and yearly movement of the sun across the sky, as such the group symbolizes the rebirth of the sun god, Re, paralleling the rejuvenation of Osiris depicted in the upper register (scene 69).

The group of seven imperishable stars most probably represent the northern constellation *msḫtyw*, the Foreleg of the Bull, our Big Dipper/Great Bear.[173] The constellation is in the shape of the sacred Egyptian adaze used in the Opening of the Mouth ritual for the revivification, animation and regeneration of the deceased, statues and even temples. The identity of the seven imperishable stars is found in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead:

> "As for the tribunal which is behind Osiris,
> Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef, [Four Sons of Horus]
> it is these who are behind the Great Bear in the northern sky...
> As for these seven spirits [*aḫu*]
> Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef
> He who sees his father, [Horus, the Protector of his Father]
> He who is under his Moringa-tree [Thoth] and
> Horus the Eyeless, [*ḥr ḫntj-n-jrtj*] [night of the New Moon – Moon in the *ḏuat*]
> It is they who were set by Anubis
> as a protection for the burial of Osiris.
> Otherwise said;
> Behind the embalming place of Osiris." [174]

172 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 179.

173 In the Book of the Day, originally depicted on the half of the ceiling directly above the Book of Gates (see 3.5 below), Text 31 according to Piankoff's numbering provides direct support for this assumption. "Here, the crew [of the day barque] is said to include the circumpolar stars, specifically four stars belonging to Meskhetiu. These are probably the four bright stars that make up the share of our Plough or the shoulder of the Foreleg [the bowl of the Big Dipper]." S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 185-186.

174 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 9-10.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Interestingly, Willems has made a similar connection in the earlier Coffin Texts between the seven imperishable stars of *msḫtyw*, the adaze used in the opening of the mouth, and the hour stars (*wnnwt*), and connects them to Stundenwachen, the hourly vigil at Osiris' side that is in the embalming place of Osiris. [175]

"He argues that *msḫtyw*, which can also be regarded as the seven *ꜣḫw*, performed the Opening of the Mouth ritual during the Stundenwachen and that the timing of the ritual was calculated using the rising of the decans [the 12 Hour Goddesses]" [176] Spalinger citing Otto has further connected the ancient Opening of the Mouth rite in the New Kingdom to inheritance of the throne of Egypt, a theme of major importance in the Book of Gates. [177]

In the lower register of the eleventh hour *msḫtyw*, the sacred adaze, would appear to be used for the benefit of both Re at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of the new solar cycle, and the deity at the far end of the register, 'The One On His Throne' who stands holding a *wꜣs*-scepter, the symbol of dominion, and who remains at his place in the *ḏuat*. This not so subtle reference to Osiris compliments the figure of Osiris-Khentiamenti in the same location in the top register and who also holds a *wꜣs*-scepter as he oversees the carrying out of his sentence of damnation 'at the Gate of Khentiamenti'. [178] (Plates 111, 112)

As would be expected, the consecrated number nineteen is present in the middle register of the eleventh hour as well in scenes 71-78. (Plate 112) The symbolism in that register encompasses the totality of the process of transformation as does the 'Great Image', the 'Face of the Solar Disk', which is the central figure. (Plate 116)

> "You are mighty O, Re, through your Face!
> You are great when you settle down, Re, in your Mysterious Face
> The Face of Re is opened,
> opened are the eyes of Akhti
> so that he can dispel the darkness of the West
> so that he might give radiance with the (eye)..." [179]

To open the Mysterious Face of Re and his two eyes, it would appear that the processes symbolized by the sacred numbers seventeen and nineteen must be completed. Together they sum to 36 (6x6). Like Thoth whose epithet is twice great so too is the progression of creation twice great, symbolized by

175 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 183-185.

176 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 111.

177 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II (2009), 113; E. Otto, Das agyptische Mundoffnungsritual (1960), 12.

178 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 179, Scene 81.

179 Ibid., 175, Scene 70.

the six parts of each of the two eyes of the Mysterious Face of Re. Thirty-six is the number of decans used to mark the solar year as measured by the Egyptian civil calendar. The two eyes of Akhti (lit. the one of the horizon) refer to two specific time periods. "Opened are the eyes of Akhti so that He can dispel the darkness of the West" reflects the period when both the sun (Re) and the moon (Osiris) are in the *ḏuat* and neither are visible in the sky which occurs at the time of the New Moon. The other period is when the rising sun in the eastern horizon can be seen opposite the full moon in the western horizon when the two eyes of the supreme god encompasses the entire sky. This is expressed by the concept of Horus of Letopolis. At another level according to Englund, "Horus who has not his two eyes, *ḥr-mḫntj-n-irty*, i.e. the sources of light, the sun and the moon, and this Horus form must represent the unity of the godhead before creation, before coming into existence of duality [prior to the unfolding of the first occasion, *zp tpj*]. There is also Horus who has two eyes, *ḥr-mḫntj-irty*, which represents the godhead after the differentiation process has started, and duality, the first step on the way to plurality, has come into existence and transformed the unity of the godhead into the creator god who manifests himself in the light. These Horus forms correspond to Atum as sole god and Atum as triune god together with Shu and Tefnut." [180]

The 'Face of Re' depicted frontally in scene 73, is full and complete with both eyes, the right solar eye of Re and the left lunar eye of Horus. It is the face of Re-Horus of the Two Horizons (Re-Horakhti) as the god is about to emerge out from the *ḏuat* on the first occasion. The number symbolism conveys this same message. There are seventeen deities which surround the 'Great Image'. This number, as we have seen, symbolizes the start of the transfiguration process, the necessary dismemberment of and death of the old. That is to say, the death of Osiris. However, upon closer inspection, two of the seventeen deities depicted have two heads which increases the actual number of deities to nineteen. (Plate 112) This technique is similar to the one used in the Litany of Re where seventy-four manifestations are depicted, but among them two each have two names, increasing the total number of manifestations of Re to seventy-six [4 x 19]. The sacred number to Osiris, the number nineteen, represents the completion of the transfiguration process, the revivification and rebirth. Importantly, this is accomplished through the living Horus i.e. the king. Horus is depicted twice in the group of deities, one on either side of the 'Mysterious Face of Re'. His double depiction brings the total to nineteen and thereby completes the transformation of Osiris, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons and himself, the son of Osiris and the son of Re. The first figure of Horus (Scene 71) is in a group of "four kneeling, mummy-like shrouded deities, all with a rearing uraeus-snake on their head... the falcon-headed fourth god is Horus. The inscription reads:

> This is what they are like:
> It is 'the (snakes) in the Earth' they are guarding.
> They rise for Re
> and they sit down while the 'Great Image' is among them.
> Then they walk behind Re
> while they carry the 'Mysterious Image' which is among them." [181]

180 G. Englund, "The Treatment of Opposites in Temple Thinking and Wisdom Literature" in G. Englund (ed.), Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions (1987), 80.

181 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 176.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

In scene 78, Horus is shown fused with Seth as a two-headed deity with four arms raised in praise. In this form, the rulership of Upper and Lower Egypt are symbolically bound together. As in scene 62 in the tenth hour, he is called "His Two Faces." [182] The inscription reads:

> "The One Provided with Coiling uraeus-snakes walks through the *ḏuat*
> The bow carries 'His Two Faces' as His mystery.
> It is they who announce Re in the Eastern Horizon of the Sky.
> They traverse the Sky behind him." [183]

"In *ḥrwy-fy*, [184] the opposites are integrated in a higher unit. This figure... seems to represent the mystery of totality of the other world. These two images show the integration of opposites into a living unit. Now everything within the created world functions as a part of the totality and is a separate unit within plurality. Everything contains its opposite in conformity with the original unit that in itself comprised two potential opposite poles whose interaction was to give rise to creation." [185]

The important theme of transfiguration is expressed throughout the Osireion. On the same notional southern wall of the adjoining Antechamber, Horus is depicted holding an ankh, symbolizing the sweet breath of life of Atum, to the nose of his enthroned father Osiris. (Plates 225, 224) In the Second Transverse Hall, Horus is depicted awakening his father in a similar manner. (Plate 369) Although almost entirely lost, enough traces remain on a wall of the Second Transverse Hall for Roberson to have identified the cryptographic texts and vignette as belonging to the Book of the Earth. [186] (Plate 359) In the tomb of Ramesses VI, whose decoration program mirrors that of the Osireion, (Plates 363, 364) a vignette from the Book of the Earth shows "the result of this unification [of Re and Osiris], the 'body of Horus' which literally comes from the 'body of Osiris' guarded by Isis and Nephthys, is introduced by the following text:

> "What Re says to the two goddesses who guard the body of this god:
> Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *ḏuat*,
> for the darkness which is in you has been dispelled!
> Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *ḏuat*,
> for your *ḥa* has gone to rest in your body!
> Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the *ḏuat*,
> for I have made that your followers join you!
> Oh, lift yourself up, you dweller in the *ḏuat*,
> for you will be content with (your) diadems!

182 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 177; R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 199.

183 Ibid., 177.

184 Also occurs in Amduat, hour 2, figure no. 138 and in the Book of Gates, hour 10, scene 62.

185 G. Englund, "The Treatment of Opposites in Temple Thinking and Wisdom Literature" (1987), 79.

186 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 93-112.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

The vignette makes it clear [as also does one at the right end of the same register, (Plate 363) where Atum commands Horus to come forth out of the body of the Westerner][187] that the resurrection of Osiris manifests itself in the birth of Horus; thus the result of the unification of Re and Osiris (*prt jm.k*), ['what has come forth from you', his offspring] with which the receiver of our spell [in the Osireion it is the living Pharaoh] identifies himself, may not only be called Re as the re-born Sun god, but also Horus, son and reincarnation of Osiris... and one may add: then he has become Horus or to use the Egyptian formula, *Rᶜ-ḥr-ɜḫty*, 'Re-Horus-of-the-Horizon.' [188] This concept is also expressed in the Book of the Night found in both Transverse Halls of the Osireion. "The odd label to the scene from the Seventh Hour – *qmɜ* determined with a dying man and a child – can now be read as an allusion to the emergence of Horus from the corpse of Osiris, a form of creation surprisingly common in the Underworld Books and other religious texts." [189]

This incarnation of Osiris as Horus is highlighted at the Gate at the end of the eleventh hour. (Plate 117) There two giant *wɜs*-scepters, the symbol *par excellence* of dominion, face each other side by side. One ends with a human head wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt (Osiris) and the other a falcon's head also wearing the white crown (Horus). On the cosmic level the white crown (*ḥḏt*) "seems to refer almost exclusively to the luminosity of the moon or stars at night... the latter including the radiance of Horus as the morning star. This symbolism is shared in part by the headband *sšd*..." [190] Perhaps here is an allusion to the brightly shining moon and morning star as Osiris and Horus would be seen at certain times of the year in the eleventh hour of the night, acting as heralds to the coming of 'this Great God' (Re) at sunrise. At the same time mythically it also signifies the transfer of royal power from father to son. [191] The seventh Litany of Re lends "compelling support to an identification of Horus as the morning star within the daily cycle of solar renewal – here expressed as the cyclical union of Re and Osiris: Horus appears as a great star (*sbɜ ᶜɜ*) and son and successor of Osiris(-Orion), whose authority has been transferred to him; he is – at the same time – the son of Re – (and) Atum." [192]

Although controversial, Barguet recognized that the Book of Gates specifically concerns the interregnums of death, the time during which the throne of Two Lands is vacant. [193] Like the empty scales in the Hall of Judgment of Osiris, the empty throne is because it is *zp tpj*, the first occasion. [194] There could be no former king because there was no cosmos. It is only now being created with the

187 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 363 and pl. 131. See also R. Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (1978), 172.

188 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 20-21.

189 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005) PhD. Dissertation, 662.

190 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 154.

191 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Portes et la Transmission du Pouvoir Royal" RdE 27 (1975), 31 As to Hornung's doubts and later Barta's strong objection, see below 3.4 for my comments in Barquet's defense.

192 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 21.

193 P. Barguet, RdE 27 (1975), 35. See below 3.4.

194 For the empty scales see below 3.3.

"Big Bang", as are the scales for the weighing. The empty scales and vacant throne represent the mechanisms for the filling the Udjat-eye, as well as all the future weighings of the heart and for the orderly transmission of royal power from Osiris, the father, to Horus, the son as rightful heir.

An important, indeed critical, aspect of *wḥm mswt* was to restore *mɜʿt* throughout heaven, earth and the *ḏuat*. To achieve this, it was necessary to reach all the way back to the first occasion and re-order it. That is to say, remove what caused the evil (*jsft*) and replace it with the new, which in turn re-establishes *mɜʿt*. Much had been altered, abolished or outright destroyed by Akhenaten. This abomination had to have been viewed as heresy by Seti. Much had to be reestablished or replaced and a new emphasis was in order. These changes inextricably linked the cults of Amen and Re to the cult of Osiris and his underworld realm.[195] To this end the Osireion served a vital function. For at its heart is Tatenen, the primordial mound rising up out of the dark watery abyss, the Nun, as it did on the first occasion and now does again with the restoration of *mɜʿt* through the state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* by Menmaatre. With it, the new mode for the transmission of royal power is established and literally has been set in stone in the Entrance Way to the Central Hall.

> "Thy son Horus is vindicated in 'the presence of the entire Ennead;
> The kingship over the land has been given to him,
> and his uraeus pervades the entire land.
> The throne of Geb has been allotted to him;
> and the potent office of Atum
> has been confirmed in writing in a testament [*jmyt-pr*],
> which has been engraved on a block of sandstone, [196]
> according as your father Ptah-Tatenen commanded
> from upon the great throne." [BD 183] [197]

This new method for the transmission of royal power by divine *jmyt-pr* was the means that the early kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty could and did claim legitimacy. The new rulers lacked both a blood connection to the prior royal family of the Eighteenth Dynasty as well as any claim to a divine birth. [198]

"Osiris and Horus are actually 'two persons but one god', [both wear the white crown] as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kingship. 'The legitimacy of the reigning king depended upon the principle that he was both the living 'son' of his dead predecessor and also the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor." [199] "His legitimacy as ruler of Egypt rests on this genealogy. As the 'tenth god' of the [Heliopolitan] Ennead he is the final, living manifestation of the creator god

195 See above 1.3 for a detailed discussion.

196 Frankfort identified the stone that this text was engraved on as red sandstone. See below 5.1.

197 R Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 134.

198 For an in depth discussion of this issue, see above 1.3.

199 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 16 (1979-80), 22.

Atum, embodied in the reigning Pharaoh, who is the representation of the gods among mankind." [200]

Returning to the fourth hour (Plate 80), scenes 21 and 22 are also concerned with this major theme arising out of the first occasion, that of kingship and the means for the transmission of royal power. [201] "The lengthy text of this scene [21] revolves around the [royal] 'headcloth' of Osiris and, in an unusually dramatic composition, describes an interchange between Horus, Osiris and the divine retinue:

What Horus has done for his father Osiris
to glorify (*sɜḫw*) him and to return the royal headcloth [*sšd*-fillet] to him.

(Horus says):
My heart travels up-river to my father, [in Abydos] [202]
my heart is just, my father!
I protect you against the ones who have done (something) against you,
I glorify (*sɜḫw*) you [transfigure you by means of] with what belongs to you.
Power belongs to you, Osiris,
preeminence to you, Khentamentiu!
Your provisions belong to you, Ruler of the *Duat*,
you of great stature in the *shetit*! [O exalted of visible forms]
The *akhu* are in fear before you,
the dead [are in dread] of your authority,
[as] I am attaching your fillet for
I am your son Horus,
I examine the damage done to it (your royal headcloth).

These deities [Entourage of Osiris]-Khentamentiu say:
You are exalted, you God of the Underworld,
you are strong, Khentamentiu!
Your son Horus replaces your royal headcloth,
[is attaching your royal *sšd*-fillet]
as he transfigures you and punishes your Enemies.
Leap up, so that your arms rejoice, Osiris-Khentamentiu!

Khentamentiu says:
Do come to me, my son Horus,

200 J. van Dijk, "Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt" in J. Sasson (ed.), Civilizations of the Ancient Near East III (1995), 1705-1706.

201 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Portes et la Transmission du Pouvoir Royal" RdE 27 (1975), 30-36.

202 Up-river is south. On the Celestial Waterway, the ecliptic, the journey to its southern side/bank is where the constellation Orion-Osiris is.

so that you may protect me from the ones who did something evil against me!
You assign them to the chief destroyer -
it is he who guards the traps!

Horus says to these deities
who surround the shrine:
You have been assigned to me, deities,
you are in Khentamentiu's retinue!
You stand up, you do not retreat, you are mighty!
Do come so that you might be fed
with the bread of Hu,
with the beer of Maat!
You live off that of which my father lives,
your shares are in the *shetit*.
You are around the shrine
according to Re's orders.
I call out to you – but it is he (Re) who has provided for you!"[203]

This scene depicts the falcon-headed Horus leaning on his staff, (Plate 80) standing in front of eleven deities, 'the Gods Who Pertain to the *sšd*-fillet'. Surrounded by twelve deities 'The Gods Who Surround The Shrine', Osiris stands on a protective serpent in the center of the scene and is labeled 'Foremost of the West'. (Plate 84) The uraeus in front of the shrine is called 'Flame'. Forty two columns of text describe the scene.[204] The number forty two is another of the numbers sacred to Osiris and probably relates to the forty two assessors in the (Judgment) Hall of Two Truths over which Osiris presides.

To 'tie on the fillet' is an act associated with resurrection. Both the *sšd*-bandeau and the eye of Horus represent triumph over the enemies of Osiris through the victory of Horus. This aspect of the *sšd*-fillet also appears in the seventh hour of the Book of the Night. [205] In both these texts, "three actions – attaching the fillet, transfiguration, and punishment of enemies – form aspects of a single performance.... Numerous other occurrences of the *sšd*-fillet deepen its association with triumph and transfiguration. [206] Its regenerative significance is especially highlighted during the New Year festival, where the *sšd* is worn by the king and offered to the gods. [This would also hold true for the Second New Years Day, I *prt* 1, which is connected with the third ritual cycle in the Osireion.]... The *sšd* is associated with luminosity and transfiguration as well as the transfer of royal power from Osiris to Horus. The *sšd* band is closely associated with the eye of Horus, but Osiris is also *sšdy* 'he of the fillet' [as the moon]. The *sšd* band, as a royal and solar object, can be in the possession of Horus, but he in

203 Author's translation with slight modifications of E. Hornung's The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 132-133.

204 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005) PhD Dissertation, 455.

205 Ibid., 42-44.

206 Ibid., 248. See also G. Roulin, Le Livre de la Nuit I (1996), 64-65. Compare also the significance of the *mḏḥ*-fillet, H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 171-172.

turn uses the cloth to reaffirm his father's role in the Underworld..."[207] as occurs here in scene 21.

Having confirmed Osiris' role as Ruler of the West, Horus in scene 22 at the end of the fourth hour (Plates 80, 82), proceeds to avenge his father's murder by punishing the evil doers thereby securing his own right to rule as he carries out Re's orders.

> "Horus says to these deities: [called 'The Chief of Annihilators',
> the four assistants, 'The Ones Who Are Above Their Traps']
> May you seize my father's Enemies,
> may you drag them off to your traps,
> because of the pain they have inflicted
> on the Great One who was found and who has sired me!
> Your shares [provisions] belong to you in the *ḏuat*,
> you who guard the fiery traps
> according to Re's orders.
> I call out to you – but it is He (Re) who has provided to you..." [208]

This theme of punishing the enemies of Osiris is continued in scene 59 in the lower register of the ninth hour (Plates 104, 105) where the falcon-headed Horus is again depicted leaning on his staff as at the beginning of the fourth hour. He stands before three groups of four enemies who are all Egyptians. It is quite clear from the text that the crimes committed against Osiris by the twelve enemies are precisely those that Akhenaten had committed against Osiris. They await the same fate from Horus, as the living Horus, Pharaoh Seti I, did to Akhenaten – nonexistence, the second and final death. The texts to scenes 59-60 specifies the means by setting fire to the corpse and boiling the *ḥa*. [209]

> "What Horus has done for his father Osiris.
> This is what these enemies are like -
> Horus allots them their punishment.
> Horus says to them:
> Ropes are on your arms
> you enemies of my father!
> Your arms are by your heads, you revolutionaries! [Atenists]
> You have been bound with ropes from behind, you villains,
> so that you may be beheaded and cease to exist!t
> Your *ḥa* has been annihilated and does not live
> because of what you have done against my father Osiris!

207 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 247-248.

208 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 134.

209 Horemheb's tomb did not include the ninth hour. It first appeared in the Osireion and on Seti's alabaster sarcophagus. Seti excluded the Amarna pharaohs from his "Kings List", effectively condemning them to non-existence. He may well have destroyed Akhenaten's mummy by burning it and employed *ḥeḳa* to boil his *ḥa*. Witness the Kanais Decree by Seti I in 1.2 above.

[abolished him and his cult]
You have cast the mystery behind you [the union of Re and Osiris]
and have removed the image of the *shetit*! [the *duat* was no more]
My father Osiris is justified against you, and I [Seti] am justified against you.
You [Atenists] have uncovered what should be hidden,
when he who has engendered me (Osiris) rested in the *duat*!
Hail, you do not exist, you who are not!
Horus says (to the) 'Fiery One':
O you 'Fiery One' with great red heat –
you, on whose mouth my eye is,
[and] whose coils are protecting my children!
Open your mouth and snap open your jaws
so that you can spit fire into the [ranks of the] enemies [Atenists]
of my father!
May you set fire to their corpses and boil their *ḫau*
through the fiery breath of your mouth,
through the glowing fire which is in your body!
My children (are active) against them so that they are annihilated.
The *akhu* which have come forth from me, are (active) against them
So that they do not exist.

Then the flame comes forth which is in the snake,
then these [enemies] are placed into the flames,
after Horus has called out (to the snake). [210]

The positioning of Horus in the lower register of the fourth and ninth Hours is not coincidental. He effectively brackets the deepest hours of the night, the *wsȝw*. [211] Here Horus is serving as the Protector of His Father. The special nature of this zone is evident from the text in scene 23 at the beginning of the fifth hour.

"'The Ones Who Acclaim, who are in the *duat*'...
Their *akhu* are (now) at the Protected Place of the West." [212]

In scene 30 at the beginning of the lower register of the fifth hour, Horus again appears, falcon-headed and leaning on his staff. (Plate 85, 86)

"Horus says to this cattle of Re
(to) the ones who are in the *duat*...

210 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 163-164; and E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Book of Gates (2014), 324-325.

211 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 35.

212 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 135.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Glorification [transfiguration] (*ɜḫw*) be to you, cattle of Re...
Let there be breath to your nostrils,
may your mummy wrappings be untied!
You are the tears of my Shining Eye
in your name of 'Human Beings'" [213]

In scene 32 at the end of the fifth hour is the council in the *ḍuat.*

"They are the Council who destroy the Enemies.
Their sacrificial food is justification.
Sacrifices are made to them on Earth
as the ones with whom there is justification.
It is they who order the annihilation
and write down the life-span
for the *ḅau* who are in the West.

(Re says):
May you destroy my Enemies
whom you have assigned to the Place of Annihilation!
I have come to inspect my corpse [Osiris],
in order to mete out punishment to my Enemies...
He who sacrifices to them on Earth
cannot enter the Place of Annihilation." [214]

Following this is 'the Hall of Judgment of Osiris' scene 33 which lies between the fifth and sixth hours and is discussed in detail below. [215] (Plate 88)

Six is the number of passage, of a change of state exactly as occurs in the sixth hour. [216] (Plate 94) The important sixth hour forms the deepest part of the *ḍuat.* It is here that the black watery primordial abyss of the Nun meets the lower *ḍuat.* It is the Place of Annihilation where Apophis is encountered and repelled (scene 34) and the enemies of Re and Osiris are condemned to nonexistence (scene 35).

"It is the deities who are in the barque, [of Re]
who repel Apophis in the Sky,
(and) when they walk into the *ḍuat.*

213 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 139.

214 Ibid., 140-141.

215 See below 3.3. By Piankoff's numbering scheme, it is between the fourth and the fifth hours.

216 Properties of the number 153 at globetrotter.net.

It is they who repel Apophis
from Re in the West,
the 'Ones of the Underworld' who guide this God.

The ones who have punished the 'Evil Face'
and who have slain Re's Enemies.
It is they who seize the rebel,
who cause the heads of the ones who are in him to emerge.

Re says to them:
The rebel has retreated before you,
Apophis has [been] repulsed for you.
When the heads of the ones who are in him emerge he perishes.
When I have called to them, he is annihilated.
O heads – swallow him who has swallowed you.
So that you eat up him from whom you have come forth!

When Re has called out to them they emerge.
Then they swallow their coils until he has passed by them.
(But) then the heads return (again) to their coils.
This snake has no eyes,
no nose and no ears,
(instead) it breathes by its roar
and lives by its own calls...

Thirty-sixth Scene: Twelve deities (without any attributes) seize the doubly twisted rope which has been wound around the neck of a mummiform god. (Plates 94, 97, 99) This rope embodies the immeasurable time [that also arises out of the first occasion with the uniting of the *ḥa* of Re with his corpse]...

They [The Ones Who Carry The Doubly-Twisted One
From Whom the Hours Emerge] say to Re:
The 'Doubly-Twisted' belongs to Iqen [the Ferryman as the Moon],
and the Hours belong to the Greatest God.
[as the creator of the cosmos and with it time]
You are transfigured [*ꜣḫ*], Re, by the light,
You occupy your corpse [Osiris], the one of mysterious essence!" [217]

It is also where the putrefying corpse of Osiris lies. Chapter 78 of the Book of the Dead mentions the god's decomposing condition:

217 Translation based on E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 144-145; and E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Book of Gates (2014), 204-205.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

"Horus came from his father's seed,
while the former was undergoing decay."[218]

This decay symbolizes the destruction necessary before the transfiguration can begin. Without it, the regeneration and rebirth of Osiris and of Re could not occur. The uniting of the *ba* of Re with the corpse, that is to say, Osiris is *the* mystery and mysterious is the *duat* indeed!

Scene 37 (Plates 72, 71):

"This Great God is towed by 'Deities of the Underworld'
They say to Re:
This towing (happens) for you, Greatest God,
Lord of the Hours [father of time] who looks after the Earth,
through whose form [essence] the deities live
and the *akhu* when they see his manifestations!

Ra says to them:
… Protection be to you, You Who Tow!
Who let me glide down into the depth of the *duat*,
[where the waters of Nun meets the lower *duat*]..." [219]

The texts of scenes 38 and 39 make clear that the corpse of the Great God is in the *benben*-house which is in Heliopolis and is listed in the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber of the Osireion as ***Wsjr m ḥwt bnbn***. [220]

Scene 38: "Twelve deities whose hands are hidden inside a wrap as in the twelfth scene: 'The Ones With the Hidden Arm Who Carry the Mystery.' The text describing the scene makes clear that the 'mystery' carried by invisible hands is the corpse of the Sun God with which he reunites himself every night in the 'depth' of the Underworld. [The mystery of the Greatest God is invisible here (Plate 94) but are depicted in the Amduat sixth hour, fifth scene (Plate 344 top right) and ninth scene (Plate 346).]

They [The Ones With Hidden Arms] carry the mystery of the Greatest God
which the ones who are in the *duat* cannot see.
(But) the dead see it when they burn in the *benben*-houset
at the place where the corpse of this god is. [Place of Annihilation]

Ra says to them:
Do receive my image

218 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 69.

219 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 146.

220 See M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 18 and pl. IX.

and embrace my (var. your) mystery
when you settle down in the *ḥenḥen*-house
at the place where my corpse is.

[In Heliopolis Osiris is in the *ḥenḥen*-house. He is also called the 'this (great) *ḥenu*-bird that is in Heliopolis' in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead who is the agent of transfiguration.]

What I am is a Mystery for what you are.
Mysterious is the *ḏuat*, shrouded is your arm.

They say to Re:
Your *ḥa* belongs to the Sky, Lord of the Horizon,
it is your shadow that walks through the *šetit*,
Your corpse belongs to the Earth, You who is in the Sky. [221]
We restore Re to it (the sky),
You who is (now) separated from it, O Re!
You breathe when you take up your place in your corpse
which is in the *ḏuat*.

Scene 39:

[The Temple Deities who are likely the followers of
'The One Who Rules In The West' in scene 40 below]
They are outside the *ḥenḥen*-house,
they see what Re sees and have access to His secret image
which (Re) has revised.
They are the ones who send out express messengers.

(Re says to them)
My offerings are your offerings
what I breathe is what you breathe.
You are the ones who surround my mystery,
but I protect my mystery which is in the *ḥenḥen*-house.
Hail to you, for your *ḥau* live!
Your sacrificial food is the sacrificial food of Akhti." [222]

221 This passage is significant as it reveals Re's Mystery. This mystery of Re is his form as *ꜣḫ*, specifically he is called here *nb ꜣḫt*. Hornung has translated it as 'Lord of the Horizon', but *literally* it means the Lord of the Place of Becoming *ꜣḫ*. "It [*aḫ*] is one's form of life in its totality in the other world. This totality is usually portrayed as a trinity of body [corpse], *ḥa* and shadow. The shadow, the true companion – and, for the Egyptian, a copy of the person – is supposed to return, as does the *ḥa*. For the shadow's role is carrier of the energy which gives it the power of astoundingly rapid movement." E. Hornung, "The Discovery of the Unconscious in Ancient Egypt" in An Annual of Archetypal Psychology and Jungian Thought (Spring 1986), 20.

222 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 146-147.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Scene 40 (Plates 94, 95): "Twelve mummies are lying one behind the other, on a snake-shaped bier called Nehep. The mummies are 'The Followers Of Osiris Who Are Sleeping In The Feebleness of Death'. In front of them the god Dati, *dwꜣty*, ('The One of the Underworld') is leaning on a staff. He is the Sun God of the Underworld whose word is waking up the sleeping mummies and gives them new life, as described in the accompanying text:

Dati says to them:
O deities in the *ḏuat*, followers of The One Who Rules In The West,
who are stretched out on their sides
and are lying on their bier -
your flesh shall rise for you,
your bones shall knit together for you,
your limbs shall join together for you,
your flesh shall assemble itself for you.
May there be a pleasant scent for your nostrils!
May your mummy wrappings be unraveled,
may your face masks be uncovered!
May there be light for your divine eyes
So that you can see the brightness with them!...
Nehep is guarding their bodies,
(but) their *ḥau* walk to the Field of Reeds
to take hold of their refreshment...

Scene 41: (Plate 100)

They are found in the vicinity of this fiery hole, [Lake of Fire]
a living Uraeus-snake is in the fiery hole.
The water of this fiery hole is fire.

The deities of the Earth and the *ḥau* of the Earth cannot approach
the fiery hole
because of the flame of this Uraeus-snake.
(but) this Great God who is lord of the *ḏuat* (Osiris) breathes
through the unapproachable water of this fiery hole.

Re says to them:
You deities who guard this inapproachable fiery hole.
Which grants water to the One Who Is Lord Of the Realm Of
The Dead (Osiris) -
The water of the fiery hole belongs to Osiris,
your refreshment to the One Is Lord of the *Ḏuat*.
The fire of your searing breath, your devouring flame
hits the *ḥau* with a blast when they approach to touch Osiris lightly.

The power of the fiery hole does not suffer any lack of intensity,
There is nothing like you
over whose waters the deities who guard it have no power!" [223]

Barguet sees the living uraeus in this scene as another symbol of kingship comparable to those of the Udjat-eye and the *sšd*-fillet. [224]

There are a total of 103 deities depicted in the important Sixth Hour, a subtle reference to the lunar measurement of time. They equate to the 309 lunations (103 x 3) in a 25 civil year period and highlight that each hour of the *ḏuat* is equivalent to a lifetime on the earth. They also symbolize, by their sum, the coming into existence of the moon and start of the lunar cycle on *zp tpj*.

The revivification of Osiris and the regeneration of Re are now completed. According to Barguet, what this regeneration leads to is the appearance of a new monarch. This accession occurs with the rising sun at dawn on the day after the death of the old king, now the revivified Osiris, Ruler of the West. It is the reestablishment of cosmic order, repeating the primordial times, when the sun god, putting an end to the chaos, emerged from the darkness of the Nun for the first time, to begin the creation. The text that best summarizes this concept is in the tomb of Amenemheb (TT 82) at Gurna. It says that when Thutmose III died, he climbed to the sky to join with the solar disk, the body of the god who had created him; then when the dawn brightens and the solar disk begins to rise and the sky lights up, Amenhotep II took the place on the throne of his father and assumed the royal titles. [225]

In the tenth hour, kingship is the predominant theme as is evident from the rich royal iconography in both the upper and lower registers. (Plate 106) The product of the Ennead is Horus, the living king, the tenth and final member of the Heliopolitan creation cycle.[226] We know that the number ten was still regarded as sacred to Horus in Strabo's time (64 BC- 24 AD). He recorded the sacred grove of Aegyptian acantha behind the Memnonium (Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years) was dedicated not to Osiris, but to Apollo, the Greco-Roman god equated to the Egyptian god Horus. [227] The grove was planted above the subterranean Central Hall of the Osireion, whose island contained, not surprisingly, ten granite columns.

In the top register, the central figure of scene 61 is a double sphinx. (Plate 10) One is falcon-headed (Horus) and wears the white crown and the other human-headed (Osiris) who also wears the white

223 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 148-149.

224 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Portes et la Transmission du Pouvoir Royal" RdE 27 (1975), 32.

225 Ibid., 35.

226 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 11.

227 Strabo, Geography Book XVII Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VIII (1932), 113. For Apollo as equivalent of Horus see Chapter 6. For the significance of the number ten as sacred to Horus see Chapter 5.

crown of Upper Egypt. Together they should be viewed as a form of the Osiris-Horus constellation and represents the legitimate transfer of royal power from father to son. Because the double sphinx is called 'Horus who is in his barque' it seems to refer specifically to the ascension of Horus to the throne of Egypt. This figure standing on its back is a two headed deity called 'His Two Faces' representing the fused Horus-Seth. In this figure the rulership of Upper and Lower Egypt are symbolically bound together and as such united. [228] The end of the text at the sphinx appears to confirm such an interpretation of this important double composite figure: (Plate 106)

(At the sphinx):
This deity rises for Re
Then 'His Two Faces' enters into this deity
after Re has passed by him.
Re says to them (the 'Northern Deities')
Your heads belong to you, you deities!
O do receive your Lower Egyptian crowns
and take firm hold of the rear rope
of the barque of the One Who Has Come Forth Out Of Me -
you are indeed Horus, with a crowned face!
[assuming the throne of his father] [229]

Re is explicit and declares that the barque of the 'One Who Has Come Forth Out Of Me' is 'Horus With A Crowned Face', assuming the throne of his fathers Osiris and Re. The sphinx was also associated with Horus of the Horizon at least in the New Kingdom.[230] Further, the 'One Who Came From Me' at another level most probably alludes to the manifestation of the sun god, who arose from the union of the *ba* of Re with his corpse (Osiris), Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, whose name appears in the text for scene 64 at the end of the top register depicting two deities with casting nets. (Plate 106)

"It is the deities who cast spells
for Re-Horakhti in 'That Which Is Hidden' (Realm of the Dead)..." [231]

Interestingly, in the texts of the Book of Gates the names for the sun god, Re, Greatest God, and Akhti are used numerous times while the name Re-Horakhti appears only twice. Apart from here in scene 64, the other instance of the name Re-Horakhti is found at the fourth gate. (Plate 80)

"Our doors are open, our gates are open for Re-Horakhti!
Hail Re! Do come to us,

228 See above for additional detail.

229 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 166.

230 G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986), 95.

231 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 167.

Greatest God, Lord of the Mysteries!" [232]

This gate opens to the 'Protected Place of the West'

They [The Ones Who Acclaim, Who Are In The *Duat*] pay homage
(to) Re in the West, and they 'exalt' (i.e. cheer) Horakhti – [233]
(they) who have known Re (already) on Earth,
who have made offerings to Him at their places.
Their *akhu* are (now) at the protected place of the West.

They say to Re:
Welcome, Re, when you approach the *duat*!
Praise be to you when you enter the Protected Place in Mehen!
Re says to them:
Sacrifices belong to you, Contented Ones!
I have been pleased with what you have done for me,
when I rose in splendor in the Eastern Sky
and set the Sanctuary of My Eye.

Their sacrificial food are the offerings of Re...
Sacrifices are made to them on Earth
as the ones who are acclaimed by Re in the West." [234]

If one uses Piankoff and Barguet's system of numbering the hours rather then the one employed by Hornung, the specific use of the name Re-Horakhti at these two locations becomes clear. Re-Horakhti is entering the fourth hour of the night, the lower *duat* – the Protected Place in Mehen. In the Book of Amduat, this corresponds to Rosetau, the zig-zagged downward sloping passage of the fourth hour which leads to the Judgment Hall of Two Truths and beyond the Cavern of Sokar in the fifth hour at the depths of the Underworld. Architecturally, this equates to the Sloping Passage, First Transverse

232 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 134.

233 At the beginning of the text in Scene 23, 'The Ones Who Acclaim, Who Are In The *Duat*' pay homage to Re and they exalt (i.e. cheer) Horakhti. Exalting Horakhti here is subtle but significant. Horakhti, Horus of the Two Horizons, "as the god of the Eastern and Western Horizons, symbolizing his rising in the morning and his setting in the evening, stands for the god of both Birth and Death. His importance in the funerary liturgy of Ancient Egypt increased particularly after the XIX Dynasty [apparently now at the beginnings of the XIX Dynasty] when he took over, in most cases, the task of Osiris as Judge of the Dead. [By the XXI Dynasty from the coffins of Nes-Per-N-Nwb] in fact, in the Judgment Hall the Supreme Judge is Horakhti, whose most important cult center was at Iwnw [Heliopolis]." This observation by A. Becker-Colonna ["Myths and Symbols in a Cartonnage Coffin of the XXIst Dynasty" in Acts 1st ICE (1976), 99-100.] is supported by the text in the Book of Gates (Second Hour, Scene 7) where one of the functions of this Great God in the *duat* was to sit in judgment in the West. The manifestation of the sun god whose role was to judge is, in fact, Horakhti who at the Fifth Gate immediately before Scene 33, the Hall of Judgment of Osiris he is called the Lord of the Horizon, Greatest God who opens the Mystery!

234 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 135.

Hall and the Central Hall in the Osireion. [235]

Scene 64 in Piankoff's scheme falls at the end of the ninth hour. The so-called Book of Nut, an astronomical treatise concerning *zp tpj* and found on the ceiling of the Osireion's Second Transverse Hall, informs us that the ninth hour is when the sun god has left from the lower *ḏuat*, the deepest part of the night (hours 5-8). [236] Having gone through his transfiguration – the union of the *ḥa* of Re with his corpse (Osiris) – the new form of the sun god appears. It is Re-Horakhti. That Re-Horakhti is named at the fourth gate before the union with Osiris occurs, is paralleled in the Book of Gates by the depiction of Khepri, the form of the new born sun god in the solar barque. That Khepri is shown at the first gate descending into the western horizon at sunset alludes to the sun god's successful transformation and rebirth from the Underworld at sunrise, which is depicted in the final scene of the Book of Gates. The same applies to the name of Re-Horakhti at the fourth gate. It portends the successful union of Re and Osiris and the transfiguration of the sun god into Re-Horakhti.

Recall that a similar bracketing by Horus of the deepest hours of the night also occurs, [237] and bears a direct relationship to the appearance of the twice named Re-Horakhti. In each case they follow an identical sequence. The Horus scenes where he is punishing the enemies of his father precede the name of Re-Horakhti, making a conceptual link by the positioning of the sequence between Horus as protector of his father Osiris and Horus as protector of newly born Re-Horakhti, the transfigured form arising from the uniting of the *ḥa* of Re with his corpse (Osiris).

Framing the double sphinx (scene 61) are two symmetrical groups of five deities each shown raising a staff topped with the white crown of Upper Egypt. The first group, the southern gods, wear the white crown with uraeus and the second group, the northern gods, wear the red crown with uraeus. (Plate 108) The choice of depicting a total of ten deities further reinforces through its number symbolism, the ascension of Horus as do the depictions of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt in the scene.

As Barguet pointed out the two following scenes in the top register (62 and 63) with snakes with legs are obscure. [238] However the royal iconography is present in scene 63 through the depiction of the two white crowns of Upper Egypt and the text referring to Osiris. (Plate 106)

> "This is what he is like:
> He rises for Osiris,
> and the *ḥau* of those punished in the *ḏuat* have been handed over to him..." [239]

235 For a detailed analysis of this see below Chapter 5.

236 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 3, 6, 77. Also O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 50-51.

237 See above 3.2.

238 P. Barguet, RdE 27 (1975), 33.

239 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 166.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

The lower register of the tenth hour continues the kingship theme of the top register. (Plate 106) A continuous rope connects all of the deities in this register. (scene 68) The first set of figures are four groups of four deities each, sixteen in total. They are the *bꜣw-jmnt*, *ḥas* of the West, the ibis-headed *jmyw-ḫt ḏḥwtj*, retinue of Thoth, the falcon-headed *jmyw-ḫt ḥrw*, retinue of Horus and the ram-headed *jmyw-ḫt rʿw*, retinue of Re. The text says that they will release the rope looped around the feet of the double-headed serpent, a manifestation of Khepri, which embodies the transformative powers and manifestations of Re, so that 'this God of the Horizon' may enter the sky. [240]

"They say to Re:
Here comes the One who comes behind his manifestations,
There comes Re behind his manifestations!
There exits the One who exits behind his manifestations,
There exits Re behind his manifestations!
In the Sky, to the Sky, you greatest One!
Hail, we place you upon your throne
with the aid of the towing rope in our hands,
(You) Great of Appearance in the *ṯetit*!" [241]

In the middle of this register is a complex scene of a double-headed serpent called Khepri out of which arises a falcon named Horus of the *ḏuat*. He is wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and is emerging out of the coil(s) of the dual serpent called 'His Two Divine Ones' (uraei). [242] (Plate 106, 109) The text reads:

"This is what he is like:
Horus of the Underworld first comes forth from him
and (then) the manifestations emerge from the coils.
Re calls out to this god
and His two Divine Ones (uraei) merge with him.
Then Horus enters (back) into the Khepri-serpent,
after Re has called out to him." [243]

This most interesting but extremely complicated figure of 'this God at the Horizon' would appear to highlight the final aspect of the manifestations of the sun god as the falcon Horus as king (wearing the double crown) who arises out of the two Divine Ones on the first occasion i.e. the creation of kingship. The texts just quoted also seem to hint at this order of the unfolding of the sun god's manifestations with the first sunrise. "In the sky" Re first appears as Khepri. Afterwards or "to the sky" as the disk rises higher above the horizon, Re becomes Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, the form of

240 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Book of Gates (2014), 356.

241 Ibid., 169.

242 Note that the falcon's feet are not yet visible indicating that the falcon is in the act of emerging out from the coils.

243 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 169-170.

the sun god that arose out of the uniting of the *ḥa* of Re with his corpse (Osiris). From Re-Horakhti, the form of the sun god most closely associated with kingship arises the falcon-headed Horus of or better still out from the *ḍuat* wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and with him the birth of kingship on the first occasion.

Interestingly, it takes 'The Mighty Ones' who seize the tow rope to pull the multiple manifestations of the sun god and open the gates in the Earth so that the sun may rise on the first occasion. (Plate 110) These "eight deities who turn their faces, frontally, to the observer and are called 'The Mighty Ones' – because of the unusual turn towards the observer, otherwise avoided by the ancient Egyptians, their divine 'Might' is fully effective." [244] The name of this group of eight deities, *sḫmy*/*sḫmjw* is no doubt a play on words with *sḫmtj* 'the Double Crown' of kingship that the falcon-headed Horus wears as they tow the god towards the eastern horizon. The text reads:

> "(By the 'Mighty Ones'):
> In their hands is the towing rope
> which is (looped/fastened) around Khepri's foot.
> They say to Re;
> The paths of the *sḥetit* are open for you,
> the Gates which are in the Earth have been opened for you -
> for your *ḥa* so that he can settle down (in) Nut.
> We accompany you through the areas of Kenset.
> you enter the East,
> you travel along in the thighs of your mother (Nut)." [245]

In the lower register of the twelfth hour, the royal iconography again dominates. (Plate 119) There are a total of thirty three deities including the guardian of the Gate of the Cavern who remains in his place. The other thirty two deities form eight groups of four each. They or their bodies also remain in the *ḍuat.* But the *ḥau* of the deities of the first six groups are said to walk with Re and are in his retinue. These *ḥau* represent another twenty four deities increasing the total in this register to fifty seven. The first six groups totaling twenty four deities wear either the white crown, the red crown or the *sšd* headcloth, a royal symbol of rejuvenation and of the filling of the injured Eye, make it complete, sound Udjat-eye – the full moon. Note that the two groups of deities who wear the *sšd* headcloth and divine beard are the ones who nourish Re (rejuvenation) and the ones who mourn Osiris (the filling of the injured Eye).

Scene 92

> "This is what they [The Ones With Crowned Heads] are like:
> It is they who place the White Crowns firmly on the heads

244 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 169.

245 Ibid., 171.

of the deities who are in Re's retinue.
They remain in the *ḏuat*
while their *ḥau* are walking along [proceeding].
They are standing by this Gate."[246]

Scene 93

"This is what they [four deities with (*sšḏ*) headcloth and divine beard:
'The Ones Who Are Mourning'] are like in this Gate:
They mourn for Osiris after Re has walked out of 'That Which
Has Been Hidden'
Their *ḥau* walk behind Him (Re),
while they (themselves) are in the retinue of Osiris."[247]

Scene 94

"They are like this [four gods with Red lower Egyptian crown:
ḫnmw, the Khnum-gods]:
It is they who join Re,
[It is they] who let his (re)birth happen in the Earth.
Their *ḥau* proceed behind him (Re),
(but) their corpses remain in their place."[248]

Scene 95

"This is what they [four gods with (*sšḏ*) headcloth and divine beard:
'The Ones Who Nourish'] are like:
It is they who nourish Re,
who make the names of his manifestations renowned.
Their *ḥau* walk in his retinue,
(but) their corpses remain at their place."[249]

246 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 184.

247 Ibid., 184.

248 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Book of Gates (2014), 434.

249 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 185.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Scene 96

"This is what they [four goddesses with the Upper Egyptian crown:
'The Crowned Ones.'] are like:
It is they who let Maat rise
and fix her in the Chapel of Re
when he settles down in Nut.
Their *ɓau* walk in his retinue,
(but) their bodies remain at their place." [250]

Scene 97

"This is what they [Four goddesses with the Lower Egyptian crown:
ẖnmwt, female Khnum-deities 'Wet-Nurses' (sic!)] are like:
It is they who fix the span of life,
who let the years come into existence for those who belong
to the bloody punishment in the *ɗuat*,
and for those who live in the Sky.
They are in the retinue of this God." [251]

Scene 98

"This is what they [four goddesses without any attributes:
'The Ones Who Mourn.'] are like in this Gate:
They lament by [tearing] their hair
before this Great God in the West.
They turn back to this Gate,
they do not enter into the Sky." [252]

Scene 99

"This is what they [four gods bowed down: 'The Old Ones.'
Their name is a play on words with the verb 'to praise'
which describes their function] are like:
They worship Ra, they pay homage to Him,
and they honor Him through their prayers.

250 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 185.

251 Ibid., 185.

252 Ibid., 185-186.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

They are the deities who are in the *ḏuat*,
the Guardians of the *shetit*.
They remain at their place." [253]

Scene 100

"This [a single cat-headed god with *wꜣs*-scepter and snake staff in his hands:
'The Cat-figured One.'] is the Guardian of the Gate of the Cavern.
He remains at his place." [254]

The separation caused by Re leaving the *ḏuat* and Osiris remaining behind seems to also apply to the deities who are in their respective retinues, a division that only occurs in the final hour before the impending first sunrise. While Re is praised and the child sun god nourished in preparation for his appearance (rebirth), the mourning and lamentation for Osiris is also stressed.

With respect to the number symbolism in the last register of the Book of Gates before the final scene, the total of 57 deities (19 x 3) reinforces the regenerative aspect Re (19) and his Retinue (3), the plurality. The product of the second and eighth prime numbers equals 57 (3 x 19). Coincidentally, the two numbers 2 and 8, here representing the second and eighth prime numbers, sum to ten, a number sacred to Horus.

Returning to the depths of the *ḏuat* in 'the seventh hour (Piankoff's sixth hour), the focus turns to the well being of Osiris and his retinue. (Plate 101)

It should also be mentioned here that in the scenes that form the Book of Gates, there are a total of nineteen white crowns (*ḥḏt*) depicted.[255] As we have seen the *ḥḏt* almost always refers to the luminosity of the moon and hence the lunar aspect of kingship. That there are exactly nineteen ties the principle of regeneration to not only Osiris, as it is his sacred number of renewal, but also to kingship, dynastic rule and Horus himself that arise out of *zp tpj*.

Scene 42

"Osiris says to them: [The Ones Belonging to the Offerings
(whose) Sacrificial Food Has Come Into Existence.']
...The portions of your deities belong to you,
their sacrificial cakes belong to your *ḳau*." [256]

255 This does not include the two white crowns on the *wꜣs*-scepter found in the Eleventh Gate and thus in a sense are outside the scenes that form the Book of Gates proper. With respect to the gates themselves we have already seen the lunar symbolism embedded in the First Gate. Each of the following gates have 14 figures, perhaps a reference to the 14 phases in each the waxing and waning lunar cycle. The final gate leading to the first sunrise have ten, the sacred number to Horus and kingship arising out of *zp tpj*. When combined with the gate preceding it, with its seven figures, together they total 17 another sacred number of Osiris.

256 E. Hornung The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 150.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Scene 43

"The ones who have done *mɜʿt* when they were (still) on Earth,
who fought for their god.
They are called to the 'Resting Place of the Earth,'
to the temple of the One Who Lives by *mɜʿt*.
Their *mɜʿt* is examined for them
before the Greatest God who destroys the *ỉsft*.

Osiris says to them: ['The Ones Who Belong to Maat, who carry Maat.']
You are just, you belong to Maat!
You are pleased with what you have done
as the Ones who have become my Followers,
who are in the temple (of the deity), 'The One with the
Protected *ḥa*.'
You live off that of which they live,
you breathe off that of which they breathe,
you have available to you refreshment from your lake.
I have allotted you an existence until the end of time
under Maat, (an existence) which *ỉsfet* cannot approach!" [257]

In scene 44, Re arrives and takes possession of the *ḏuat*.

"Re says:
May you see, you who are in the *ḏuat*,
(for) both your eyes belong to you, deities!
Look Re has taken possession of the Realm of the Dead,
the Greatest God puts your affairs in order!" [258]

Scene 45

"This Greatest God reaches the stakes of Geb,
to which the enemies are condemned,
after they have been judged in the West...

Atum says to the stakes...
O, enemies, you are condemned to be beheaded,

257 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 151.

258 Ibid., 152.

as Re has ordered to be done to you,
when he set up the Realm of the Dead for His corpse
and created the *ḏuat* for his body. [Osiris]
He is ordering your execution,
He assigns you to what you have done
in the Great Hall of Ra. [the enemies who dismembered Osiris i.e. the waning moon]
While the gods mourn the (injured) Udjat-eye [the lunar left eye]
He installs the 'Most Golden of the Gods' as your guardian.
The enemies and those to be punished, who are in the *ḏuat*,
Are condemned to these stakes" [259]

As noted earlier Barguet further connects the lamentations by the gods for the injured Udjat-eye to the death of the king who becomes Osiris. Its restoration symbolizes the ascension to the throne by the new king. The Udjat-eye like the *sšḍ*-fillet are symbols of kingship. [260]

Scene 46

"Re says to them: [the Ones who create food from the
Lower Egyptian barley in the fields of the *ḏuat*.]
(When) Nepri grows Osiris comes into existence!
The Ones of the Underworld breathe through seeing him
and the *aḫu*, when they smell his scent.
Glorification be to you, Osiris,
elevation be to you, Nepri-Heti!
Effectiveness be to you, Khentiamenti,
you who is in the fields of the *ḏuat*!

When they unite their barley they say to Re:
Bread (?) grows in the fields of the *ḏuat*
when Re shines above the body of Osiris.
When you rise the fresh plants come into existence,
Greatest God, you who has created the egg." [261]

259 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 152-153.

260 P. Barquet, RdE 27 (1975), 32.

261 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 153-154.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Scene 47

"Re says to them: [the Ones belonging to the Sickles in front of them'.]
May you receive your sickles,
may you cut your grain
and place (it) in your barns!
Make Osiris contented who is in the Cavern 'With Mysterious Form!'
Hail to you who cut with sickles!" [262]

The eighth hour (Piankoff's seventh hour) expands on Re's beneficence to the divine beings of the *ḍuat* and concludes with the placing of Osiris on his throne. (Plate 102) In scene 48, "twelve deities carry a rope. From its coils protrude different 'mysteries': human heads from the first four, then four falcon heads and from the last four, the sign for 'unification.' Collectively the deities are called: 'The Ones Carrying The Rope Which Brings Forth The Mysteries.'

They carry their rope which they lift up
when Re appears and the heads come forth which are in it.
They tow Re to their Gate
and (then) turn back to the Gateway of Nun.
They have been allocated to the *ḍuat*
so that the crowns of their heads (?) come forth and the
rope is straight.

(Re says):
My own mysteries shine
when the face come forth from their coils.
The forms which I have fashioned shine
when the heads emerge of the ones who are Osiris.
Open up, you who tow, straighten the coils! (?)
you tow for me, you Carriers of the Rope,
and may you (then) turn back to the Cavern of Nun!" [263]

Scene 50

"This Great God is towed by the Deities of the Underworld.
They say when they tow Re:
Bring ovations to the Lord of the *ḍuat*,
to Re who is in His Majesty!

262 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 154.

263 Ibid., 155.

Look, He pronounces judgment on you,
He destroys your enemies for you!
Look, He allocates your sacrifices,
He endows you with your thrones (or your requirements)!
May you give Him praise in your shapes,
for it is He who made your shapes!
May you give him ovations in your manifestations,
for it is He who made your forms come about!
May you praise Him with Hymns, you Ones of the Underworld,
who form the Council which is in the *ḏuat*
and pass judgment because of Akhti!" [264]

Scene 51 with twelve deities, each with a *wȝs*-scepter and the sign of life in their hands.

"Re says to them:
O Council in the *ḏuat*, Lords of Supply in the West -
may you judge (for) me through your sentences,
may you mete out punishment to my enemies,
since I have given you my Maat!
You shall pass your sentences
which I have passed like those of the deities!

They say to Re:
Your triumph, Re, and your enemies have been expelled!
Your affairs are our affairs!
It is you from whom we have come
who has created us in order to protect his *ḥa*.
Your provisions belong to you in Tatenen,
'That Which is Hidden' (the Realm of the Dead) belongs to
your protected corpse.
Your provision belong to you in Nut,
and your *ḥa* rules over the Sky." [265]

Scene 53 (Plate 102) "At the beginning of the Register the Sun God as ' The One With The Hidden Mystery' is leaning on a staff. Behind are twelve mummies with face masks in the position of sphinxes on individual biers. There are again the blessed dead who are awakened by the Sun God and freed from the imperfections of their mummiform bodies. They are called 'Excellent *aḫu* (var.:. *ḥau*), able *aḫu*.'

264 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 156-157.

265 Ibid., 157.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

'The One With The Hidden Mystery' says to them:
Hail to you, *akhu*! Hail to you, 'Ones of the Underworld!'
Let (there be) Unveiling for your faces,
    Uncovering of your darkness!
Glorification for your *bau*,
    excellence for your shadows!
Knowledge for your mouth (or utterance)
    Strength for your hearts!
Rise for you [from your] biers!
and for your noses,
    pleasant scent for your unguents?!
Removal of your mummy wrappings!
May you come and go
    that you can take possession of the cool water!
May you rejoice, *bau*,
    may you be effective in that you can take your food,
    so that you pleased with the sacrifices.
May you receive cool water for yourselves
    from the crooked water in the *duat*!
May you stand under the leafy canopy
    which lifts up the *akh* of Akhti!
May you shine because of your (white!) clothes,
    may you be light because of the brightness of Re!
The Kingdom of the Dead is open for you
    so that you can enter the secret of Re.
    [who is the Lord of the Place of Becoming *akh*]
Hail to you, *akhu*!" [266]

Scene 54

"It is they who pronounce judgment within this Gate
    and question those who are in (it).
Re says to them:
Hail to you, you deities,
    Council of Judges,
    who judge the dead and protect the *bau*!
The Most Divine (Osiris) has been placed on his throne,

266 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 158-159.

and your Maat belongs to you, you gods!

They say to Re:
Hail to you Akhti,
Greatest God and Lord of the Nine Gods!
We pass sentence on the dead,
(but) we protect the *akhu* when they have become *(akh).*
We place the God upon his Throne."[267]

In scene 54, the identity of who is being placed on his throne is not explicitly stated. He is called 'Most Divine'. Hornung has chosen Osiris, though not stated why, I assume because of the close association Osiris has with the judgment scene and the Council of Judges. Indeed, he is depicted enthroned in scene 33 in the Judgment Hall of Osiris as well as in the numerous papyri of the Book of the Dead. So the question arises, if Osiris is already enthroned at the end of Piankoff's fourth hour, why is it necessary that he be re-enthroned at the end of Piankoff's seventh hour? It does open the possibility that the 'Most Divine' in scene 54 is not Osiris but another important god. Barguet has concluded that it is Horus who is being enthroned here in keeping with the dominant major theme of the Book of Gates – the transmission of royal power, and distinguishing this Underworld Book from the theme of the royal funeral in the Amduat and the reconstitution of the divine body in the Book of Caverns.[268] I have already noted above that Horakhti, Horus of the Akhet, assumed the role of the chief judge by the Twenty-First Dynasty.[269] Further support for the enthronement of Horus here in the seventh hour is found in the Amduat in the same position, the lower register of the seventh hour where Horus is depicted enthroned. (Plate 348) The text declares:

"This image is of Horus on his Throne
This is what this image is like.
What he has to do in the *duat*:
To put in motion 'The Starry Ones' and to regulate the position of
the Hours in the *duat.*
Thus says the Majesty of Horus of the Underworld to the Gods of the Stars:
May your 'Flesh' be in order, your *bau* may come into existence
so that you are contented with your stars! [270]

Furthermore, is not Horus, the product of the Heliopolitan creation, the final and tenth member, worthy of the epithet 'Most Divine', the perfection that arose out of creation on the first occasion? Finally, the living Horus as the reigning Pharaoh was the supreme authority and chief judge over the Two Lands.

267 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 159-160.

268 P. Barguet, RdE 27 (1975), 33.

269 See above 3.2.

270 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 78-79.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

3.3 THE FIRST OCCASION AND THE HALL OF JUDGMENT OF OSIRIS

Following Piankoff's numbering of the hours, the important Hall of Judgment of Osiris (scene 33) lies between the fourth and fifth hours, the same position as in the Amduat. [271]

The pans of the scale in the Hall of Judgment are empty. (Plate 89) In the context of *zp tpj*, this is to be expected, since there could not have been any weighings prior to the moment of creation. Rather, the scale should be viewed foremost as the mechanism, created on the first occasion, for all future weighings, be it the heart of the deceased or as Manassa has astutely recognized "to measure the requirements of the eye of Horus [Udjat-eye], so that it might be refilled." [272] She views this as the key to understanding the significance of scene 33 and is based on her improved translation of the cryptographic texts. [273] "The scale is a hypostasis of Thoth, and he is particularly identified with the indicator of the balance, the plummet (*tḥ*) [which] is expressed in an epithet of Thoth 'the precise plummet in the midst of the scale'....The requirements of the Udjat-eye which are weighed in this scale also measure out the provisions for the blessed dead, because the provisions themselves are metaphorically the Udjat-eye." [274] At the same time, the Udjat-eye – the sound eye that Horus gives to his father, Osiris, symbolizes his rejuvenation through the reassembling of its six parts to restore it and make it complete, which is said to have been done by Thoth with his own fingers. [275] It refers to Osiris at the completion of the waxing lunar cycle. That is to say when the moon is full. "The restoration of the Udjat-eye [also] represents the template for the justification of Re in the Underworld.... For the solar god, it is not his heart that must be measured, but rather the ultimate expression of his well being and victory – the *wḏꜣt*-eye. The *wḏꜣt*-eye is a paradigm of measurability, and its lunar identity makes the *wḏꜣt*-eye ideal for a Netherworldly metaphor. Book of the Dead Chapter 71 provides an unambiguous connection between the Udjat-eye and the scale..." [276]

> "O ye 7 utterances Tsw who support the balance
> this night of accounting for the Sound Eye..." [277]

271 See below 5.1.

272 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates", RdE 57 (2006), 137.

273 Ibid., 109-141. To her excellent in-depth analysis of Scene 33, little can be added. Therefore, I quote her extensively in this section and have inserted a few additional remarks.

274 Ibid., 127-129.

275 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 8 of BD 17.

276 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates", RdE 57 (2006), 138-139.

277 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day (1974), 64.

"Paralleling *ḥkꜣ* [Heka] itself, the term [*ṯs*] is hypostasized as the seven so-called 'sages' of the primordial *Mḥt-wrt* cow to represent the seven creative words or 'utterances' which brought the world into being",[278] which would fit well here in the context of *zp tpj*. The connection of the seven utterances, which brings the world into being, with the balance and the Udjat-eye, being created on the first occasion is not coincidental, but rather ties into the underlying theme of scene 33, the filling of the Udjat-eye so it is complete. It is the ultimate symbol of both the sun god, Re and Osiris-Moon of their well being, vindication and victory over the forces of *jsft*. The pans of the scale are empty in all cases except one. On the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I, one pan holds the bird G 36, a swallow or martin, which is the hieroglyph *wr* meaning great.[279] (Plates 91, 92) Might this be a subtle allusion to the great cow goddess *Mḥt-wrt*, who personifies the primeval flood?[280]

"After filling the missing portions of the Udjat-eye with 'its requirements', the hymn states that both Re and Osiris are *mꜣᶜ-ḫrw* against their enemies.[281] Victory and justification flow directly from the reconstitution of the eye. A measurement of the eye's lacking elements is thus a necessary prerequisite to the filling of the eye and triumph over *jsft*. Once filled, the eye will balance with *mꜣᶜt* providing the template for the weighing of the heart in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead. In depictions of the weighing of the heart, the Udjat-eye can play a central role; the *wḏꜣt*-eye appears both above the judgment scene itself, near the depiction of the scale, and in the hand of Thoth. In one exceptional case, the *wḏꜣt*-eye replaces the *mꜣᶜt* feather in the pan opposite the heart. These tantalizing clues suggest the invisible matter weighed upon the scale in the Judgment Hall of Osiris is none other than the eye of Horus.... If the eye is one of the central themes of the scene, its invisibility could be part of the enigmatic nature of the tableau."[282] Its invisibility also could allude to the start of the lunar cycle. On *psḏntyw*, Day of the Blacked-out Moon (New Moon), the Moon is not visible in the night sky because Osiris-Moon accompanies the sun god Re in the *ḏuat*. Recall the opening scenes of this ritual cycle, where together the enthroned Re-Horakhti and Osiris are depicted side by side, subtly suggesting the start of the lunar cycle when the two gods travel together through the *ḏuat* initiating the cycle of refilling of the Udjat-eye on the first occasion. "The enigmatic annotations to Scene 33 in the Book of Gates combine with the accompanying images to grant an even deeper meaning to the pivotal event of judgment. The title of the scene alludes to the 'clothing' of the god who sits in judgment, protecting him from all outside influences. The verb *ḥbs* was probably chosen to allude to the cryptographic text which annotates the scene.... The proper judgment at this point in the nightly journey is particularly crucial to the fate of the cosmos, because the weighing of the heart can be equated with the solar

278 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 46-47. "These utterances are attested as early as Coffin Texts spell 407,... and in Coffin Texts spell 691 (and its descendant BD 71) where they have been occasionally misinterpreted as the similarly written word 'knots' [counselors by T. G. Allen (1974), 64.]. The identification as 'utterances' is certain..."

279 A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (1982), 471.

280 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 455.

281 F-R. Herbin, "Un Hymne a la Lune Croissante" BIFAO 82 (1982), 237-282. The hymn has its origins in the New Kingdom.

282 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 140-141.

standstill, *ḥ*, when Apep has the potential to permanently stop the barque of Re – 'In connection with the scales on which the heart is being weighed, there may be a pun on *ḥ*, 'state of equilibrium (of scale)',and the barque as *ḥ* 'standing', even 'balanced', teetering in the sky at the moment of peril'. The new reading of the 'Solar Label' as well as other annotations in Scene 33 suggests that the Judgment Hall is indeed a moment when the solar god is poised at the edge of a tremendous chasm, which can only be bridged by the refilling of the Udjat-eye, whose requirements are weighed in the empty scale pans. The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the book of Gates represents the ultimate *dies irae,* for the vindication of Re against his enemies, and thus the entire fate of the cosmos, is literally hanging in the balance." [283]

"The presence of Anubis in the Judgment Hall relates to Anubis' role as judge in the afterlife, in particular his epithet *jp jbw* 'assessor of hearts'. The odd expression 'as he swallows his father' deserves further examination. The father of Anubis is Osiris, an extension of his identification of Horus and Anubis in particular contexts. That Anubis' actions for Osiris is a positive one cannot be doubted – on a pillar in the tomb of Ramesses VI, Anubis is labeled *ỉnpw ḫnty jmntt nṯr ꜥꜣ sꜥm ỉt=f Wsjr* 'Anubis Foremost of the West, Great God who swallows his father Osiris'. The act of swallowing is synonymous with hiding the corpse of Osiris, a task for which Anubis was responsible.... Osiris and his means of rejuvenation, the eye of Horus are in danger of being swallowed by the Typhonian pig, Anubis swallows Osiris in order to protect him. A nearly exact sequence of events occurs in the seventh hour of the Book of Amduat, where Re swallows his own eye until he passes over Apep." [284]

Opposite the enthroned Osiris is a barque with a baboon holding a stick about to strike the Typhonian pig. (Plates 90, 93) Above it is another baboon also holding a stick. "Read together as annotations to the apes, new meaning of the cryptographic annotation appear. The second person plural pronoun is used to address both apes, while each is described as 'this god'. Both appear in glory, but the top ape possibly has a sun disk atop his head (according to the text), while the second causes the pig to 'spit out that which was swallowed'. The actions involved as well as the characters – the pig (Seth) and the ape (Thoth) – suggest a connection with a central event in the Late Egyptian story 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth'. After Isis smears Horus' semen on lettuce in Seth's garden, Seth consumes the tainted lettuce. During the subsequent court proceedings, Seth claims to have violated Horus, but Horus convinces the tribunal to seek out the semen to prove that the opposite is the case. When Thoth calls forth the semen from Seth, it refuses to emerge from his ear, but takes the form of a 'disk of gold' atop his head. Before Seth can destroy the disk in his rage, it is appropriated by Thoth. The scene and annotations in the Judgment Hall mimic the events in the story – lower monkey strikes Seth, causing the divine material to be expectorated, while the upper monkey adorns himself with the sun disk. The ape of Thoth causes the pig to spit out that which he has swallowed. An annotation to the crocodile Wenty in the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk [Books of the Earth] describes a similar action and provides a previously unrecognized parallel to the cryptographic text in the Judgment Hall:

283 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 141.

284 Ibid., 122.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Wnty bz=f ʿḥʿ=f jrt Rʿ jmj ht=f
kmt=s ʿḳ=s m ḥʿw=s
Wenty vomits and ejaculates the eye of Re which is in his belly,
its pupil entering in its glorious apparitions.

Even the swallowing of Re by Wenty, at best an ambivalent creature, has a renewing and positive effect. A similar process of 'swallowing' appears in several scenes from the Book of Gates, where time is swallowed by various beings (e.g. the Herert snake and Aqen), only to be regurgitated. The potentially destructive act of swallowing is a prerequisite to the creation of time. While the 'swallowing' performed by the pig is clearly an evil action (hence the punishment by the apes), when Anubis 'swallows his father', he is acting as a beneficial member of the Judgment Hall of Osiris. However, both actions ultimately support the maintenance of the cosmos, because what the Seth-pig swallows reappears as a manifestation of the solar god, just like Wenty vomiting and ejaculating the eye of Re, which he had consumed. Although the translation above differs greatly from E. Hornung's translation, the final statement – 'the Underworldly gods pertain to his guardianship' – agrees with his interpretation of the overall meaning of the text – the apotropaic function of the divine eye." [285]

In the annotation to scene 33, the short text links to elements in the Judgment Hall:

"*ḥbsw jmj dwꜣt r nḏt ṯ(ꜣ)wt*
Those who clothe [hide] the one who is in the *ḏuat*
in order to protect He-of-the-Dais." [286]

"The signs form a reasonable cryptographic orthography for *ṯnṯꜣtj* 'He of the throne dias'. Such a reading fits perfectly with the depiction in the Judgment Hall in the Book of Gates – Osiris enthroned atop a staired platform. In similar depictions from the Third Intermediate Period papyri, Osiris also appears atop a throne base labeled *ṯnṯꜣt*. A passage from the Seventh Litany of the Litany of Re provides a close parallel to the annotation to the Judgment Hall of Osiris:

How pleased are you, one within the Underworld,
He-of-the- dais, chief of what he rules/his *ḥḳꜣt*-scepter,
king of the Underworld, ruler of Igeret,
great of white crown, great god, whose place is hidden,
lord of judgment, chief of his council.

Every element in this excerpt from the Seventh Litany appears within the Judgment Hall in the Book of Gates: Osiris, who is atop his *ṯnṯꜣt*, wears the white crown [symbolizing the luminosity of the Moon], judges the deceased, and presides over his Ennead." [287]

285 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 125-126.

286 Ibid., 115.

287 Ibid., 116.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

"Three short labels and one longer one annotation associate themselves with the gods on the steps, who possess a dual solar-Osirian nature. (Plates 88, 90, 92) The first label to the gods on the steps occurs as signs interspersed among the deities in the tomb of Horemheb, the sarcophagus of Seti I, and the Osireion... 'Ennead among who is Osiris'. The second label to the gods on the steps appears in the first column of the 'solar text'...'Blessed spirits who are in the West'. The description of the gods as *aḫu*-spirits relates them to Re, since the first sentence of the solar text describes the sun god as *ꜣḫ* when he rests in the western horizon, the location of the blessed spirits. The single vertical line, which is normally interpreted as part of the label of Anubis, is here linked with the annotation of the gods on the stairs, which is predominately solar in nature. Both texts share cosmographic allusions and the use of the painted eye, albeit with different cryptographic values.

The standing place of Re,
having become beautiful in redness.

A close parallel to this short description appears in texts F and G from the Book of Nut [in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion]:

Book of Nut, Text F:

He shall become pure in the hand of his father Osiris.
Then his father comes to live,
becoming effective and beautiful before him.

Book of Nut, Text G:

The redness after his birth.

The appearance of cryptographic orthographies that can all be read as astronomical terms - *ꜥḥꜥ*, *ꜥn*, and *ḏsr* – should not be coincidental. The short vertical annotation commonly read as a label to Anubis may now be reinterpreted in light of the parallels in the Book of Nut. Re halts within the Judgment Hall of Osiris for the momentous event of the weighing of the Udjat-eye (see below), but the label indicates the assured outcome – Re will once again shine brightly in the redness of dawn." [288]

The Solar Text. "This annotation appears in five New Kingdom versions and one Late Period variant, the sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305). As in the annotation within the staircase, the Late Period version differs in several respects from the earlier recension. The short columns of text appear over the gods on the steps, but describe the actions of Re in the Judgment Hall.

Re becomes luminous,
when he rests in the Underworld,
when he opens the uniform darkness,
with the result that he rejuvenates in life.

288 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 129-131.

The god is content with what he has commanded,
and shines from his disk....

Although the 'uniform darkness' can describe the limitless expanse beyond the ordered cosmos and is often a term for Underworldly regions, the phrase 'rejuvenates in life' suggests a more specific location - the Egg of Sokar in the Fifth Hour of Amduat, which exists in the *kkw-smɜw* [uniform darkness]. The Egg of Sokar is the place of the solar rebirth within the Underworld, immediately preceding the reanimation of the corpse in the Sixth Hour of the Books of Amduat and Gates and battle with Apep in the Seventh Hour of Amduat. The 'roar of heaven when it storms' that is heard within the Egg of Sokar is the sound of creation itself, and like the Solar Text in the Judgment Hall links the uniform darkness with rejuvenation. Although the translation of this passage closely follows that proposed by other scholars, an entirely new interpretation of the text arises from a closer look at the lexicography. This cryptographic text associates two momentous events during the fifth hour of the nightly solar journey - the cosmic judgment in Scene 33 of the Book of Gates and the recreation that occurs in the Egg of Sokar. These two scenes exemplify essential events for solar rejuvenation – a successful verdict for Re against his enemies and contact with the chaotic forces of the uncreated world." [289] Here only alluded to, these momentous events are the subject of the decoration program and the architectural design of the "lower *ḏuat*": the Sloping Passage, the First Transverse Hall, Central Hall and the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion. They are discussed in detail in Chapter Five on the annual ritual cycle enacted in the Osireion.

Lastly, "the hartebeest heads (a.k.a. bubal/bubalis) are labelled *hmhmyw* 'roaring ones', and their position recalls the antelopes with burning wicks between their horns in the introductory scene of the Litany of Re. The fiery aspects of the hartebeest heads enable them to replace uraei-friezes above divine shrines, a function which the *hmhmyw* serve here in the Judgment Hall of Osiris.... While the well-known rite of sacrificing the oryx proves that antelope species can be among the enemies of the sun god and slaughtered for their evil deeds, the antelope heads in the introductory scene of the Litany of Re are actually protectors of the sun god. As the text accompanying the introductory tableau of the Litany of Re on the Late Period sarcophagus of Tadipakem (CG 29316) reveals, the snake and crocodile in the Litany of Re are emissaries sent out by Re, and the flaming antelope heads guard the corners of the universe for the sun god. This new understanding of the protective aspects of the antelope heads and their alliance with Osiris and Re concurs with their description of the hartebeest heads in the enigmatic annotation of the New Kingdom versions of the scene:

Text C: Annotation beneath the Hartebeest Heads

They destroy the dead,
namely those who judge those who are damned.
It is they who distinguish [*ṯnj*] themselves.

289 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 132-133.

It is those within the earth who assign them to the place of annihilation,
whose heads come forth from the mystery.
They appearing from their visible forms.
[…] which are given to the effective spirits […]

The verb *ṯnj* may allude to the position of the hartebeest heads atop the ceiling – they have lifted themselves up above the Judgment Hall. Additionally, *ṯnj* may indicate the difference between the hartebeest heads and the remainder of the deities in the Judgment Hall." [290] That is to say 'it is they who distinguish *ṯnj* themselves'. The protective 'roaring ones' appear to also allude to the four corners, the four cardinal directions, which in the Underworld are upside down and reversed as the hartebeest heads are depicted in Scene 33. In magical practice, "by virtue of its association with the cardinal directions, four is the most common symbol of 'completeness' in Egyptian numerological symbolism and ritual repetition." [291] "The number four is [also] sacred to the sun [Re], as the number seven is to the moon [Osiris]. Due to its course and the oblique position of the ecliptic, the sun [Re] gives rise to the four cardinal points [the created cosmos]." [292]

"Comparable rituals of circumambulation comprise both public, cultic ceremonies and private, 'magical' ones. In particular, the royal coronation ritual included such a 'procession about the desert' (*dbn ḫɜst*) and a 'circumambulation of the walls' (*phr ḥɜ ỉnbw*) to delimit the sacred space of the kingdom",[293] or in our case by analogy the Judgment Hall of Osiris.

The underlying number symbolism adds much support for Manassa's interpretation of the important Scene 33 in the Book of Gates. There are a total of nineteen deities depicted, symbolizing both the solar (Re) and the lunar (Osiris) rejuvenation on the first occasion. With it is their vindication and victory over *jsft*, expressed by "the four bound male figures beneath the throne platform [which are] appropriately labeled *ḫftyw Wsjr* 'enemies of Osiris'." [294] The text below them states:

"He assigns the enemies to the place of annihilation.
As for their *ɓau*, he makes their slaughter." [295]

The hartebeest heads at the top of the scene, labeled the 'roaring ones', are 'they who distinguish themselves' thus setting them apart from the other fifteen deities. Fifteen is the number of days it takes from new moon for the waxing moon to become full. That is to say the restored eye, the Udjat-eye, which is to be weighed on the scale insuring the proper measure so that it will be complete.

290 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 120.

291 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 162 n. 750.

292 B. Stricker, "The Enemies of Re" DE 23 (1992), 56.

293 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 58.

294 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates", RdE 57 (2006), 133.

295 Ibid., 135.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

As noted above, the Udjat-eye can represent the left lunar eye of Horus as well as the right solar eye of Re, which is depicted in the lower register of the eleventh hour (scene 81). In the Judgment Hall of Osiris the focus of the scene is overtly Osirian. However, the underlying symbolism is at the same time solar. Manassa has clearly demonstrated its dual solar-Osirian nature. Here then Scene 33 with its Osirian emphasis juxtaposes the solar focus in the scenes at the First Gate, the middle register of the third hour and those of the eleventh hour. I have already suggested that the side by side depiction of Re-Horakhti and Osiris in the opening scene to this ritual cycle subtly alludes to the start of the monthly lunar cycle, which initiates the (re)filling of the Udjat-eye on the first occasion. [296] But it is not just the left lunar eye of Horus that is being filled here. It is also the right eye of Re as well, to make Re, the sun god complete. That is to say his annual solar cycle. This is explicitly stated in the texts to the Final Scene of the Book of Caverns, on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage.

> "I [this Great God (Re)] have been (re)born, I have been transfigured,
> my Sun Disk has been fixed by these (divine) members
> of the council who are in the retinue of Khentiamenti..." [297]

The completion of the annual solar cycle, symbolized by the Sun Disk, is fixed by those who are in the retinue of Khentiamenti = Osiris. This action or filling of the solar cycle, represented by the right eye of Re = the Sun Disk, is completed in the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the following manner.

First, the lunar symbolism is reinforced by the numerological symbolism embodied in the figure count. In the portion of the Book of Gates that precedes Scene 33, the "Judgment Hall of Osiris", which effectively divides the composition into two parts, there are a total of 354 figures. These figures can be equated with the length of the lunar year which is 354 days. The twelve month lunar year is eleven days short of the 365 day solar year. This eleven day deficit is filled and completed by the eleven deities depicted on the primordial hill, Tatenen, the rising or distinct land which, in effect, is the place of the "Judgment Hall of Osiris". They are Osiris and his retinue which the text states fixed the Sun Disk. (Plate 88) Here, the enthroned Osiris wears the double crown of Atum, the initiator of creation and holds in his right hand an ankh, the hieroglyphic sign for life, which he will bestow upon the creation of the solar year. [298] The fact that the ankh is held in the right hand and not the left, which like the left eye have a lunar connotation, underscores the solar symbolism highlighting the message here of the creation of the solar year. This scene points to the pivotal role that Osiris will and does play in the creation of the solar year which unfolds following this scene in the sixth through ninth hours at the depths of the *duat*. Note that the twelve month lunar year is already complete and as such in a sense precedes and at the same time is a necessary component for the creation of the solar year. This is an aspect of the union of Re and Osiris that heretofore has not been recognized or identified.

From the Book of Nut (Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars) in the Second Transverse Hall,

296 See above 3.3.

297 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 268.

298 Ibid., 141. "...instead of the usual 'flail', the sign of life."

we are told about the unfolding of the nocturnal solar cycle.

" C (4) Winged Scarab

When the Incarnation of this god [Re] comes forth from the *Duat...*
Then he is reared in the birthplace.
Then he becomes effective again through his father Osiris, in the Abydene nome,
on the first occasion of his primeval state.
Then he is developed and goes away to the sky, in the hour of 'She Has Gone to Rest'.
[*sḥtp.n.s* is the ninth hour of the night.]" [299]

Again, the crucial role of Osiris in the regeneration of Re is highlighted. It is through Osiris that the sun god becomes effective, specifically in Abydos on the first occasion of *zp tpj*. Re, now developed, leaves the *duat* at the end of the ninth hour of the night. Parker also notes that "there is reason to think that it [*sḥtp.n.s*] may have appeared in the Osireion star clock [on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage] as the division of the night there..." [300]

The numerological symbolism of the figure count suggests that something of a lunar nature has also occurred here while Osiris is making the sun god effective. In the four hours (hours six through nine) following the Judgment Hall of Osiris (scene 33), there are a total of 384 figures. They equate to the number of days in the thirteen month lunar year. The twelve and thirteen month lunar years can be used to reconcile and realign the lunar cycle with the solar cycle, which require a nineteen year period. Recall that in the Judgment Hall of Osiris, there are nineteen figures on or above the primeval mound upon which Osiris, wearing the double crown of the creator, Atum, which is also that of Horus and kingship/Dynastic rule, is enthroned. One may reasonably conclude that the balance used for the proper "filling" of the eye of Re and the eye of Horus, which are the two eyes of the great sky god Horus the Elder was also meant to be used to provide the proper measure, symbolized by the nineteen figures in the scene and to "balance" and realign the lunar and solar cycles over the required nineteen year period.

299 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 3 and 77. For the ninth hour of the night see: O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 50-51.

300 Ibid., Parker, 50. See below 5.3 for my remarks on this star clock.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

3.4 THE TWELFTH GATE AND THE FINAL SCENE
THE PRIME ACT OF CREATION, THE FIRST SUNRISE OF ZP T*PJ*

Recall that at the Eleventh Gate, two giant *wȝs*-scepters, the symbol par excellence of dominion/ rulership, are depicted facing each other. (Plate 117) One ends in a falcon head, the other a human head. Both wear the white crown of Upper Egypt. As discussed above, together they symbolize the reincarnation of Osiris as Horus (one god in two persons) and with it the transfer of royal power from father to son.[301] On the cosmic level, the white crown refers almost exclusively to the luminosity of the moon (Osiris) but also includes the radiance of Horus as the morning star (Venus).[302] At certain times of the year, the brightly shining planet Venus and the moon would be seen in the eleventh hour of the night, acting as heralds to the coming of 'this Great God' at sunrise.

At the Twelfth Gate, two giant poles also face each other. (Plate 120) Both are topped with a divine human-headed solar deity. One is Atum-Re and the other Khepri, personifications of the evening and morning manifestations of the sun god. They stand on each side of the gate so that the solar barque can pass between them. Like the Twelfth Gate itself in which they are placed, their positioning is pregnant with symbolism.

Atum-Re is to the north. He initiated creation from the north to unfold to the south. Atum brings the north wind, the sweet breath of life, which animates all things. Atum-Re in the north, more precisely, at its northern most point along the ecliptic, is at the place of the summer solstice, Re at his greatest. It marks the beginning of *nḥḥ* time with the opening of the New Year on I *ȝḫt* 1 with the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius on the first occasion according to the Book of Nut.[303] Recall what this heliacial rising represents. Sothis, the brightest star in the night sky is swallowed by her mother Nut in the western horizon. The goddess spends seventy days rejuvenating inside the body of Nut, the *ḏuat,* and is reborn when she reappears in the sky low in the eastern horizon shortly before sunrise. She then merges with her father Re as she enters the solar barque, which is rising up into the eastern horizon to initiate the New Year, which, of course, heralds the Nile inundation, the life giving efflux of Osiris.

To the south is Khepri, the culmination of Atum's creation. It is the sunrise on the first occasion. The newly born sun is at its southernmost point along the ecliptic. It is the place of the birth of Re, the winter solstice. Here again the annual solar cycle is integrated with its nightly journey at the creation of the cosmos which lies between these two poles which stand on each side of the Twelfth Gate.

301 See above 3.2.

302 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 75, 88.

303 See below 5.7.

This north-south directional orientation is reinforced by the position of Isis, here manifest as a powerful protective rearing cobra. (Plates 120, 121) She stands with Nephthys at the outer part of the Twelfth Gate at the doors of heaven. "While various solar-related images follow this east to west path [in Ramesside royal tombs], other iconographic elements stress the north-south orientation of the side walls. From the first occurrence of the sun disk in this way, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, who were symbolically associated with the south and the north respectively, were shown flanking the disk as though indicating the intersecting south-north axis at the sides of the sun as it passes from the east to the west." [304] The goddesses also serve to mark the outer limits of the annual solar journey along the ecliptic from the winter solstice in the south to the summer solstice in the north.

Together they symbolize the successful regeneration of Atum-Re into his newly born form of Khepri. The texts read:

> "This Great God reaches this Gate,
> he enters this Gate.... He [Re] has emerged from *shetit,*
> He has settled down on the body of Nut [the sky].
> Then this Gate will be closed..." [305]

Behind the leaves of the Twelfth Gate are the two protective goddesses Isis (above in the south) and Nephthys (below in the north) in their manifestations as two rearing cobras, the two great uraei, to witness and therefore assist in the unfolding of the first sunrise, the transformation of Atum, the creator, into the prime act of his creation, Khepri, the newly born sun god. The texts state:

> "It is they who guard this mysterious Gate of That Which is Hidden.
> They walk behind this God" [306]

Summarizing Barguet, the Book of Gates presents the renewal of the sun god in the *duat*, but also treated as a rite of passage or succession that is both of Atum to Khepri and of Osiris to Horus, all leading to a new Horus-Re. That is to say Re-Horakhti (Re-Horus of the Two Horizons). He concludes that the purpose of this book is the rejuvenation of the two gods, Atum and Osiris. As a result of which the new monarch will appear. If it is remembered that this accession is normally done at sunrise, at dawn on the day after the death of the king and is a reestablishment of cosmic order [*mꜣʿt*], repeating the primordial times, when the sun god Atum-Re putting an end to the chaos, emerged from the darkness of the Nun for the first time to begin the creation. [307]

In the context of its specific use in the Osireion, which was Seti's monumental undertaking to reestablish *mꜣʿt* after the Amarna Hersey by recreating *zp tpj*, the Book of Gates is concerned with the

304 R. Wilkinson, "Symbolic Orientation and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs" in R. Wilkinson (ed.), The Valley of the Sun Kings (1995), 76.

305 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 186-187.

306 Ibid., 187.

307 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Portes et la Transmission du Pouvoir Royal" RdE 27 (1975), 34.

unfolding of creation with its culmination – the first sunrise and with it the establishment of the office of kingship and the mechanism for transmitting royal power (by *jmyt-pr*) from father to son Horus, the son of Osiris and the son of Re, a major theme that runs throughout the the Osireion.

The final scene represents the culmination of the Heliopolitan process of creation arising from the first occasion. It is the prime act of creation, the unfolding of the first sunrise. (Plates 121, 122, 123) Its elegance lies in its simplicity, but belies its complexity and significance. This famous scene has been analyzed by Hornung, who remarked on the ancient Egyptians' masterful ability to illustrate complex processes into a single, exemplary or symbolic image. [308] He concludes that Schaefer's earlier interpretation of the scene as a representation of the entire daily cycle of the sun god through the sky, the underworld and the primeval ocean was correct and that Sethe's one of only the single moment and the process of the sunrise was too restrictive. [309] His study was based on over 100 images of this and related scenes almost all from the 19th to 21st dynasties and only after Akhenaten's reign was over. [310]

"The concluding representation… lacks the usual division into [three] registers. Here the entire course of the sun is condensed into a single picture.... Her [Nut] upside-down position [Plates 122, 124] designates the inversion of the sun's course, which will now once again run in the opposite direction [east to west] from its course through the netherworld [west to east], here embodied by Osiris who surrounds the netherworld with his curved body. All three of the interior spaces of the cosmos are thus contained in this complex representation: the primeval waters, the height of the heavens and the depths of the earth (the netherworld)... [311]

His conclusion is undoubtedly applicable to the scene in the Osireion. The first sunrise can be viewed as *pars pro toto* for the entire solar cycle, necessary in the context of *zp tpj*. [312] However, the nuances of the first ritual cycle of which it is the final scene suggest the intended purpose here was more specific. This carefully and skillfully crafted ritual cycle details the moment of creation when Atum first begins to emerge from the darkness of the primordial abyss to the moment of sunrise on the first occasion. With his emergence from the Nun, he immediately creates the gods and the *ḏuat.* Recall the invocation of Atum by the king at the notional western end of the entrance passage. He says:

"Hail to you! Who comes as Atum [who creates the gods]...
Hail to you! Whose secrets/mysteries are hidden,
who creates the *ḏuat* with his rays...

308 E. Hornung, "Zu den Schlussszene der Unterweltsbucher" MDAIK 37 (1981), 217.

309 Ibid., 217-226.

310 Ibid., 222.

311 E. Hornung, Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 65-66.

312 Earlier attestations of the Book of Gates in the tombs of Horemheb (KV 57) and Ramesses I (KV 16) do not include the final scene. Seti's alabaster sarcophagus and the Osireion are the earliest instances of the final scene. Both are nearly identical and remains unclear as to whether the Osireion scene was cartooned before its appearance on the king's sarcophagus.

[Hail to you! Who are in the realm of eternity].... [313]
Then the West will open for the Great Elder
As Re sets (*ḥtp*) in the western mountain.
He illuminates the *ḏuat* with [his rays]..." [314]

With the Great God's descent into the West, the mechanism for future sunsets has been established.

The location of the Book of Gates on the notional southern wall of the Entrance Passage (also the southernmost part of the Osireion), places the night journey of the sun god at its southernmost point along the ecliptic. [315] That is to say on the winter solstice, the start of the annual solar journey across the sky and, of course, on the first occasion. The opposite end of the Entrance Passage, the notional southeastern corner, corresponds to the place of the unfolding of the first sunrise. Its location highlights its importance and holds the key to its primary function. At the end of this ritual cycle, the final scene represents the culmination and prime act arising out of the Heliopolitan creation process, the first sunrise in which the king participates. Recall that the unfolding is at the same time both the sunrise on the summer solstice when viewed from the perspective of inside the *ḏuat* and the place on the earth, where the winter solstice will occur. [316] In the context of *zp tpj*, it expresses the creation of the complete annual solar cycle. Analogous to this is Hornung's recognition that the scene also encompasses the complete daily solar cycle of the sun god through the sky, the underworld and the primeval ocean to which the texts in the scene subtly allude.

Above the barque is a text that runs between the solar disk and the arms of Nut: (Plate 122)

ḥtp nṯr pn mᶜndt nṯrw jmjw.f

This god is content in the day barque
[and] with the gods who are in it.

It seems to be expressing that Khepri-Re has only just entered the day barque for sunrise. But the word *ḥtp* also refers to the astronomical setting of the sun (and the stars). [317] So it could also be translated as:

This god will set/sets in the day barque...

Thus, pointing to the sunset before the sun god is transferred to the night barque in the western akhet.

313 Eternity is *ḏt* time before the first sunrise and with it the creation of cyclical time *nḥḥ*.

314 See above 3.1.

315 See above 3.2.

316 See above 3.2.

317 R. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (1986), 180.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

Further, the text by the goddess Nut states:

Nt pw szp.s Rˁ

It is Nut who receives Re.

Although the statement is straight forward, in the context of the scene, it has a double meaning. The obvious one is that Nut, the sky goddess, is receiving the rising sun god Khepri-Re. But she also receives the sun god in the evening as well, when she swallows Re. The scene depicts Nut standing on the head of Osiris whose body encircles the *ḏuat,* uniting the two concepts of Re's nightly journey through the *ḏuat* and through the body of Nut into a single path. This path leads Re to the deepest part of the underworld, where Re unites with his corpse Osiris and the *ḏuat* meets the Nun, the primordial ocean out of which life was created and is restored anew. The daily solar cycle is completed with Re's return to the Nun as Atum states he will also do at the end of all time. [318] The cycle started with the depiction of Nun lifting the solar barque with the newly regenerated Khepri-Re and his retinue. The text between the arms of Nun states: (Plates 121, 122)

> These two arms go forth from the waters.
> They raise this god.

It alludes to the infinite hidden powers of the depths, which embrace the sun god in the evening and return it rejuvenated each morning. [319] With this act begins the first sunrise and the commencement of cyclical time, *nḥḥ*.

The sun god has traveled through the length of the *ḏuat* with Sia and Heka accompanied by the living king. Depicted as upholding Maat, the king carries out the sacred rites of the solar cult, underscoring here both the active role of the king and the ritual use for the Book of Gates.[320] In the final scene, the crew has increased to ten deities. The number ten is sacred to Horus and denotes kingship. It points to the pivotal role the king plays here as he does in the corresponding opening scene, where the king invokes the creator god Atum, initiating the ritual cycle and with it creation itself. Walker has pointed out that: "as the Nun lifts the newborn sun from the watery abyss, from the realm of death and regeneration, so too is the king reborn. Even as he adores the rising sun in close proximity to the solar god, he partakes of his essence, of his *ḳa.* One is tempted to see in the uplifting gesture of Nun, a task usually reserved for Shu, the expression of the *ḳa* gesture. Once more the *ḳa* is significant at the threshold between night and day, and death and life." [321] And one might add the

318 BD 175, see above 3.2.

319 E. Hornung, Valley of the Kings (1990), 90.

320 As opposed to Seti's other two versions of the Book of Gates on his alabaster sarcophagus and in his tomb (KV 17), where he is not depicted as traveling in the solar barque with the sun god.

321 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 50.

potential for existence arising of the Nun for the created cosmos in the context of *zp tpj*. It is not the rebirth of the king but the creation of the king and kingship that occurs here, an act that the king initiated by invoking Atum at the start of the ritual cycle, whereby the begotten is at the same time the begetter. Note the symmetry that is created by the king, the living Horus, depicted kneeling with arms raised in praise as the first and last figures encountered thus framing the entire ritual cycle. (Plates 61, 121) One can only assume that the king is invoking Khepri-Re and with it the miraculous moment of the first sunrise, as he did with Atum and creation in the opening scene.

A crew of ten are needed to assist with the first sunrise. We find Hu, Annunciation, has joined Sia and Heka and placed between them. (Plates 124, 121) Annunciation refers to the divine principle of creative speech. "Speech which is so effective that it creates [here necessary for the first sunrise]. It forms a conceptual pair with the principle of Perception (*sjꜣ*), with which it is often linked and from which it logically follows. In the created world, 'Perception' and 'Annunciation' are the means by which the forces of nature – the gods and the king – perceive what needs to be done and cause it to happen. Their function *par excellence,* however, is in the creation itself... and Magic [Heka] is the force that makes Annunciation effective." [322]

Next are Shu and Geb. Shu is the first born of Atum and thus begins the unfolding of the Heliopolitan creation. "His name means 'emptiness' or 'he who rises up'..." [323] He separates the sky, his daughter Nut, from the earth god Geb his son and fills the newly created universe "with the very air which was the breath of life." [324] Shu "is responsible for bringing Re [here represented by the first sunrise] and the king into life everyday." [325] In the Central Hall, Shu who is directly identified with the royal *Ka* is the one who grants 'the going forth of the living Horus' i.e. kingship, [326] which is established on the first occasion. Geb, the personification of the earth, is the third generation or stage of the unfolding creation together with his sister Nut. "as the son of Atum and Shu, Geb was the 'heir of the gods', and as father of Osiris, the mythical king. Geb also maintained a strong association with kingship. The Egyptian king himself was called the 'heir of Geb' and was to sit upon 'the seat [throne] of Geb'. The god was thus involved in the transmission of kingship, and in the mythical story known as the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth' (preserved in the 20th dynasty Papyrus Chester Beatty I), it is Geb who acts as the presiding judge in determining the rightful heir to the throne. This role of support for the king is present even as early as the Pyramid Texts where Geb champions the king as Horus over Seth." [327] In the later temples of Hibis and the Edifice of Taharqa, Horus is called the *ba* of Geb. [328] By

322 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 37-38. See above 3.2.

323 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 129.

324 Ibid., 130.

325 G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986), 200.

326 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), pl. LXXIII. For Shu see D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple (2006), 35-36.P. Barguet, "Au sujet d'une representation du ka royal" ASAE 51 (1951), 205-215, has shown the role of the Royal *Ka* for Shu appears already in the Pyramid Texts.

327 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 105.

328 D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram (2006), 35. See also J-C. Goyon, The Edifice of Taharqa (1979), 72 n. 35.

the inclusion of Shu and Geb in the solar barque, the emphasis being placed on the creation of kingship, the lineage of Horus, the transmission of royal power, and its fundamental role as part of the first sunrise is overt. Here sun god and son together are the prime act of creation.

The protective serpent Mehen, *mḥn*, around the sun god is replaced by Isis and Nephthys in the final scene. The sun god is no longer the 'Flesh of Re' but now the regenerated scarab beetle and solar disk manifesting in its form of Khepri-Re. Isis and Nephthys assist with the entry of the sun god into the arms of Nut, the sky, by lifting up Khepri-Re as they are shown here. (Plate 124) The transfer of the sun god to the day barque from the night barque and the elevating of the solar child are familiar roles for Isis and Nephthys in both the Book of the Night and the Book of the Day. The two goddesses play a vital role in the birth and rebirth process of Osiris and of Re, which is being established here on *zp tpj*. They also do so for the royal child, Horus in the Westcar Papyrus (X, 7-8). [329]

At the bow of the barque stand three deities with the hieroglyph *wn* or *sn* (GSL-O31, the door sign) above their heads and who face the king. [330] They are the openers, *wnw*, who open the doors to the heavens. So too can the "king [who] is *snn* 'image of one who opens the doors of heaven'." [331] It is possible that two or even all three of these deities serve as "'fillers', inserted in order to reach the symbolic target number...", [332] which in this case is ten, the number sacred to Horus representing kingship. The name *wn* may also involve a pun. *Wn* also means to exist and so could be translated as 'the ones who exist'. That is to say, come into being on the first occasion.

There are exactly 103 scenes that make up the first ritual cycle of the nightly journey of the sun god. This consists of the 100 scenes of the Book of Gates, the final scene of the unfolding of the first sunrise and the two opening scenes. The 100 scenes of the Book of Gates form a unit. The ancient Egyptian mathematical system utilizes six numerals and a repetitional system of notation. The third one is represented by the ideogram V1, a coiled rope (*zt*) to designate 100. [333] Interestingly *zt* is a feminine noun.[334] Out of the feminine unity of 100, the 101st scene begins a new cycle, which is the final scene attached to the Book of Gates of the first sunrise.

I have discussed the numerical significance of the number 309 to the ancient Egyptians, which arose out of their dual base for the measurement of time – the sun by day and the moon by night. It refers to the 309 lunations that occur in the 300 month period marked by the Egyptian civil calendar, when the same phase of the moon would again occur on the same date of their civil calendar and begin

329 J. Hoffmeier, Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt (1985), 102.

330 A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (1982), 496.

331 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 230.

332 N. Hoffmann, "Reading the Amduat" ZAS 123 (1996), 39.

333 J.P. Allen, Middle Egyptian Second Edition (2010), 101, 446.

334 Ibid., 102. "While most cardinal numbers have both masculine and feminine endings or just masculine, one hundred and the hundred series use only the feminine."

a new 25 year cycle.[335] Multiples and fractions of key numbers in the Egyptian numerical symbolism apparently manifested the same force or concept. In the case of fractions, it seems to embody the concept of *pars pro toto,* where a part represents the whole and is of equal validity. This would appear to be the case with the number of scenes chosen for the first ritual cycle, a total of 103 with 100 in the Book of Gates proper. They embody the same ratio and relationship as in 309 and 300. Therefore, they are expressing the same principle or mathematical concept. So again we find in the overall structure of the first ritual cycle the ever present relationship of the marking and measurement of cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, Eternal Recurrence, on both a solar and lunar basis which manifest arising out of *ḏt* time, Eternal Sameness, the "cosmic script" on the first occasion. Apparently, it would seem that the reason for its crucial importance to the ancient Egyptians is that, time and its measurement based on or better still created by the movement of the sun, moon and stars is what keeps the created cosmos from collapsing back into the inertness of the primordial abyss of precreation, the state of nonexistence, in which time and motion do not exist. Thus time, in essence, perpetuates creation.

There are several reasons in my opinion why the first ritual cycle ends here and does not continue into the adjoining Antechamber.[336] First, in the final scene both the sun god and the king are depicted departing in the solar barque from the Nun, *ḏuat,* and Osiris, an obvious reference to the end of a cycle and the beginning of a new one, i.e. the sunrise. In contrast the texts to the final scene of the Book of Caverns on the wall opposite the Book of Gates states:

> "(Above the towing deities):
>
> This is what these deities are like.
> They tow Re, the Lord of the Horizon [*ꜣḫt*]
> They let him settle down in the mountain of the East....
>
> (Text between the gods towing and the ram-headed scarab):
>
> … This Great God enters his Mountain of the East..."[337]

The Mountain of the East that Re-Horakhti is entering is the eastern akhet, which is the Antechamber of the Osireion and the place of the actual sunrise. On the notional east wall of this chamber on the lintel above the entrance to the Annex is the text of Chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead which states:

> "Re appears in his horizon, his Ennead following after him;
> the god issues from the secret place,
> and trembling falls on the eastern horizon of the sky

335 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13-23. Accuracy 70%. Off by one day in the other 30%.

336 See below 3.5 for the likelihood of the Book of the Day on the ceiling above the Book of Gates.

337 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 271-272.

at the voice of Nut;
she clears the way for Re
before the Oldest One, who turns.
Raise yourself, O Re who are in your shrine...." [338]

Note that 'the Oldest One, who turns about' is a reference to the sun god Re's reversing direction at sunrise to travel now from east to west. Clearly this text is describing the moment leading to the sunrise, which is the concluding scene of both the second and third ritual cycles. The vignette to BD 133 is a well known scene depicting Re or Re-Horakhti in his solar barque. (Plate 236) The vignette in the papyrus of Nebseni (BM 9900) labels the god: "Re who is in his shrine." [339] Only a scant trace of the vignette above the text remains. (Plate 235) It is a tail of a ureaus, specifically that of Nephthys since it lies to the notional north side. [340] But it is significant because in parallel fashion to the final scene to the Book of Gates, the twin uraei Isis and Nephthys are depicted protecting the departing solar barque and its crew. (Plate 121)

Finally, the door jambs of the entrance to the Antechamber are inscribed with the first and second gates of Chapter 145B of the Book of the Dead. (Plate 215) The second gate is on the same side as the Book of Gates and thus prevents an entry at this point simply because logically one has to pass through the first gate before entering the second gate is possible. Moreover, the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage cannot be read in tandem. In the final scene of the Book of Caverns, the *ba* of Osiris is depicted in the solar barque. (Plates 209, 211) The text reads:

"Osiris says to Re:
O come, come, O Re!
The Lord of Life calls out:
Come to my *ba,*
so it can walk together with you (O) Re!
(He?) says to Re:
O Re with … (destroyed) face on his side -
come, while my *ba* is in your retinue!
You lift up the chest (?) which Nut has shaped
and she opens her arms to you." [341]

This can only occur around the time of the Blacked-out Moon (new moon). [342] This is not the case for

338 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), Plate 21.

339 E. Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbuch I (1971 reprint), Plate CXLVI. For further discussion on this scene see below 4.5 and 4.6.

340 R. Wilkinson, "Symbolic Orientation and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs" in R. Wilkinson (ed.), Valley of the Sun Kings: New Explorations in the Tombs of the Pharaohs (1995), 76.

341 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 270.

342 See below 4.3 for a full explanation of why this is the case.

the other days of the lunar month, where Osiris remains in the *ḏuat* as he is depicted in both the Book of Gates and in Amduat.

A few additional remarks remain on the royal aspects of the Book of Gates. "Although both books [Gates and Amduat] represent the mystery of the union of Re and Osiris, the succession of Horus is also an important component of the Book of Gates." [343] Hornung further points out: "Following the end of the New Kingdom, portions of the book [of Gates] were used only sporadically, perhaps because it is oriented more thoroughly than the Amduat to the person of the king." [344]

Note too that in the papyrus of Anhai 20th dynasty (p.BM 10472), the representation of the Central Hall of the Osireion has only eight columns in keeping with decorum, instead of ten, presumably because ten was a sacred number to Horus and kingship. (Plates 125, 126)

As to Barguet's hypothesis, which Barta rejected outright, [345] Hornung wrote: "It is indeed tempting to see here with Barguet, references to earthly kingship and the transfer of rule [in the Book of Gates], but the validation from the texts for such far-reaching interpretations is not enough, and we are still (moving) in the space of the afterlife." [346] However, if one places the Book of Gates in its proper context of *zp tpj*, [347] which is about the unfolding of creation on the first occasion and not as Hornung suggests only in the space of the afterlife, it may allow for just such a broader interpretation. The sparse and scattered hints around the texts and illustrations of the Book of Gates that Barguet saw as supporting his interpretation reflects the fact that the composition is expressing, or better still touching on, all the many aspects that must occur and be in place in order for the cosmos to unfold with its prime act, the first sunrise and along with it the institution of divine kingship and dynastic rule. To be sure, it is not a full blown treatise on the transfer of royal power in the earthly realm. But Barguet's scattered hints, in effect, form a sort of *pars pro toto* so commonly used by the ancient Egyptians in their texts to express much longer complicated rituals and concepts.

343 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 656.

344 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 56.

345 W. Barta, Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbucher fur den verstorbenen Konig (1985), 159-162.

346 E. Hornung, Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits II (1980), 228. Author's translation from German.

347 Here I speak *only* for this use of the Book of Gates in the Osireion.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

3.5 REMARKS ON THE CEILING DECORATION OF THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE

Frankfort noted: “there is at one point on the east [notional north] wall of the [entrance] passage a minute fragment of a roofing-block left on the wall, which shows that the roof sloped upwards at an angle 71 degrees with the horizontal, the same angle, in fact, as the triangle on the south [notional east] wall of the small room [the Annex] shows. The roof was apparently of yellow sandstone, and to have displayed the cartouches of Merenptah in bands surrounded with the name of stars, as a few stray fragments would suggest.” [348]

There is a remarkable similarity between the decoration program of the Osireion and that for the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) in the Valley of the Kings, although architecturally they are quite different. The Osireion is L-shaped with its Entrance Passage, Antechamber, and the Annex on a notional west to east axis mirroring the nocturnal course of the sun. The Sloping Passage and Central Hall are on a notional north south axis, which is the same as that for the Amun-Re Chapel in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. KV 9 is essentially on a single axis running from east to west with a slight skewing of the axis to the left (south) after Corridor D. (Plates 24, 58) In addition, the Osireion utilizes an unusual but ancient feature in the construction of its ceilings in the Entrance Passage, Antechamber, Annex and the two Transverse Halls. The upward sloping sides form a triangular ceiling, a design reminiscent of the Old Kingdom pyramid of Unas, the first pyramid to be decorated with the oldest known religious texts. (Plates 127, 128, 129)

Abitz recognized that the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI was so significantly different from those of its predecessors that he considered it a break with tradition. The cannon of decoration for royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which was established by Seti I seemed to have been almost obligatory and was used in seven royal tombs constructed over a 140 year period. Abitz provided a detailed comparison of the differences in these tombs and KV 9. He also briefly mentions some of the Netherworld Books in the Osireion, pointing out that many of them found their way into the tomb of Ramesses VI.[349] Oddly, Abitz did not note the presence of the cryptographic texts and partial scene from the Books of the Earth in the Second Transverse Hall (Frankfort's Sarcophagus Chamber), because they occupy such a prominent position in the Sarcophagus Chamber in Ramesses VI's tomb, which like the Second Transverse Hall is essentially the final room in his tomb. [350] Had he recognized the significance of the presence of the Book of the Earth texts on the west (notional south) wall, he may have realized that the source of and template for Ramesses VI's “break with tradition” was none other than the Osireion itself. The location of the Book of the Earth scene and texts are juxtaposed to their placement in the Sarcophagus Chamber of Ramesses VI just as is the case with the

348 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 15. Unable to locate EES negatives of the ceiling fragments in their archives.

349 F. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI (1989), 172 and 178.

350 The vignette from the Books of the Earth was identified by Piankoff some years earlier in his book, Le Creation du Disque solaire (1953), which is listed in Abitz's bibliography, 196.

Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns in the upper portion of the tomb due to the different axial alignment of the two structures. In order to maintain the proper cardinal orientation, the position of the compositions had to be adjusted.

If the Osireion was indeed the template for the decoration program of Ramesses VI's tomb, as I believe I have demonstrated in Appendix A, then this leads to some interesting and valid speculation regarding the lost portions of the Osireion's own decoration. The length of the Entrance Passage could easily accommodate the ceiling decoration which is found in corridors A, B, C, D, and Hall E of Ramesses VI's tomb, where both structures were decorated with complete versions of the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns on their walls. This would also add some missing compositions to the in situ encyclopedic collection of Netherworld Books in the Osireion, principally the Book of the Day, depictions of the northern constellations and the elaborate star clocks or decanal charts on the ceilings of corridors A and B which are in a different form from the star table in situ in the Sloping Passage.

The Book of the Day was an absolutely essential part of creation on the first occasion. [351] "... most important for the understanding of the sun cult is the grouped [pair] which is labeled the Book of the Day and the Night. This gives an outline of the entire circuit, through the day and night.... The importance of the pairing lies in the combination, in the greater unity that the opposition demarcate and emphasize. In this case the two [solar] boats compliment one another to secure the unity of the solar circuit through both the day sky, visible to the human eye, and the night sky, unseen and so potentially not covered." [352] Its position in the Entrance Passage, following the layout in the tomb of Ramesses VI, is on the half of the ceiling above the Book of Gates allowing for the continuation of the solar circuit. (Plate 28) With the preparation for the sunrise in the final scene of the Book of Gates, the sun god then reverses its course in the first hour of the day. It now travels from east to west during the daytime hours back toward the entrance of the Osireion, the western akhet, where it will again set into the *ḏuat* and begin its next nightly journey of its circuit along the path of the ecliptic from the winter solstice in the south to the summer solstice in the north. Thus, the lost decoration for the ceiling in the Entrance Passage, restorable from the tomb of Ramesses VI, allows for the reconstruction of the intended complete solar circuit of the first occasion.

"The description of the course of the day, interpreted by Assmann as a 'cosmographic accompanying text of a ritual … consists to a large extent of an enumeration of deities and their names. Lengthier texts are rare.'" [353] The naming of the names of the deities would bring them into existence, here on the first occasion at the creation of the cosmos. In addition, "the hymns to the hours can be

351 For a recent in depth analysis of the Book of the Day see M. Muller-Roth, Das Buch vom Tage (2008).

352 S. Quirke, The Cult of Ra (2001), 44, 47.

353 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 302. See also J. Assmann, Der Konig als Sonnenpriester (1970).

explained as the liturgical portion of the book." [354] "The representations and captions of the Book [of the Day] are arranged under an extended figure of the sky Goddess, whose arms and legs comprise their outer limit. (Plates 132-136) Nearly all the figures face the head of Nut and thus the end of the book." [355] Placed on the half of the ceiling above the Book of Gates, "the Book of the Day describes the diurnal, not the nocturnal journey of the sun [god], which travels from the vulva of the goddess, from which it is newly born each day, to her head, which swallows it again in the evening. Because the reference here is to the daytime journey of the sun god, he appears with a falcon's head rather than his ram-headed nocturnal form...." [356] (Plate 140)

According to Neugebauer and Lange, Nut did not represent the whole of the sky, but only that of the ecliptic, [357] reflecting the annual solar journey from the winter solstice to its peak in the north on the summer solstice. "Thus the representations placed under the body of the goddess in the Book of Day are actually situated on the right and left of her body." [358] That is to say to the north and to the south of the ecliptic, the band of water on which the solar barque is depicted sailing. (Plate 132) On the other hand, Kozloff sees the Milky Way as the celestial form of Nut as do Lull and Belmonte. [359] However, Maravelia more preceptively suggests that the Milky Way was one of the celestial forms of Nut with another being the celestial vault itself. [360]

Wells has detailed an intriguing hypothesis proposing an astronomical basis behind the mythology of Nut and the cycle of Re. [361] In short, he too equates the body of Nut with the Milky Way (Plate 130, figs. 1-2) and connects the position of the body of the goddess to two key points in the annual solar cycle. On the vernal equinox in 3500 BC, (Plate 131, fig. 3) the mouth (Gemini) of the goddess Nut appears to have "swallowed" the sun as it had set in the western horizon. Exactly 272 days later, the [approximate] period of human gestation, on the winter solstice the goddess gave birth to the sun god after Deneb in the constellation Cygnus (the birth canal of Nut) had slipped below the eastern horizon. (Plate 131, fig. 4) The ancient Egyptians called this day *mswt rꜥ*, 'the Birth of Re'. His interpretation seems to be supported by the arrangement and positioning in the Entrance Passage of the two solar compositions of the Book of Gates underneath the figure of Nut and its Book of the Day. Due to the triangular shape of the ceiling in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion, the body of Nut through which

354 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 117.

355 Ibid., 116.

356 Ibid., 117.

357 H. Lange, O. Neugebauer, Papyrus Carlsberg No.1 (1940), 28.

358 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 386-387.

359 A. Kozloff, "Star-Gazing in Ancient Egypt" in C. Berger et al. (eds.), Hommages a J. Leclant (1993), 173. J. Lull, J. Belmonte, "The Constellations of Ancient Egypt" in J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.), In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 163 Table 6-1.

360 A. Maravelia, "Cosmic Space and Archetypal Time: Depictions of the Sky-Goddess Nut in Three Royal Tombs of the New Kingdom and her Relation to the Milky Way" GM 197 (2003), 55-72.

361 R. Wells, "Re and the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics (1994), 4-9.

the sun god travels at night was joined to the Book of Gates, whose scenes detail the ram-headed sun god's journey through the twelve gates of the *ḏuat,* equating the place of the underworld journey to the body of Nut. (Plate 28) The positioning of Nut's body on the ceiling is such that it separates the texts and scenes of the Book of Gates on the wall below from those of the Book of the Day, with the ban of stars in the composition at the peak of the triangular ceiling. (Plate 141) Given the position of these compositions in the notional southernmost part of the Osireion complex, they represent the complete the solar cycle starting at the time of the winter solstice – *mswt rꜣ*, 'the Birth of Re".[362]

This heretofore unrecognized combination of solar compositions of both the nocturnal journey of the sun god as described by the Book of Gates and the diurnal journey of the Book of the Day, coupled with the king's numerous depictions in them, clearly reveals the ritual purpose of these texts in the Osireion. The king, chief ritualist of the sun cult, opens this ritual cycle by invoking Atum, an action that initiates creation. He then offers Maat to Re-Horakhti and Osiris, the two key manifestations arising out of the creation, the sun (god) and the moon (god). The king then enters the solar barque to accompany the sun god through the twelve hours of the night. The final scene in the Book of Gates marks the successful conclusion to the nocturnal journey. The king and the sun god are transferred to the day barque to begin the diurnal journey leading back to the entrance of the Osireion and with it the completion of the solar circuit. In effect, the paired compositions of the Book of Gates and the Book of the Day acts to perpetuate *zp tpj* and creation everyday after its initial ritual activation. This is in keeping with "their understanding of time, the Egyptians thought of each day, each year, and each accession of a new king as a new creation... In this view, time eternally repeated and renewed in the daily cycle of the sun, the yearly cycle of the seasons, and the cycle of birth and death among living things."[363]

The Book of the Day and the Book of the Night encapsulated by a single body on the two halves of the ceiling in the Entrance Passage should also be viewed as a unified composition.[364] (Plates 142- 144) However, because they do not begin at the at the entrance, as does the Book of Gates, but are preceded by the decanal charts of the Ramesside star clocks, as is the case in the tomb of Ramesses VI, they are

362 The complete solar cycle was intended by the ancient Egyptians from the night of the winter solstice to the day of the summer solstice. This is confirmed by the crew of the day barque who are the imperishable stars. They are the stars that lie to the north of the ecliptic and therefore can only enter the solar barque when the sun is at its northernmost point along the ecliptic, which occurs at the time of the summer solstice.

363 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2010), 110.

364 A. Roberts, My Heart My Mother (2000), 242 n. 3. Roberts favors Piankoff's approach to treat the Book of the Day and the Book of the Night as one work, whereas other scholars consider "them as separate compositions, classifying the Book of the Day as a 'book of the heavens' with the Book of Nut, and the Book of the Night as a 'book of the Netherworld' like the Amduat... But see Marilina Betro's review of Roulin's book [Le Livre de la Nuit (1996)], in which she observes that the juxtaposition of the two books in Ramesses VI's tomb is unlikely to be coincidental, Or 67 (1998), 510, 517. She notes that the divine guides in the Book of the Day also appear in some of the night hours. Furthermore, the Book of the Night's introductory section refers to the Book of the Day's twelfth hour text." See pp. 180-188 for Roberts comments of the Books of Day and Night as a unit. However, it is unlikely to have been an either or situation. Witness the pairing of the Book of the Night with the Book of Nut in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, or the Book of the Day with the Book of Gates in the Entrance Passage. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, there are two separate depictions of the Book of the Night with the Book of the Day, where the one in the Sarcophagus Chamber has the body of Nut depicted over each of the Book of the Night and the Book of the Day and in the other, there is only one body of the goddess arching over both the Book of the Night and the Book of the Day.

clearly in the *ḏuat* and therefore are subject to the laws of inversion. [365] The Book of the Night is on the notional northern half of the ceiling, as are the other two copies of the Book of the Night inscribed on the ceilings of the First and Second Transverse Halls. The crew of the solar barque in the Book of the Night are explicitly designated as unwearying stars, *jhmjw wrḏw*. (Plate 145) The unwearying stars lie to the south of the ecliptic and therefore can only embark when the solar barque is at its southernmost point along the ecliptic which occurs at the time of the winter solstice. In all three copies of the Book of the Night found in the Osireion, the head of Nut is in the notional west and represents the western akhet, where the sun sets and enters the *ḏuat* to begin its nocturnal journey traveling from the west to the east to the place of the birth of the sun, sunrise. The apparent contradiction in the placement of the three Books of the Night on the notional northern half of the ceilings and their southern orientation to the winter solstice is explained by their being located in the *ḏuat* and therefore subject to the laws of inversion. While east and west of the *ḏuat* correspond to the east and west on the earthly plane, in the topsy-turvy upside-down realm of the *ḏuat* left and right become reversed, so that north becomes south and vice versa. However, from the perspective of being inside the *ḏuat*, they are in their proper places.

The crew of the day barque includes a group of imperishable stars, *jhmjw skjw*. As we have seen, the imperishable stars lie to the north of the ecliptic. They can only enter the solar barque when the sun is at its northernmost point along the ecliptic which is at the time of the summer solstice. So rather than being depicted on the notional northern half of the ceiling in the Entrance Passage, the Book of the Day is on the notional southern half of the ceiling, again a reflection of the inverted nature of the *ḏuat*. This placement is consistent with that for the final scene of the Book of the Gates, which as already shown, represents the unfolding leading to sunrise on the summer solstice. [366] Thus on the ceiling, the Books of the Day and the Night not only refer to the daily diurnal and nocturnal journey of the sun god, but also to its annual sojourn across the ecliptic. Furthermore in the context of the first occasion, it is the creation of the path the sun will take until the end of time. Hornung wrote that "these two books which together cover the whole path of the sun and provide a cosmography of the heavenly regions." [367]

365 How could the ancient Egyptians have determined that in the *ḏuat* things were inverted? Apart from the fact that they may have actually traveled to the *ḏuat*, which they undoubtedly believed they had and was their inspiration and source for the many highly detailed maps of the *ḏuat* which we call the Books of the Underworld. "... for the ancient Egyptians the belief in the afterlife was not a purely religious principle, for them it was a proven cosmological fact." [S. Watson, "Death and Cosmology in Ancient Egypt" Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages XVII (1991), 151.]

However, another way was possible by observing Osiris himself. That is to say the stellar manifestation of Osiris as the constellation Orion. By watching the nightly movement of this constellation, especially in the month of Khoiak, when on the ideal calendar it rose shortly after sunset and set before sunrise they could have come to this conclusion. (Plate 416) As Orion is seen setting, he appears to be entering the *ḏuat* face down. Rigel, the toe star, from which the constellation *sꜣḥ* may have derived its name, sets first. But when he rises back out from the *ḏuat* into the eastern horizon on the next night, he is no longer face down but was turned over in the *ḏuat* and is on his back facing up. He is now in the exact reverse position from how he had entered the *ḏuat*. That is to say he has been inverted. See also J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Books of the Underworld (1995), Chapter 7, for his detailed discussion of the concept of inversion in the Netherworld.

366 See above 3.4.

367 E. Hornung, The Valley of the Kings (1990), 79.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

The Book of the Day, as depicted on the ceilings of Corridors A, B, C, D, and Hall E in the tomb of Ramesses VI, is divided into four registers with the upper registers separated from the two lower ones by a strip of water.[368] (Plate 141) The top and the bottom register each contain processions of deities whose name must be spoken, presumably by the king as chief ritualist who is depicted in both registers, in order to bring them into existence. This role was performed by his father, the sun god in the Book of Gates. In the second register nine barques are depicted as if sailing on the band of water, proceeding from east to the west where the sun will set. The third register is comprised mostly of texts, "the longer portions of the text relate to effects which occur during each hour of the day." [369]

"The Book of the Day implies the division of the day into twelve hours. The earliest hour of the morning and the last hour in the evening are treated differently in both versions of the Book [of the Day in the tomb of Ramesses VI], with no barque being depicted. The barques of the second and third hours, and the barques of the tenth and eleventh hours have covered prows (representing the dimmer lower sun in the morning and the evening). These features indicate that the journey of the sun through the sky was divided into distinct phases. The first and last hours of the day were transitional periods between day and night. For the second and third hours, the sun not not yet reached full strength. In the fourth and fifth hours the sun sails unobstructed, but during the sixth, seventh, and eighth hours the struggle with Apep occurred, resulting in triumph over the enemy. The party then land at the Field of Rushes [Reeds], which marks the beginning of the evening, when the sun decreases in strength, the prow is again covered and the embarkation of the night barque is being prepared.

The battle with Apep takes place around midday. The sun, having risen higher in the sky all morning, is apparently slowed down by the struggle, and seems to pause in its ascent. This struggle, containing elements of a battle, a sandbank, and overthrowing of enemies has elements in common with the battle of Nedyt in the Osiris Mysteries. The relationship between the evening and the Field of Rushes, a land connected with the most pleasant and desirable part of the Otherworld is similar to our ideals of an 'evening of life' of comfortable retirement." [370]

The Osirian number symbolism could not be clearer in this depiction of the Field of Rushes/Reeds, *sḫt-jꜣrw*. The field of Rushes like the solar barques are correctly placed on the southern side of the band of water in the Book of the Day. (Plates 137, 138, 139) This strip of water winding through the sky from north to south represents the ecliptic and was called the 'Shifting Waterway', *mr-nḫꜣj*, by the ancient Egyptians. [371] The Field of Rushes contained the House of Osiris, *pr-Wsjr*, as is evident from the title to Chapter 145 of the Book of the Dead:

368 The Book of the Day in the Sarcophagus Chamber of Ramesses VI has five registers, the fifth being another row of deities. Plate 132

369 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 177.

370 Ibid., 183-185.

371 J. P. Allen, Review of R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeit-vorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten in JNES 61 (2002), 63.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

"Beginning of the Portals of the Field of Rushes
of the House of Osiris." [372]

It is represented as a mountain gate as in the First Gate of the Book of Gates. At its base are large plants or ears of corn/grain indicative of its lush nature. [373] (Plates 138, 139) It is divided into two halves which are meant to be on either side of the band of water, such that the day barque sails through the gate into the Field of Rushes.

Nine divine figures are depicted in the northern half and ten on the southern side. [374] Together, they total nineteen. The first two deities from the center on the northern side are both clearly labeled Osiris. (Plate 139) The remaining seventeen divinities reflect the sacred Osirian number seventeen, representing the necessary death by dismemberment. The two Osiris figures here symbolize the process of transfiguration as is suggested by the epithets selected, *Wsjr ḏt*, Osiris of Eternity/Eternal Sameness and, *Wsjr nbw*, Osiris of Gold/the Golden Osiris. "Gold was especially important … from a symbolic view, for this metal was regarded as a divine and imperishable substance, its untarnishing nature providing a metaphor of eternal life..." [375] Through the process of transfiguration, the two Osiris figures coupled with the seventeen divinities, which numerically symbolized death by dismemberment, total nineteen, the sacred number of the rejuvenated Osiris.

Furthermore, the division of the nineteen deities into two groups of nine and ten is also significant and allows for another more subtle interpretation. Recall that the group of nine deities of the Heliopolitan Ennead signify the elements of creation that unfold on the first occasion as the cosmos comes into being. Recall also what Wilkinson had recognized about number symbolism. "Just as verbal and 'visual' puns were felt to reflect an important aspect of reality, the relationship between abstract numbers found in myth and in nature were also seen as meaningful patterns reflecting divine planning and cosmic harmony.... 'Accurate computation is the gateway to knowledge of all things and of dark mysteries.' Bremner-Rhind Papyrus." [376] Thus the abstract number nine serves as a bridge to connect the group of nine deities on the northern side of the Field of Rushes to the Heliopolitan Ennead and its role in creation at *zp tpj*. Further, the known connection from textual sources of the Field of Reeds to the House of Osiris and the depiction of the two figures of Osiris with their epithets symbolic

372 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 129.

373 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 398 fig. 132 and plate 190.

374 That the group of nine deities are meant to be located on the northern side of the strip of water, which is the celestial ecliptic, is evident from the presence of Meskhetiu, who is depicted standing directly behind the two figures of Osiris. Meskhetiu is a group of seven imperishable stars in the northern sky, which the ancient Egyptians depicted in the form of the foreleg of a bull, and we call the Big Dipper. According to Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, Anubis stationed "the seven blessed ones (*Ꜣkḫiu*)" which include the Four Sons of Horus in the northern sky as magical protection for Osiris.

375 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 83.

376 Ibid., 126.

of rejuvenation and eternal life support this connection.

In a like manner, the ten deities of the southern side of the Field of Rushes through the abstract number ten can be connected to Horus. "As the son of Osiris and Isis, Horus is the 'tenth member' of the [Heliopolitan] Ennead. As 'heir of his father' (CT 575) he is both the culmination and the prime beneficiary of the great cycle of natural elements incorporated in the Ennead:

> 'Horus is justified before the complete Ennead,
> for kingship has been given to him on earth...
> the throne of Geb and the functional office of Atum
> have been allotted to him.'
> (BD 183 [located in the entranceway to the Central Hall])" [377]

The necessity to rejuvenate Osiris, expressed through the number symbolism of seventeen and nineteen, is clearly of paramount importance, especially after his abolishment and "second death" by the heretic Akhenaten. But the reason for its great significance is that through the rejuvenation of Osiris, Isis can and does conceive a son. Expressed differently in terms of number symbolism of ten and their sum nineteen, the son of Osiris, Horus can claim the legitimate right to the throne of his father and rulership over the Two Lands. In the context of *zp tpj*, Horus' assumption of kingship initiates the start of dynastic rule in Egypt. In the context of the post Amarna era, it reestablishes the legitimate transfer of royal power from father Osiris to son Horus.

The son god's concern for the well being of Osiris, always subtle sometimes almost covert but ever present especially in the later Netherworld Books is also expressed in the Book of the Day. It is subtle to be sure but definitely present and is found in the partially cryptographic text which Piankoff numbered text 31. The relevant passage is:

> "As for Meskhetiu, this foreleg of Seth,
> it is in the northern sky
> tied to the two mooring posts of flint by a cord of gold,
> it belongs to Isis as a female hippo, its guardian,
> its Water-of-the-Gods surround as stars, the horizon dwellers.
> Re placed them in its (Meskhetiu's) company with Isis, saying:
> 'Beware lest it goes to the southern sky, to the Water-of-the-Gods.
> Become Osiris who is in the company of Orion.'" [378]

This section of the text is "thematically labeled (using the particle *jr*) as dealing with Meskhetiu. From the vocabulary used, it is immediately obvious that the myth of the purpose of the circumpolar group is the subject of the section.... The symbolism of the tethered Foreleg is very clearly linked to the

377 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Ancient Egypt (1988), 11.

378 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 185.

behavior of the asterism in the northern sky. Its revolution about a fixed point is very reminiscent of the behavior of a tethered creature. Again in this passage we see the cause-and-effect basis for the myth. The behavior of the Foreleg is accounted for by explaining that the stars are physically prevented by order of the sun from wandering into other parts of the sky."[379] Specifically, according to a text from Esna, "in order not to let it [the Foreleg of Seth] go upside down into the *ḏuat*."[380] The reason for this action by Re is to prevent Seth from entering the *ḏuat* and potentially doing further harm to Osiris. In the version quoted above from the Book of the Day, Meskhetiu is prevented from going to the southern sky, framing the myth in the context of the celestial sky. But, the meaning is the same because Orion, as the stellar manifestation of Osiris is in the southern sky.

"This mythical interpretation [for the Book of the Day] fits with our physical perception of the daily journey of the sun: the ambiguity between day and night at dawn leads to three modern formal definitions of 'twilight', the veiling of the sun through the thickness of the atmosphere and the clouds on the horizon, the ascent of the sun, its similar altitude over the midday period, its descent and approach to sunset in a symmetrical manner compared with the events after dawn.

The difference between the Book of the Day and other texts dealing with the journey of the sun during the night is observation. The Book of the Day uses similar ideas of barques, conflicts, and processions of gods cannot obscure the relationship between the Book and the reality of the sun's apparent motion across the sky."[381]

The Book of the Night and the Book of Caverns form a third unified composition in the Entrance Passage, which is discussed in 4.2 below.

These three unified compositions actually portray the three parts of the created cosmos, the heavens, the earth, and the *ḏuat* that arose out of the first occasion. The heavens above are depicted on the two halves of the ceiling of the Entrance Passage. They are the two skies. The night time sky is represented by the Book of the Night and the day time sky by the Book of the Day. The earth has the diurnal journey of the sun depicted over the notional southern ceiling detailing the falcon-headed sun god's first journey at the start of the just created annual solar cycle. Finally, there is the all important *ḏuat*, which had been abolished by the heretic Akhenaten as the realm of Osiris. It was restored here in the subterranean Osireion in magnificent detail and monumental size. Its restoration is comprised of three full treatises. In its form of the Book of Gates, it is depicted as the nocturnal counterpart to the Book of the Day directly above it and details the journey of the ram-headed sun god through the twelve hours of the night, leading to sunrise on the summer solstice and the start of the New Year. On the opposite side, on the notional northern half of the ceiling is the Book of the Night here representing the

379 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 186-187.

380 R. Hannah, "The Tethering of Meskhetiu" GM 160 (1997), 33. See also J. Relke, A. Ernest, "Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Ursa Major – Symbol of Rejuvenation" Archaeoastronomy XVII (2002-2003), 64-80.

381 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 184.

nocturnal journey of the sun god through the twelve hours of the night also leading to the first sunrise but on the winter solstice.[382] Below it is the Book of Caverns at the very depths of the underworld. It is an enigmatic treatise, first attested in the Osireion, that embodies the six stages of transformation that occurs [at the sixth hour of the night] in the Place of Destruction, where the lower *ḏuat* meets the Nun, the primordial black abyss of non-existence, at the very limit of the created cosmos.

Thus, the Entrance Passage forms a remarkably detailed portrayal of the created cosmos itself as it arose at the very beginning of *zp tpj*. As will be shown, the emphasis in the other five chambers and corridors dramatically shifts to key events occurring within the created cosmos in its continued unfolding. However, as the number five denotes, they all occur in the *ḏuat.* Not surprisingly, they center on Osiris the moon, Re the sun, and Horus, kingship and the living king, as the divine intermediary between the gods and mankind.

At the upper end of the downward sloping Entrance Passage, following the ceiling decoration of Ramesses VI's tomb, are a series of astronomical scenes of the northern constellations and attending deities, a decan list, planets, and the twenty four Ramesside star clock tables.[383] (Plates 146-155) "The lunar month figures [attending deities] and Ramesside star clock tables had an order that was defined by date. It is interesting to note that the lunar months are the only representation of the moon that we see incorporated into the celestial diagrams."[384] (Plate 154) While they are only partially preserved on the ceilings of Corridors A and B, they are repeated and better preserved on the two outer sides of the ceiling in Hall E of Ramesses VI's tomb, a division that can be easily applied to the two halves of the sloped ceiling in the Entrance Passage.[385] The notional southern half has star clock tables one to twelve. The notional northern half has star clock tables thirteen to twenty four.[386] There are two star clock tables for each of the twelve civil calendar months. One is for the first day of the month and the other for the sixteenth day, which divides the thirty month into two equal halves. On the ideal calendar which was established by the first occasion, the first half corresponds to the first half of the monthly lunar cycle, the waxing moon from new moon to the full moon. The second half is the waning phase of the lunar cycle from day sixteen to last crescent visibility on day thirty. Furthermore, the twelve star tables on each side of the sloped ceiling, in a like manner, divide the twelve months of the civil year into two halves. The first half on the notional southern side starts on I *ꜣḫt* 1, New Year's Day on the ideal calendar, (Plate 153) which on the first occasion was also the summer solstice at the time of the new moon, as is indicated in the Book of Nut in the second Transverse Hall.[387] Thus, with the creation

382 For a more detailed analysis see below 4.2 and 5.7.

383 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III (1969), 3-4 and 29-34.

384 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 210. In addition it should be noted that a crescent moon is incorporated into the vignette of the Book of Nut.

385 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III (1969), 29, 33 and EAT II, plates 1, 2.

386 Ibid., 30-31.

387 On the summer solstice, the sun is at its zenith at its northern most point along the ecliptic on New Year's Day on *zp tpj*. As we have seen, the reason for the apparent contradiction of the placement of the star clock table for I *ꜣḫt* 1 on the southern and not the northern half of the ceiling is because of its location in the *ḏuat.* In the topsy-turvy, upside down and inverted nature of the *ḏuat,* relative to "on the earth", right becomes left so that north becomes south and vice versa. See below 5.7.

of the cosmos on *zp tpj*, the template for both the lunar and the solar cycles are set to begin on New Year's Day, I *ꜣḫt* I, creating a correspondence between the waxing and waning monthly cycle of the moon with the two halves of the thirty-day civil month and the beginning of the solar and lunar year on the summer solstice. The sun, moon, and calendar are all in perfect and ideal alignment.

In addition, "the division of the year into twenty four fifteen-day periods, each with a corresponding table, (Plate 148, 153) accounts for the retrograde motion [caused by] the disparity between the length of the solar day and the sidereal day." [388] It amounts to approximately four minutes each day so that in a fifteen-day period, a star would be seen rising one hour earlier. [389] This innovative addition to the thirty six decanal stars in the diagonal star clock system which had been used for hundreds and hundreds of years, however had a surprisingly restrictive usage. The retrograde motion is obviously observable only at night. The fact that it is perceptible only at night and it is retrograde which would appear as a backward movement i.e. a reversal of time may be why it was so closely associated with the *duat* having aspects similar to the inversion principle operative in the underworld.

Its first attested appearance after that proposed here for the Osireion was some 150 years later when it resurfaced in the tomb of Ramesses VI, who used the Osireion's decoration as his template, although the Ramesside star clock itself appears to have been constructed around 1450 BC. [390] It was also used by his successor and lastly by Ramesses IX. "All four examples occur in the same context: as part of astronomical ceilings.... No other text, either occurring with the tables or from other sources, deals with this type of star clock." [391]

Depuydt has suggested that the Ramesside star clock tables "may just have been an iconographic and textual rendering of the yearly motion of the star sky. They are not necessarily more that attempts to depict a natural phenomenon of which motion is a key ingredient. Everyone who has studied star clocks seems to agree that star clocks record the yearly revolution of the star sky. I am tempted to believe that depicting this natural phenomenon involving motion is all they do." [392] And he may well be correct. But this complex and lengthy composition, a component of an integrated astronomical ceiling, which is still not clearly understood today, took a substantial effort not only to conceive but also to engrave on the ceiling of a subterranean temple. Placed in this context and ritually activated, it takes on an important function. It actually sustains the yearly revolution of the star sky, thereby insuring the proper functioning of this aspect of the created cosmos. It sustains *mꜣʿt*, cosmic order.

388 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 72.

389 Ibid., 98. "The sidereal day is 3 minutes 55.91 seconds shorter than the solar day. This means that a star returns to the same position in the sky 58.977 minutes earlier in the day after fifteen days have elapsed."

390 Ibid., 126.

391 Ibid., 69-70.

392 L. Depuydt, "Ancient Egyptian Star Clocks and Their Theory" BiOr 112 (1998), 8.

3. THE NIGHTLY JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD

According to Breinig's analysis and interpretation, “the Ramesside star tables appear to present the sky as it would be at 24 points throughout the year. The thirteen rows, numbering hours from 'first' plus twelve subsequent hours seems to imply that they functioned in a fundamentally different manner from [the earlier] diagonal star clocks. More importantly, many of the familiar decans found on earlier diagonal star clocks are absent from the Ramesside tables. Those rising or transit decans are replaced by decans comprised of stars known to be from the northern sky.

Given the empirical differences, and the differences in their content, it is not unreasonable to assume that these tables represented cosmography and time in a new way. The series of star tables that appears twice in the tomb of Ramesses VI, once arranged in a linear fashion in the descending passages A and B, and once again in Hall E can support this suggestion. The version found in the descending passages is badly damaged, but it is clear that it was arranged in accordance with the Egyptian civil year, beginning with the first day of the month of *ꜣḫt* at the entrance, and proceeding through the end of the month of *šmw* at the end of corridor B. This arrangement was perhaps symbolic of linear, natural, or *ḏt* time. The version found in Hall E is better preserved, and the stellar dates encircle the outer ceiling of the pillared hall starting in the southwest corner to the northwest. This arrangement is perhaps indicative of a more panoramic view of the heavens, and the cyclicality of *nḥḥ* time. In both cases, registers containing the celestial diagram of the northern constellations in two different forms accompany the tables.

It has been noted that there are two distinct styles of the northern celestial diagram.... Both of these scenes appear in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9), and again in similar configuration in the tomb of Ramesses VII (KV 1). In passage A and on the south side of the Hall E ceiling of KV 9, the Seti-style picture is shown, accompanying the star tables for the first half of the Egyptian year. In passage B and on the northern side of Hall E of KV 9, the Ramesseum/Pediamenopet style picture is shown, accompanying the tables for the second half of the year, and including the 'decans' of the northern sky.”[393] (Plates 147, 148, 151 and 150, 155)

The two distinct styles of the northern celestial diagram like the twenty four star tables, each represent a specific point in time. The Seti-style representation of the northern constellations accompanying the twelve Ramesside star tables for the first half of the Egyptian year equates it with the start of the New Year, I *ꜣḫt* 1. Specifically, it is at the time of the Blacked-out Moon (new moon) on the summer solstice of the first occasion.[394] It corresponds to the first of the twenty four star tables which marks the start of the monthly lunar cycle, the lunar year and the Egyptian civil year on the ideal calendar. This northern celestial diagram most probably is meant to depict the stars of the northern

393 L. Breinig, Astronomy, Cosmology, and Religious Expression in the New Kingdom: A Study of Late Ramesside Cosmological Funerary Scenes (2012), 65-66.

394 See below 5.7.

night sky at their first visibility (after sunset) with their creation at the time of the summer solstice.[395]

The second northern celestial diagram accompanying the star tables for the latter half of the year is the depiction of the creation of the stars of the northern sky as they appear at the time of the winter solstice with their first visibility. It corresponds to the thirteenth star table which is III *prt* 1 on the ideal calendar. Again, it is at the time of the Blacked-out moon. It marks the start of the second half of the annual solar journey on its return back across the ecliptic.

The key to the difference in the depictions of the northern celestial diagram lies with the representation of Meskhetiu, the bull and its relative position within the diagram. (Plates 151 and 150) In the Seti-style version of the scene, Meskhetiu is depicted as a bull. The bull stands at the top of the scene in relation to the Hippopotamus and the mooring post. I interpret this to mean that the bull is at its upper culmination of the Big Dipper's circumpolar circuit, which is how it appears in the northern night sky after sunset at the summer solstice when the stars first become visible i.e. are born.[396]

In the other northern celestial diagram, Meskhetiu is depicted quite differently. It is a bovine-headed foreleg near the lower part of the scene in relation to the Hippopotamus and the mooring post. (Plate 150, 155) I interpret this to mean that the Foreleg of Seth is now at the lower culmination of the Big Dipper's circumpolar circuit which is also how it appears in the northern night sky after sunset at the winter solstice when the stars first become visible. The Foreleg of Seth is just above the horizon threatening to enter the *duat* were it not tethered and guarded by manifestations of Isis.

The appearance of the king with arms raised in praise, three times, on the southern half of the ceiling which corresponds to the decoration of the ceiling of Corridor A in Ramesses VI's tomb is significant.[397] (Plate 149) It suggests that the depiction of the northern constellations (imperishable stars which are closely associated with the king and kingship who appear as part of the crew of the day barque in the Book of the Day that follows), the decans, planets and associated star tables in such a prominent location at the beginning of the Entrance Passage served an important ritual purpose. It may well have been to complete the creation of the nightly celestial dome on the first occasion and to sustain the proper motion of the stars, moon, and the planets in the night sky over the course of the year, including the retrograde risings of the stars highlighted by means of the newly created twenty four star clock tables. Symons has suggested that perhaps "the Ramesside Star Clock was created at the

395 Like in the Book of Nut which depicts the birth of the sun at sunrise on the summer solstice, it actually begins first with the sun god's transformative journey through the body of the goddess leading to his birth on the first occasion, so too is it the case for the northern night sky when the stars first become visible. That is to say at their creation and their birth symbolized by their visibility.

396 The Big Dipper is part of the constellation Ursa Major also known as the Plough. It makes a complete revolution every twenty four hours and can be observed shifting position over the course of the night. See J. Relke, A. Ernest "Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Ursa Major – Symbol of Rejuvenation" in Archaeoastronomy XVII (2002-2003), 64-80, for a detailed account of the importance of Meskhetiu to the ancient Egyptians. However in the context of a creation account, its coming into existence i.e. becoming visible in the night sky would be the defining moment. This is why I focus on Meskhetiu's position and appearance at first visibility.

397 Recall the use of the same technique also at the entrance of the Entrance Passage where the king is depicted arms raised in praise as he invokes the creator god Atum and by so doing initiating creation itself. (Plate 61)

point where the heliacal rising of Sirius [Sothis] fell on the 'correct' day of the year: I *ꜣḫt* 1" which was either during or very close to the reign of Seti I. [398] This dating would tend to add at least some additional support to the hypothesis that the Ramesside star clock tables had first appeared in the Osireion nearly 150 years before the first attested appearance in the tomb of Ramesses VI as does the earlier cited Middle Kingdom dating for the construction of the Ramesside star clock. [399]

As was evident in the Book of Gates, depicted on the wall below the Ramesside star clock tables, the establishment of cyclical time and the means of its measurement which, in effect, defined time that arose out of *zp tpj* was of considerable importance to the ancient Egyptians. By the inclusion of the Ramesside star clock tables, the decanal star table on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage, the transit star clock and the going forth of Sothis on I *ꜣḫt* 1 in the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars (Book of Nut), as well as the detailed instructions for the design and use of a shadow clock on the ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall is further proof of how critical this was. In the context of the Osireion, these mechanisms for measuring or marking time served to ritually maintain and thus insure the proper continued functioning of the created cosmos, i.e. their movement. The motion of the celestial deities perpetuates the created cosmos and stands in marked contrast to the inertness of Nun and nonexistence.

398 S. Symons, Events of a Sirius Nature [presentation] Archaeoastronomy Colloquiette 2007, University of Leicester. Unpublished.

399 Symons does point out that the four constituent elements of the Ramesside Star Clock of decans, planets, circumpolar figures, and circumpolar deities were already found together on the Eleventh Dynasty coffin of Heny from Asyut and therefore were associated at least as far back as 2000 BC. S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 207-208. Also see above text for and n. 390.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.1 OSIRIS, HORUS, AND THE MOON: AXIAL ALIGNMENT OF THE ENTRANCEWAY

Buried in note 23 to Excursus A of Richard Parker's seminal work, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt, is his astute observation linking the transmission of kingship to the moon. "It is my belief that the whole character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to have, ultimately, a lunar explanation. The dying Horus is the waning moon. Horus dead becomes Osiris, and the moon is invisible. The new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as king of the dead and his son and successor Horus as king of the living. The ceremony of the Sed is also understandable on a lunar basis. The king normally celebrated it for the first time in his 30th year. The 29 years he has reigned may be compared to the 29 days of the lunar month from the day of new crescent , the second day, to day 30 [of last crescent visibility]. Like the moon, the king, Horus of the Living, has run his course. In his 30th year, *psḏntyw*, he dies and is reborn as the youthful Horus, the crescent moon, strong and vigorous."[1] Regrettably, this great scholar never returned to develop this connection further in his later works. However, as will become apparent, there is much in the Osireion to support his hypothesis.

In the post Amarna period, the Osirian lunar rites, including those for the New Moon, took on increasing importance as is highlighted in the year 4 Abydos Stela of Ramesses IV.[2]

"He says to his father Osiris:
O my father, Ruler of the West...
Lord of the Sacred Land,
an august god who emanated from Geb,
a divine son who is Chief of the Ennead,
he of the Atef Crown, one sharp of horns (among) millions,
an august one plentiful of festivals (?)
….. 6 groups lost …..
One adorned with crowns
and whose uraeus lives by (his) words.

1 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

2 K. Eaton, "Monthly Lunar Festivals in the Mortuary Realm: Historical Patterns and Symbolic Motifs" JNES 70 (2011), 229-245.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

One who is mysterious of forms
(when he) is in the guise of Atum
….. 11 groups lost …..
I have come to you (for) I came forth from you;
I am beneficial (*ȝḫ*) to you like your son Horus..."[3]

This last phrase embodies, in essence, the same name Seti I chose for the Osireion, 'Men Maat Re is beneficial (*ȝḫ*) for Osiris'[4] "The names pharaohs gave their large ceremonial buildings [which I suggest the Osireion is to be considered one of them] in the New Kingdom generally made a theological or ideological statement of some kind."[5] This choice by Ramesses IV probably was not coincidental but a deliberate reference considering the role the Osireion played in the rites for the New Moon.

Continuing to address his father Osiris, Ramesses IV says:

I have not been forgetful on the day of my
new-moon festival (?)
for I pacify the Moon-god
when he shines forth."[6]

This passage reveals the dual nature of the moon. "My new moon festival" is that of the living Horus, the king, celebrating his conception and his rejuvenation. "For I purify the Moon-god when he shines forth", the "he" is his father Osiris, one god in two persons.[7] The annunciation of any ritual wrong doing in this passage is in the same format as the so-called negative confession of Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, a purification rite also found in the Osireion.[8]

That the New Moon festival, out of all the many festivals celebrated every year, is singled out by Ramesses IV for Osiris in Abydos is significant.[9] It points to the great importance that the king attached to the rites for the New Moon, more precisely the Blacked-out Moon since it is not visible in

3 A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 153.

4 P. Brand, "Use of the term Ax in the Reign of Seti I" GM 168 (1999), 33.

5 Ibid., 33.

6 A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 154.

7 See above 3.1.

8 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II (1933), pl. 67.

9 A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 153. There is also a mention of the sixth day of the month where the king states that he has abstained from chewing on a certain substance. On the sixth day of the month, there was also celebrated another important lunar festival, celebrating the filling and restoration of the now sound Eye of Horus, also called the Udjat-eye.

the night sky. I hope to demonstrate that its importance stems from its association with legitimacy for the right to rule and the transmission of royal power in the manner of the mythical prototype of father Osiris to son Horus.

The notional western temenos wall is not parallel to the main axis of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. "... generally speaking, to the casual eye such as mine [Caulfeild], it appears to be a hasty and unsymmetrical piece of work."[10] (Plate 23) The "hasty" appearance of the construction is by design as we have already seen with the crudely cut staircase in the desert leading down to the Entrance Archway of the Osireion and the first 32 m. (105 ft.) of the undecorated mud brick portion of the Entrance Passage.[11] The construction intentionally conveys this crude or better still chaotic sense. The temenos wall begins the separation between the undifferentiated matter of precreation represented by the surrounding desert and the start of the "created cosmos" inside the temple complex.

The Entrance Archway to the Osireion in the notional western temenos wall and the rough cut staircase leading down to it appears to be skewed almost three degrees from the axial alignment of the Entrance Passage of the Osireion.[12] At about 303 degrees, it is very close to the azimuth of the moon at its most northernly limit at Abydos.[13] Even though the ancient Egyptians by Seti's reign were using transits to mark the movement of the stars and presumably the moon, this is not meant to imply that they could calculate the extreme geocentric declinations of the standstill moon as defined by modern astronomers, no matter how close the level of accuracy in alignment appears to be.[14] Steele has

10 A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902, reprint 1989), 12.

11 See above 2.5.

12 The axial alignment of the Entrance Passage of the Osireion is 306 degrees. See J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout, In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 248. For the skewing of the Entrance Archway see H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II (1933), pl. 1. Further field work would need to be undertaken for a more precise measurement of its alignment for confirmation. Horizontal considerations, if any, also need to be examined more closely. However, since the extremes at the major standstills do not occur at the horizon, transits were most likely the means to determining the alignments. The use of transits is known to have been in use during Seti's reign from the Seti B family of decanal star clocks. See R. Parker, "Ancient Egyptian Astronomy" in Phil. Trans. Royal Society of London A. 276 (1974), 59.

13 Based on the on-line calculator at www.iol.ie/~geniet/eng/decli. See also the 'Ephemeris Generator available through JPL. For the major lunar alignments at nearby Thebes see D. Furlong, "Egyptian Temple Orientation" (2007), 8.

14 "The modern method to calculate the moon's position uses the single measure of declination – the number of degrees above or below the celestial equator. Since this measure assumes observations from the center of the earth to the center of the lunar disc, and since the moon is 'close' to earth, a 'parallax' correction must be made to adjust for observation from a specified position on the surface of the earth. But this method uses point estimate formulae drawn from modern astronomical spherical geometry.... During a standstill the moon's geocentric extremes occur when the moon is in mid-transit, not at the moment when it meets the horizon. Because the time between these moments of monthly geocentric extremes and the moments it meets the horizon are not regular, and because the moon is always changing its declination in the sky, another correction must be made which recalculates the new declination of the moon by the time it has reached the local horizon and then convert it to an azimuth value. This always modifies the pattern of geocentric extremes such that their mid-transit sinusoidal perturbation are not reproduced on the horizon." L. Sims, "What is a lunar standstill? Problems of accuracy and validity in "the Thom paradigm"', Mediterranean Archaeology Archaeometry, Special Issue 6:3 (2006), 157-163.

Furthermore, "declination measures, since they assume a celestial equator girdling the planet are consistent with a heliocentric model of the solar system. Measures of azimuth (combined with horizon altitude) are more in keeping with not just a geocentric vision of the cosmos, but of a planar earth sandwiched between the sky and the underworld. Since this is far more likely to coincide with a prehistoric view of the cosmos [and that held by the ancient Egyptians], azimuth measures should be preferred over declination measures." L. Sims, "The 'Solarization' of the Moon: Manipulated Knowledge at Stonehenge" in Cambridge Archaeological Journal 16:2 (2006), 205.

suggested that a more appropriate designation would be simply as the northern/southern limit of the rising point of the moon.[15]

In von Lieven's book on the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars (The Carlsberg Papyri 8), she makes a crucial point by insisting that this composition also known as the Book of Nut is an expression of 'religious astronomy'. The composition is first attested in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion. Dieleman in a review of her book states that: "The author is to be commended for refocusing our attention on all sections and aspects of the composition, including the mythological comments and dramatic texts. They are part and parcel of the composition as it has come down to us and should accordingly not be dismissed as trivial, but fully taken into account in any evaluation of the text's meaning and purpose. What this means in practical terms is that the author is more sensitive than previous scholars to issues of material context and textual genre. The text is here studied first and foremost as a member of the overarching genre of cosmographic texts, not as an astronomical text *per se*."[16] This holds true for most if not all ancient Egyptian astronomically related compositions and must be at all times kept in mind.

The slight skewing of the notional western temenos wall and Entrance Archway of the Osireion, if proven to be correct, is thus a deliberate alignment to the moon at its northern limit, alerting us to its importance. "Like the Sun [on the solstices] the Moon does eventually reach an extreme northerly and southerly position, where the amplitude of the swing is at its greatest, but only after 254 sidereal months, the Metonic cycle"[17] "In order to understand lunar standstills, it is necessary to realize that every month the Moon will reach its lowest or highest declination, roughly 28 degrees north or south of the celestial equator, or to express it another way, roughly 5 degrees beyond the ecliptic path. Also every month, the Moon will reach its minimum declination at 18 degrees north or south. The Moon's extremes in declination (or position in relation to the visible horizon) become observable and interesting during the lunar standstill seasons. During the winter months the Full Moon culminates higher and higher in the sky until it reaches its maximum height throughout the year at the Full Moon nearest the winter solstice. In the summer months the Full Moon culminates lower and lower in the sky until it reaches its lowest position above the visible horizon at the Full Moon nearest the summer solstice. So the Full Moon nearest the solstices do the opposite to the Sun which is lowest in the sky at the winter solstice and highest in the sky at the summer solstice."[18] This relationship between the sun on the solstice and the moon at the major lunar extremes is significant and one which was apparently understood by the ancient Egyptians in the Nineteenth Dynasty.[19]

15 Private communication 6/24/2013.

16 J. Dieleman, Review of Alexandra von Lieven, The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogennte Nutbuch forthcoming.

17 D. Furlong, "Astronomical Alignments in the Temples of Egypt" (2007), 4. Technically speaking it is 254 sidereal months which is 235 synodic months, the definition of the Metonic cycle. The relationship of 254 as 19 + 235 is discussed below in 4.4.

18 J. Elliott, "The Lunar Standstill Season" (2005), www.skyscript.co.uk

19 I have not found any evidence that the minor lunar standstills held any particular significance to the ancient Egyptians at least in regard to the Osireion or Seti's two Mansions of Millions of Years at Abydos and Gurna.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Interestingly, at the time when the moon reached its northern limit, the full moon, when viewed from the Entrance Archway of the Osireion in the notional western temenos wall, could be seen after sunrise above the massive enclosure of Khasekhemwy at Shunet el Zebib as it headed towards the western horizon. (Plate 16) Thus, on the morning of the day of the full moon during the years when the moon was at its northern limit, the restored and complete Eye of Horus, the first full moon following the conclusion of the Osiris mysteries stood opposite the rising sun near the time of the winter solstice. Seventeen days later and closer still to the winter solstice than the full moon,[20] the new crescent moon that is to say the rebirth of Horus-Moon reappears in the night sky shortly after sunset above the massive Khasekhemwy enclosure. Then it will quickly sink below the horizon, the entrance to the *duat*. Using Google Earth, the Entrance Passage of the Osireion appears to be aligned to the Khasekhemwy enclosure or slightly to the north of it.[21] As Belmonte pointed out however, "... proxy high resolution Google Earth (only available in the last two years for some places in Egypt) suffer from parallax [the apparent change in position of an object resulting from the change in the direction or position from which it is viewed] and must be treated with extreme caution."[22] Using the map published by Bestock in her book, The Development of Royal Funerary Cult at Abydos (2009), fig. 2, the Entrance Archway of the Osireion appears to be aligned not to the Khasekhemwy enclosure, but rather to the buried enclosure of Djer and/or the unidentified enclosure behind it. (Plate 4) Since the Middle Kingdom, Djer's tomb was considered to be that of Osiris. Thus, the alignment forms a symbolic link between the buried enclosure of "Osiris" and his subterranean temple complex, the Osireion. If the unidentified enclosure is that of Menes as Bestock suggests,[23] then it would also connect it to the beginning of dynastic rule in Egypt as well. Like the Osireion, the buried enclosure of Djer and perhaps that of Menes along with the massive standing enclosure of Khasekhemwy appear to have been cult centers and certainly were not their tombs.

However, most probably of greater interest to the ancient Egyptians would have been the period around the New Moon at the time of the winter solstice. This important transitional period lasted up to three days from last crescent visibility in the eastern horizon just before sunrise to the reappearance of the moon in the night sky with the arrival of the new crescent low in the western horizon shortly after sunset.[24] When this occurs at its northern limit of the rising point of the moon "once every nineteen years, the winter solstice sunset is associated with the dark moon at the start of the longest and darkest night of the year.... This bracketing of the winter solstice with the dark moon suggests, by extension of the principle of identity, a coding in which winter solstice sunset is invested with the property of dark

20 "Dark Moon always occurs within seven days of the solstice [in this case the winter solstice] when horizon astronomy would still be observing the same 'stationary' sun, whereas full moon occurs outside the two week solstice period." L. Sims, "What is a lunar standstill?" in Mediterranean Archaeology & Archaeometry, Special Issue 6:3 (2006), 157-163.

21 I thank Jim Allen for kindly pointing this out to me. Note that north is notional/cardinal north and not river/local north.

22 J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 221.

23 L. Bestock, "Brown University Abydos Project: Preliminary Report on the First Two Seasons" JARCE 48 (2012), 41-44.

24 This period from old crescent to new takes sixty to eighty-four hours. R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13-14.

moon."[25] Sun and moon, Re and Osiris, unite on the longest night of the year to regenerate and, importantly, to realign their cycles in order to begin the new nineteen year cycle which will manifest with the rebirth of Re at sunrise and the reappearance of first crescent visibility, symbolizing both the rejuvenated Osiris, as Ruler of the West and the birth of his son and successor Horus, as Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt. "For cultures [like ancient Egypt] that accord respect to lunar-phased rituals, such an alignment will not be compromised by a lunar eclipse, since eclipses cannot take place at solstices during standstills."[26]

While the Entrance Archway of the Osireion in the notional western temenos wall of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years appear to be aligned to the setting moon at its northern limit, at Gurna the main axis of his Mansion of Millions of Years is aligned to moon rise at its southern limit![27] (Plate 160) Thus, the alignment of the two Mansions of Millions of Years of Seti I delineated the entire course of Osiris-Moon's nineteen year journey across the sky, which of course the solar path of Re was a part, while the Osireion itself encompassed the journey in the *ḏuat.* This dual alignment to the northern and the southern limits highlights the importance Seti placed on restoring the complete lunar cycle after the Amarna Heresy. The wanderings of the moon in the night sky are far more complex than the movement of the sun and encompass a significantly wider path than the ecliptic.[28] Importantly, by this alignment Seti aligned or perhaps, more accurately, realigned kingship to the moon as Parker had suspected. Specifically, these important lunar alignments equated to and again highlight the complete cycle of kingship both as the living Horus, the Ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt and following death as Osiris, the Ruler of the West, the *ḏuat.*[29] The birth of Horus-Moon, first crescent visibility, begins at the northern limit and marks the start of both the cycle of kingship and the great lunar cycle. With the rise of the full moon at its southern limit, kingship, that is to say Horus-Moon reaches his pinnacle. It is the night when the full moon will reach its highest point in the sky. The left lunar eye of Horus is restored. It is complete. It is the Udjat-eye. It symbolizes the king and kingship in all his glory. The return back to the place of the moon's northern limit can be equated with the waning phase of the monthly lunar cycle, the dying Horus-Moon. With the sunset on the day of the Blacked-out Moon at its northern limit, the dead Horus now as Osiris-Moon has returned to the *ḏuat* to be rejuvenated. It is

25 L. Sims, "The Solarization of the Moon: Manipulated Knowledge at Stonehenge" Cambridge Archaeological Journal 16:2 (2006), 203.

26 L. Sims, "What is a lunar standstill?" Mediterranean Archaeology & Archaeomatry 6:3 (2006), 162.

27 D. Furlong appears to be the first to identify the axial alignments of Seti's temple at Gurna to the moon rise at the southern major standstill/extreme in his 2007 on-line article, "Astronomical Alignments in the Temples of Egypt", 9. The axial alignment of 124 degrees is confirmed in J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout, In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 349.

28 D. Furlong, Egyptian Temple Orientation (2007), 4.

29 The allusion to the complete cycle of kingship is represented at the start of the first ritual cycle and is expressed by the king being designated as both the living and at the same time as Osiris, true of voice. See above 3.1. It is also present at the beginning of the second and third ritual cycles in the beginning scene of the Osireion version of the Book of Caverns in the Entrance Passage. Here, the king as the living Horus and chief ritualist accompanies the sun god Atum, the creator, as they enter the first of the six divisions (caverns), where they are greeted by the king as Osiris, true of voice and wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, the symbol of the moon's luminosity. See below 4.3.

the Blacked-out Moon nearest the winter solstice when both the sun appears to be standing still on the horizon and the moon is at its northern limit which occurs every nineteen years. So again we find another tie between Abydos and Thebes as is also evident in the annual cycle of 76 for the renewal of kingship as well as the exact same alignment for the Luxor Colonnade, tied to the Opet festival, and the main axis for Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years at Abydos and the Central Hall of the Osireion, which is symbolically linked to the culmination of the Osiris mysteries, the final day of the cycle of 76.

Furlong made other connections within the local Theban landscape and Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years at Gurna. "The placement of this temple is intriguing for the projected central axis alignment from Amun's temple at Karnak very nearly hits the entrance gateway of Seti's temple. [30] It would seem that this connection was deliberate, linking Seti with his cult temple and the god Amen-Re. Seti was responsible for setting out the Great Hypostyle Hall that was finished by his son Ramesses II and would therefore have been intimately aware of the Karnak temple's alignment. The distance between the two entrances is a little over three kilometers and involves the crossing of the Nile. This would not have been a problem for the ancient Egyptian surveyors, and some form of causeway must have linked the two temples, not unlike the one that connected the Luxor temple with Karnak, for the Seti's temple was the first stop in the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley' festival. [31] This being the case it would seem logical for Seti to have followed this same mid-winter sunrise azimuth for the orientation of his mortuary temple as did Hatshepsut [and more importantly to Seti that of Thutmose III] before him. He chose instead to align his temple on an azimuth of 124 degrees, which happens to be very close to the azimuth of the lunar rise at its most southerly limit. [32] Was this a coincidence or could it have been intentional?

There seems to be no limiting site factors that would affect the orientation of the temple, nor does it appear to be orientated to any significant stellar events. The only significant astronomical orientation is to the Moon and here we hit a problem for, as already stated, there is no textual evidence that the ancient Egyptians were aware of the "Metonic' cycle (19 years), or indeed that they could predict eclipses, which is another lunar phenomenon."[33] Quite to the contrary as will be shown, the ancient Egyptians were not only aware of the Metonic cycle of 254 sidereal months (19 solar years) but understood its workings and its significance. [34] They also appear to have been cognizant of what today is called the Saros cycle of 223 synodic months that determined the cycles or internals between the occurrences of lunar eclipses and also of solar eclipses. This knowledge is embedded in the structure of a composition about the nature of lunar cycles and their periodic realignment with the solar cycle. Today this composition is known as the Book of Caverns. To the ancient Egyptians it may have been

30 "The calculated offset from the Google Earth program of the extant temple is 21.81 meters. Some form of causewayed entrance would need to extend for about 166 meters from Seti's temple for the alignment to match." = n. 44, p. 16 in D. Furlong, "Egyptian Temple Orientation" (2007).

31 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt (2000), 174.

32 The southern major standstill (extreme southern limit) moon rise at Thebes is 123.5 degrees.

33 D. Furlong, "Egyptian Temple Orientation" (2007), 9.

34 See below 4.4.

called but certainly included the Book of the 'Mysterious [Secret] One', first manifestation[s], great revision [lit. great cause to count or reckon].[35] (Plate 196, text of the goddess)

"In the cult triad of Karnak (Amun, Mut and Khonsu) the god Khonsu was associated with the Moon, which also set a pattern of time sequences that established the lunar months of the Egyptian calendar. With their clear ability to observe, record and name the major stars and constellations of the night sky, it would be strange if the Egyptian priesthood did not track the rising and setting positions of the Moon. Did Seti like Hatshepsut [and Thutmose III] before him, perceive himself as the son of the god Amun-Re and therefore, in his case, identify himself with Khonsu, with its lunar association? In returning Egypt back to the 'established order' after the Amarna revolution one is forced to the conclusion that there had to be a very good reason why Seti chose a different orientation for his temple from that of Amun's temple on the opposite side of the Nile. It is also a curious fact that one of the suggested years of the Seti's accession to the throne, in 1306 BC, the Moon just happened to be at its extreme southerly limit.[36] This might suggest that the link to this southern major standstill of the Moon was a lucky coincidence but for another intriguing fact. Seti's full name from his cartouche was Seti Merenptah, which translated means 'Seti beloved of Ptah'; Ptah being one of the creator gods of Egypt. Within the Karnak complex there is a small temple dedicated to Ptah. It is recorded on the temple walls that a previous wooden temple of Ptah temple was re-built in stone by Thutmose III, who preceded Seti by some one hundred and seventy years. This small temple is orientated on an azimuth of 304 degrees, which makes it another potential lunar oriented site. However like the Karnak alignment it faces the Nile and the hills opposite would have precluded any sighting of a moonset. The orientation of the temple could therefore have been set to the Moonrise azimuth, at its extreme southern limit of 124 degrees, which corresponds neatly with Seti's temple alignment.[37] (Plates 160, 161) That these two temples are on similar azimuths, yet separated in time by nearly two centuries suggests the something other than the Sun or the stars must have determined these temple orientations.[38] In addition to this the northern perimeter wall of Karnak, which runs alongside of the Ptah temple, follows for a large part the same azimuth. This suggests that the Karnak temple incorporated alignments to both the Sun and the Moon in its orientation and construction, which is logical bearing in mind the association of Amun-Re to the Sun and Khonsu with the Moon."[39]

The Entrance Archway of the Osireion's alignment to the place of moon set at its northern extreme clearly points to a lunar function for the entrance areas of the subterranean complex. This ritual cycle begins on the notional north (left) wall equating it with the place of the setting moon at its northern

35 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 236. Or the 'Secret Book of Transformations' see J. van Dijk, "Early Christian Apocrypha and the Secret Books of Ancient Egypt" in A. Hilhorst, G. van Kooten (eds.), The Wisdom of the Egyptians (2005), 422 n. 24.

36 J. West, The Travelers Key to Ancient Egypt (1985), 443 quoting J. Malek, J. Baines, Atlas of Ancient Egypt (1981).

37 "The calculated Google Earth azimuth for the Ptah temple orientation is 124 degrees – 51 minutes, which makes the difference in azimuth between Ptah and Seti's temple only 3 minutes of arc." = n. 52, p. 16 in D. Furlong, "Egyptian Temple Orientation" (2007).

38 "At 124 degrees azimuth lies too far south to be a solar alignment." = n. 53, p.16 Ibid.

39 D. Furlong, "Egyptian Temple Orientation" (2007), 10.

major extreme, an event in the lunar cycle of as great a significance as the winter solstice to the annual solar cycle to which the opposite notional southern wall is conceptually associated. Importantly, in the context of the first occasion, it is the first moon set at its northern limit at the very beginning of creation. On the ideal calendar, it was possibly the first full moon nearest the winter solstice which occurred after the completion of the Osiris mysteries for rejuvenating the god as Osiris-Moon. Thus at the entrance of the Osireion, we find both the first moon set at its northern limit paired with the first sunset at the winter solstice. These cycles also both begin with the culmination of the sun (in the south) and the moon (in the north) at their lowest point and start of their respective cycles.

The second ritual cycle, the Rites for the New Moon, begins at sunset on the day of last crescent visibility. They are depicted on the notional northern (left) wall of the Entrance Passage, in the Antechamber and in the notional eastern Annex. (Plates 29, 30) To date there is only one document that has surfaced, the papyrus of *jrj–jrj*, which specifically concerns the New Moon festival.[40] Regrettably, the fragmentary text provides little in the way of details of the New Moon festival and its rituals. Even "the question of whether it should be classified as a true ritual or ritual accompanying text cannot be definitely answered."[41] However, what it does make clear are the key participants. The moon or more precisely the struck down (waning) moon is Osiris, who had been subjected to evil by Seth. We know from other texts that he murdered Osiris by dismembering his brother. Horus as protector of his father is the means by which Osiris, the moon, is rejuvenated, "Osiris, lift up thyself".[42] With that act Horus assumes the throne of his father as the legitimate heir. Thoth and Anubis are both mentioned but in the fragmentary remains their roles are not at all clear. The same is true for the Eye of Horus. But its restoration is complete, i.e. "the moon, when it is full", *mj jʿḥ mḥ wḏ3t*, is all that we learn.[43] The significance is that these deities also figure importantly in the area of the Osireion which was dedicated to the New Moon festival as does the king who performs the Rites for the New Moon.

The Rites for the New Moon were conducted until the new crescent moon reappeared in the night sky on the second or third day of the lunar month. The purpose of these rites were to assist in the regeneration of the moon so that it would, in fact, reappear in the night sky, i.e. be born anew. The portion of the rites that were to be enacted in the Osireion proper is unclear.[44] One possibility is that they may have concluded after offerings were made to the rejuvenated Osiris and sunrise unfolded in the first hour of the day of the New Moon. On the notional eastern wall of the Antechamber on the lintel above the entrance to the Annex, the solar barque was depicted rising out of the eastern akhet as described in the accompanying text of Chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead, a text to be recited on the first day of the lunar month. Re and the *ɓa* of Osiris, as is shown in the final scene of the Book of

40 G. Burkard, Spatzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri (1995), 12.

41 Ibid., 12.

42 Ibid., 86.

43 Ibid., 86.

44 See below 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Caverns at the end of the Entrance Passage,[45] depart in the solar barque along with the king. That night the moon is not visible in the sky because Osiris is traveling in the solar barque with Re. The composition in the Annex, the Book of the Twelve Caverns, *qrrt*, also known as Chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead is the only surviving version that includes all twelve of the caverns. The king is depicted making offerings to the gods in each of the caverns, but the offerings are all specifically stated to be made 'on the earth'. Therefore the rites, according to the stage directions, would more likely have been carried out in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, as they were at the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.[46]

Unfolding out of creation on *zp tpj*, the first figure depicted in this ritual cycle is once again that of the king. (Plate 173) He is upholding Maat before Horus, the son of Osiris, his own mythic prototype. The king announces:

> "I have come before you, son of Osiris,
> provided with Maat every day
> I offer her to you.
> There is abomination for *jsft*
> in my time upon the earth."[47]

In return the falcon-headed Horus provides the sweet breath of life to the king, just as Atum did on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage with which the king will use to revivify his father Osiris, along with his (Horus') restored eye, the Udjat-eye, also a symbol of his triumph over Seth. This act of the presentation of the sound eye is proof of his claim to the right to rule. Again through the enactment of this ritual, the begotten becomes the begetter.

Whereas Atum who initiated creation is invoked on the opposite wall, here it is the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process who is depicted on the first occasion. Horus, son of Osiris, is the tenth and final member of the Heliopolitan Ennead and with him kingship and the start of dynastic rule.[48] Like the depiction of Khepri in the solar barque in the first hour of the Book of Gates foretelling the successful nocturnal journey of the sun god through the *ḏuat* and with it the first sunrise at the start of creation, the depiction of the son of Osiris foretells the successful revivification of Osiris necessary for Horus' conception and with it the means for the legitimate transmission of kingship from father to son, birthing dynastic rule in Egypt.

45 See below 4.3.

46 North wall of the first court of Medinet Habu. See H. Nelson, "The Calendar of Feasts and Offerings at Medinet Habu" in H. Nelson, U. Holscher, Work in Western Thebes 1931-33 (1934), 13 fig. 8.

47 Based on H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 36.

48 "... the double crown is the diadem of both Horus and Atum." E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 77.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

After having been given the successful outcome, we are supplied with the means of the transformation in great detail. Like Osiris, Horus is also identified with the moon. Parker concludes that "the dead Osiris is the vanished moon. His day of embalmment is the day when the moon is never visible. But on the following day... he shines forth from his temple at sunset, just as the crescent moon normally appears on the second day of the lunar month at sunset. If this be the resurrection of Osiris, which it certainly seems to be, since he wakes from his sleep and takes his place in the sky, then it is small wonder that Horus, son of Osiris, is born on the same lunar day which his father is reborn."[49] The tutelary deity of the second day of the lunar month is Horus avenger/protector of his father.[50] Horus, son of Osiris, and protector of his father was conceived on *psḏntjw* and born on the second day of the lunar month with first crescent visibility linking the lunar cycle directly to the living king and therefore to kingship itself.[51]

49 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 60. S. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt (1942), 204, lists an epithet of Horus as Horus, the moon citing S. Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and Other Sources, First and Second Series (1837,1841,1855), pl. 118,3; PT732 [Utterance 412]. But [he] makes no further comment.

50 Ibid., 59.

51 Ibid., 12, importantly as was also Khonsu.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.2 THE NOCTURNAL JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD THROUGH THE BODY OF THE GODDESS NUT: THE BOOK OF THE NIGHT

From the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9), the lost ceiling decoration of the Entrance Passage can be reconstructed.[52] From this, it appears that the Book of the Night was originally depicted on the half of the ceiling above the Book of Caverns, which decorates the entire length of the left wall. A more detailed analysis of the Book of the Night is reserved until its use in the third ritual sequence and is discussed in relationship to the Nut Book (Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars) opposite it on the ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall and the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques immediately preceding it.[53] Nevertheless, a general description and its orientation are necessary here.

Unlike the Book of Gates which depicts the transitional first hour of the night before the entry into the *ḏuat* proper in the second hour, the Book of the Night begins with the second hour which is inside the body of the goddess Nut. Thus, the whole of the Book of the Night is subject to the inversion principle of the netherworld. This is significant because it allows for the identification of the night journey of the sun god. The towers i.e. the ones who tow the solar barque are called unwearying ones, *jḫmw-wrḏw*.[54] The unwearying ones are the stars that lie to the south of the ecliptic and among them are the thirty-six decans. In order for members of this group to enter the solar barque to serve as the towers, the barque must be moored along the southern bank of the celestial 'shifting waterway', *mr-nḫꜣj*, the ecliptic, which is represented by the middle register in the Book of the Night. This occurs around the time of the winter solstice, specifically at sunset. Then the sun is at its extreme southwestern most point along its journey across the sky. Indeed, just after sunset on the winter solstice, a group of unwearying stars could be observed setting in the night sky at the point on the horizon where the sun barque had moored. This would be the group of unwearying stars which set during the first transitional hour of the night to follow the sun barque into the *ḏuat*. According to the Book of the Night they numbered thirty and are led by the king demonstrating again his active role in the rites. (Plate 145) Thus, the setting stars could be thought of or viewed as entering the barque of the sun god. It should be recalled that at both solstices, the sun appears to hover at the same point along the horizon for some three days, before the reversal in the direction of the sun's path becomes apparent to the observer, allowing time for the assembling of the towers.

52 See Appendix A.

53 See below 5.7.

54 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 124.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

So both the transitional first hour of the Book of Gates on the upper end of the notional southern wall of the Entrance Passage and the Book of the Night on the notional northern half of the ceiling, but subject to the inversion principle because of its location in the *ḏuat,* (i.e. left becomes right and north becomes south) depict the start of the solar journey on the winter solstice on the first occasion. The Book of Gates depicts the solar journey through the depths of the *ḏuat*, once the sun god leaves the transitional first hour. Whereas, the Book of the Night portrays the journey of the sun god as a journey through the regenerative body of the goddess Nut. "In this aspect, he unites himself in a different sense with Osiris, for like him, he becomes the son of Nut, who returns in death to the womb of the sky goddess." [55]

In the Book of the Night in the Second Transverse Hall, is an unnamed divine male figure standing between the arms of the goddess. He appears to be leaving Nut's body. (Plate 379) There are multiple levels for the identification of this deity and each of great significance. Of all the heavenly bodies, there is only one that stands out, which appears to depart from the body of Nut and enter the sky in the west. It is the new crescent moon which reappears in the night sky shortly after sunset, low in the western horizon after having been rejuvenated in the *ḏuat* on *psḏntyw*. The crescent moon symbolizes both the birth of Horus on the second day of the lunar month and the resurrection of Osiris. [56] In the context of *zp tpj*, it represents the very first appearance of the crescent moon in the just created cosmos and thus the creation of the lunar cycle, which begins at its northern extreme. [57] As the resurrection of Osiris, it also represents the creation of the *ḏuat* over which he reigned, which the texts state Atum did for Osiris. [58] The revivification of Osiris also leads to the conception of Horus which, as will be shown, was to be ritually enacted on the island in the Central Hall. His conception is followed by his birth on the second day of the lunar month with the appearance of Horus-Moon low in the western horizon shortly after Atum-Re had entered the *ḏuat*. [59] This appearance of Horus at *zp tpj*, now as the king, establishes the pattern for the transmission of royal power and the start of dynastic rule in Egypt, as reestablished by Seti I in order to restore *mɜʿt* after the Amarna Heresy and at the same time legitimize his right to rule, despite his own lack of royal blood. So we see that this deity emerging from the embrace of Nut carries the same message as the scene with the son of Osiris on the wall below it.

55 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 189.

56 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 60.

57 Because the divine figure stands between or is embraced in the arms of the goddess Nut, he is not in the *ḏuat* proper and so is not subject to the inversion principle as is the rest of the Book of the Night. Therefore, as part of this world, his depiction on the notional northern half of the ceiling is correctly aligned to the lunar northern extreme. On the first occasion first crescent visibility symbolizing Horus is the product of the Heliopolitan creation process initiated by Atum, to whom this figure can also be equated.

58 In the invocation of Atum on the opposite wall of the Osireion, see the eighth verse.

59 Moon-Horus, who is in the sky, appears to have had his own barque at Seti's Mansion of Millions of years, where Moon-Horus is named in the Hall of Barques and may have been utilized during the rites for the rejuvenated Horus-Moon. See K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II (1979), II, 511, 15; Translations II (1996), 327-28; A. Caulfeild, Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902), 18, pl.19; K. Eaton, "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.), The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 243.

At another level, I take this unnamed deity to be Atum as he exits his creation. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, Piankoff has identified him as the king himself.[60] Atum and the king were closely associated. "The [Heliopolitan] Ennead was in fact the genealogical tree of Pharaoh headed by Atum and at the bottom Horus, the god connected with historical times. Pharaoh was of cosmic dimensions and primeval birth [at *zp tpj*]. He was crowned by Atum his father, who once ruled the earth but was said to be weary of his reign [Book of the Celestial Cow]." [61] So it would seem that at the same time both Atum, abdicating his reign, exits his creation and Horus as the newly crowned king begins his reign as he appears as the new crescent moon at the lunar northern extreme, which marks the start of the nineteen year lunar cycle that reconciles and realigns the movements of the moon with those of the sun. Finally, it should be noted that this divine figure as Atum stands opposite the invocation of Atum by the king on the notional southern wall, the place of the winter solstice sunset.

The Book of the Night can also be viewed as a map of sorts. It is a map of the night sky on the winter solstice, after Nut has swallowed Atum-Re at sunset on the first occasion. Rather than the three registers being on top of each other, as they must be depicted in a two dimensional representation, they actually are meant to represent the celestial dome. In a sense, the Book of the Night is similar in some respects to those modern day star charts that have to be held above the viewer's head in order to properly align with the cardinal directions and the position of the stars at a given hour. [62] Each hour the lower portion of the modern star chart wheel has to be rotated to reflect the movement of the stars across the night sky. With the passing of each hour, some stars drop below the western horizon and new ones appear rising in the eastern horizon while others cross the meridian as they follow the apparent nocturnal movement of the sun god Re, which also accounts for the appearance of a new 'working' decanal star to measure each hour of the night thus relating its functioning to the depictions of the Ramesside star clock tables which mark the course of the stars over the year and preceded the Book of the Night on the reconstructed ceiling of the Entrance Passage.[63] (Plates 152, 153)

The middle register of the Book of the Night in which the sun barque is depicted represents the ecliptic, the path of the sun through the sky, which the ancient Egyptians called the 'shifting waterway', *mr-nḫꜣj*.[64] The top and bottom registers are the two halves of the night sky, *pty* 'two skies'.[65] The lower register is the area south of the ecliptic. The top register is the area north of the ecliptic representing 'the Field of Rest', *sḫt-ḥtp*.[66] Consistent with the concept of *ḥtp*, there is no activity depicted, only rows

60 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 409. However, this is far from clear. Nowhere is this figure explicitly labeled as the king, although the king is depicted and named several times elsewhere in this composition.

61 K. Mysliwiec, Studien zum Gott Atum I (1978), 121-122, author's translation; For an in depth study of the relation of the king to Atum, see E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991).

62 See for example The Star Finder: Guide to the Northern Sky (1995).

63 See Appendix A and 3.5 above.

64 J. P. Allen, Review of R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten in JNES 61 (2002), 63.

65 Ibid., 63.

66 Ibid., 63.

of named deities spanning the night time hours totaling 124 divinities. [67] They are the imperishable ones, *jḫmw-skjw*, the stars who never die. That is to say they are visible every night. In contrast, the bottom register is full of activity. The area south of the ecliptic was called the Field of Reeds/Rushes, *sḫt-jꜣrw*. [68] It is a zone of transformation. The unwearying stars, *jḫmw-wrḏw*, shown as a group of thirty in the middle register rejuvenate here as do all but the damned. (Plate 145) The temple of Osiris is located here as well. [69] In the eighth hour of the Book of the Night an enthroned Osiris is being revived by the falcon-headed Horus (Plate 385), a central theme of the Osireion itself. This scene is duplicated in the Antechamber and is the central scene there, (Plates 225, 224) again pointing to the significance of the act of revivification by the son, Horus. In the Book of the Night, eighth hour, the enthroned Osiris and his son, as protector of his father, are positioned directly under the solar barque, which may allude to their uniting, necessary for their regeneration. However, the texts play down this aspect and state "only that the sun is 'passing near the door' of this Osirian domain without stopping." [70] This shifts the focus to the role of Horus, protector of his father, and the chief ritualist, the king as the active power that rejuvenates Osiris. In the speech of Thoth in the rear stairway leading out to the sacred precinct above the Osireion, this active participation is explicitly stated. [71]

"It is I [Thoth] who writes it down.
I have descended into the Netherworld to Wennefer,
and I found his soul [*ɓa*] at the supports of
Him who is in the Sarcophagus, his face uncovered.
For your [the king's] beauty had awakened him,
and you gave sight ('face') to the Lords of the Netherworld;
the westerners are in joy,
You having become the equivalent of Horus
since the great internment.
You are champion [protector] for Wennefer,
you wash out his scores ('decay') of yesterday.
You enable him to appear at the crack of dawn as/like Re

67 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1010.

68 J. P. Allen, Review of R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzept in JNES 61 (2002), 63.

69 J. Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt" in Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt (1989) YES 3, 149 n. 81. "According to its title, ch. 145 of the Book of the Dead describes the 'gate of the field of reeds of the temple of Osiris' and localizes the field of reeds in the innermost part of the temple (the holy of holiest)." More frequently it is usually translated as the House of Osiris.

70 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.) Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1011.

71 For a penetrating analysis see A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 87-120.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

in the presence of every god.
You free him, you enable his nose to breathe,
you bring in for him the North Wind [of Atum],
You cause the Great Soul [*Ba*] to rest on his corpse,
and his shadow in the sun disk.
You cause him to see Re in exultation,
his rays passing over his face.
You cause Re to fly over his sarcophagus, the 'Lord-of-Life'.
When he has awakened, you have placed his children beside him...
You are the goodly heir, who comes eternally...." [72]

Thoth's comments here also record a portion of the ritual actions to be performed as part of the annual coronation rites that were enacted in the Osireion on the night of I *prt* 1, following the culmination of the Osiris mysteries. [73]

The final hour of the Book of the Night is not the actual sunrise itself, but rather the preparation for it, which occurs as it was depicted on the notional eastern wall of the Antechamber where the Osireion portion of the rites for the New Moon would have concluded with the *ba* of Osiris, Khepri and the king departing from the eastern akhet in the solar barque.

The last passage "reveals the characteristics of the Book of the Night with the proclamation of the purpose of the [first] sunrise: 'in order to assure the existence of all men, small cattle and snakes which he [the sun god] has created [and to which the king will oversee on behalf of his father Atum-Re]'. This transitive aspect is not attested in the treatise of the rising sun or in the earlier Books of the Underworld." [74]

72 K. Kitchen, KRI I Translations (1993), 165.

73 See below 5.6, My Father My Conception.

74 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1012. The second hour of the Book of the Night is found in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahri. The name of the hours are the same as those in the Amduat which seems to suggest that the two books were composed at roughly the same time and certainly before the Book of Gates.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.3 THE MYSTERIOUS BOOK OF CAVERNS: A TREATISE ON THE LUNAR OSIRIAN TRANSFORMATION

"Even though the Book of Caverns has been considered to be particularly suitable for funerary use, this cannot in fact have been its original function: in both the Book of Caverns and the Book of the Earth, all references to the dead king are conspicuously later insertions, which cannot have been part of the original composition."[75] In fact in the Osireion version, references to the dead king do not even exist with a single exception in the opening scene where the living king accompanies the sun god as they enter the first cavern and the king, son of Re, as Osiris greets them, reflecting the composition's ritual use here. (Plate 174) Werning arrived at the same conclusion. "On the basis of the stemmata it is possible to see that the text in the versions of the Books of the Netherworld which relate aspects of the dead king to the action described in the Book are secondary indeed. None of the alpha-copies contained them. This is in complete accord with the hypothesis that the decoration of the tombs with these books is a secondary use and that the books' primary function is probably that of storing knowledge about the netherworld needed, among others for liturgies.[76] With this background the fact that Osiris is one of the most prominent subjects of the book [especially in the case of the Book of Caverns] can be interpreted as being one of the main reasons why the Osiris (NN)' tomb are decorated with it. The aim of the secondary text additions is thus to establish the connection between the dead king and the original subject of the books... The additions to and alterations of the text proper – which relate aspects of the dead king to the actions described in these texts – can be proven to be secondary for all of the four books discussed [Amduat, the Litany of Re, the Book of Gates, and the Book of Caverns]."[77]

Unlike in Amduat, the Book of Gates, and the Books of the Night and of the Day, the Book of Caverns has only six divisions and is divided into two distinct halves. It should be noted here that this is also the architectural design chosen for the Osireion. There are six major chambers and passages

75 A. Baumann, The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian as Evidenced in the Underworld Books (1998), 4.

76 A. von Lieven, "Mysterien des Kosmos: Kosmographie und Priesterwissenschaft" in J. Assmann, M. Bommas (eds.) Agyptische Mysterien? (2002), 56.

77 D. Werning, "An Interpretation of the Stemmata of the Books of the Netherworld in the New Kingdom – Tomb Decoration and the Text Additions for Osiris NN" in J-C. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists II (2007), 1942, 1944.

divided into two halves with the Sloping Passage connecting one to the other.[78] (Plates 26, 30, 40) This is not coincidental but deliberate, reflecting the fact that both the second and third ritual cycles concern the regeneration of the moon during the period of the ritual enactment of the Rites for the New Moon when the moon is not visible in the night sky.[79]

The ancient Egyptians had an important unit of measurement, called heqat, that consisted of six parts. These six parts when assembled constituted the Eye of Horus, the left lunar eye, known as the Udjat-eye and was used specifically for the measurement of grain,[80] a potent symbol of Osiris' regenerative powers. When viewed from a lunar standpoint, the division of the Book of Caverns into six parts and two halves becomes as obvious as the division of the night into twelve hours found in the Amduat, Book of Gates and the Book of the Night. The six parts reflects the restoration, here in the context of *zp tpj*, the creation of the Udjat-eye, the sound eye. Horus later gives his restored eye to his father Osiris in order to revive him with it. The division into two halves of the Book of Caverns mirror the waxing and waning halves of the lunar cycle, here again at *zp tpj* for the first time.[81]

In the Great Abydos Stela for Osiris-Moon with eleven gods in his retinue,[82] which was probably written for the New Moon Festival,[83] Ramesses IV, who is 'the Lord who Performs the Rituals' explicitly identifies Osiris as the Moon:

78 The Book of the Caverns has a supplemental scene attached to its end depicting the sun god Re and the *ḥa* of Osiris leaving the *ḍuat* in the solar barque to enter the eastern akhet in preparation for the sunrise. In a like fashion, the Osireion has a subsidiary chamber called the Annex which is also at the end point of the two ritual cycles where the winged sun disk is depicted rising up into the eastern akhet. (Plate 30)

79 The third ritual cycle was enacted at the culmination of the annual celebration of the Osiris mysteries on 30 Khoiak, which on the ideal calendar was the night of last crescent visibility followed by the celebration of the king's coronation on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day and the day of the Blacked-out Moon. In the context of the first occasion, *zp tpj*, of which this ritual cycle was a part, the use of the ideal calendar is appropriate as it too came into existence on the first occasion.

80 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2000), 102.

81 It should be noted, that during the annual festival of Opet, forming part of the first half of the 76 day cycle of the renewal of kingship, the procession and its route was also divided into six parts, delineated by its six way stations, pointing to an important lunar aspect to the Theban half of the renewal of kingship celebrated at Opet. Benoit also recognized this connection. “Finally it is possible to link these two stelae [of Ramesses IV at Abydos which were written for the New Moon Festival] with the king's coronation during the Opet (moon) Festival at Thebes.” See C. Benoit, “A New Moon Festival in Abydos during the Ramesside era?” in Current Research in Egyptology Symposium VIII April 2007 Abstracts.

The ritual enactment of the Book of Caverns began at sunset on the night of last crescent visibility at the culmination of the annual Osiris mysteries, the subject of the third ritual cycle in the Osireion, which was the final day of the 76 day cycle of the renewal of kingship which fell on the last day of the month IIII *ꜣḫt*, the 30th of Khoiak. At sunrise on the following day I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day and the New Moon day on the ideal calendar, the start of a new planting season began with the reenactment of the coronation of the king and the celebration of the festival for Nehebkau, “who was also believed to bind all the divine energies together in a cohesive whole. His presence indicates that this union of all the energies is about to be achieved.” See D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 155.

82 Recall from the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, it is the eleven deities that constitute the retinue of Osiris on the platform that transform the twelve month lunar year of 354 days into the 365 day solar year of the Egyptian civil calendar. See above 3.3.

83 C. Benoit in n. 81 above.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"See, it is you who are the Moon
which is in the sky.
For you are as youthful as you desire
and you grow old as you desire...." [84]

Ramesses IV further states:

"Now, you are the great inundation
that flows freely at the (due) season.
Gods and men live of the efflux
which comes from you.
I have found your Majesty
as King of the Netherworld....,
When Re appears daily,
he arrives at the netherworld
to deal with the affairs of this land
and the (other) lands also
as you sit (enthroned) like him.
It is said:
A united *ba* concerning you (two) together.
The Majesty of Thoth stands besides you both,
to record the commands that come from your mouth(s).
As for all that you both say,
you (two) are as one mouth....
You [Osiris-Moon] are exalted in heaven
and renowned on earth.
The underworld [*jgrt*] is stable under your rule, to the limits of eternity.
How divine you are!
How splendid you are!" [85]

There are also a " small group of bronze figures which bear the name *Wsjr jʿḥ*, thus combing Osiris with a moon-god." [86] (Plate 167) To emphasize this lunar interpretation that I am proposing for the Book of Caverns, where Osiris is addressed, I will often substitute Osiris-Moon in its place lest it be forgotten. It should also be kept in mind that Osiris is one god in two persons both Osiris and Horus,

84 A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 161.

85 Ibid., 161-163. Most of the major manifestations of Osiris are addressed in the hymn to the new moon at its creation as Osiris-Moon and the waxing and waning of the lunar cycle; the great life giving Nile inundation which is the efflux of Osiris; your Majesty the King of the Netherworld and Ruler of the *duat* who judges the dead; and enthroned beside Re, a united *ba* (*bꜣ dmdm*) who speaks as one mouth with Thoth standing beside them, who guides Khepri and the phases of the moon, to record their commands.

86 G. Griffiths, "Osiris and the Moon in Iconography" JEA 62 (1976), 153.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Horus, the two manifestations of kingship in life and in the afterlife. [87] Similarly, the United *Ba* (*bꜣ dmdm*) who is of one mouth is Re (the sun) and Osiris (the moon).

The pairing of the Book of the Night on the notional northern half of the ceiling with the Book of Caverns directly below provides insight into the purpose of the Book of Caverns. As with the Book of Gates on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage, the Book of the Night details the journey of the sun god through the hours of the night. Unlike the Book of the Day on the other half of the ceiling above the Book of Gates which returns both the sun god and the ritualist back to the entrance of the Osireion, the ritual cycle on this (left lunar) side of the Entrance Passage continues into the next hall, the Antechamber. (Plates 29, 30) As we have seen, the Book of the Night's final hour is not the actual sunrise, but rather the preparation for it. Similarly, in the Book of Caverns at the end of the final scene, the text states:

"This Great God enters his Mountain of the East...." [88]

Thus, it too also is an indication that the sun rise is yet to occur.

At the entrance to the Antechamber, where the Book of Caverns ends, is the first gate (*sbḥt*) of Chapter 145B of the Book of the Dead. [89] (Plates 30, 215) Arriving at the gate the king, 'true of voice', but very much alive as the chief ritualist, 'cries out', *sbḥ*, the name of its guardian 'Lady of Trembling' in order to gain access. The doorkeeper 'Terrible' queries and the king responds:

"With the water
wherewith Re purified himself
in the east of the sky." [90]

The text is written retrograde leading the ritualist into the Antechamber, the eastern akhet, where offerings are made and sunrise will unfold on the first occasion.

With the nocturnal journey of the sun god through the regenerative body of the goddess Nut depicted above it in the Book of the Night, (Plate 29) to what then could the differently structured Book of the Caverns refer?

There are no mention or depictions of the Hour Goddesses or the birth of the hours in the Book of

87 J. van Djik, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22.

88 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 272.

89 Originally identified by M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 20 as Chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead, it is not but rather the 19th Dynasty version of Chapter 145 (B), which uses the verb 'cries out' rather than the usual 'said'. See T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 125.

90 Ibid. Allen, 125.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Caverns, unlike all the other major netherworld compositions.[91] This is of great significance to the understanding of the Book of Caverns. Those netherworld books like Amduat, the Book of Gates and the Books of the Night and of the Day which detail the journey of the sun god through the hours of the night and the day, all occur in the context of cyclical solar time expressed by the concept of *nḥḥ* time. It, *nḥḥ* time, arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion. "The former [*nḥḥ* time] is inherently a constituent of djet [*ḏt* time], but is extracted from it and returned at regular intervals. A similar interdependency is expressed in the unity of Re and Osiris, which is understood in theological terms as Re (the neheh [*nḥḥ*] principle) entering into Osiris (the djet [*ḏt*] principle) in the sixth hour of the night and leaving him again at dawn",[92] with the rebirth of *nḥḥ* time out of *ḏt* time in the Nun out of which arises Tatenen on the first occasion. It seems clear that the absence of the Hour Goddesses or any reference to the birth of the hours in the Book of Caverns is because it is not set in *nḥḥ* time, and therefore must be in *ḏt* time. Aspects of *ḏt* time, eternal sameness, are associated with Osiris/moon/nighttime/end but also embodies the concept of discontinuity,[93] which is apparent in the layout and structure of the Book of Caverns compared to the orderly progression in the Book of the Night directly above it. The duality expressed by these two compositions when taken together form a unity. The unity is both of *nḥḥ* and *ḏt* and of the orderly progression of the Book of the Night with the discontinuity apparent in the layout and structure of the Book of Caverns. Like architectural features that define a sacred space in a temple, the layout and structure of a composition help covey its message. So it would appear that the focus of the Book of Caverns set in *ḏt* time is on Osiris and especially Osiris-Moon and from its structural organization based on six parts and two halves, in particular, the lunar cycle, its waxing and waning and the making of the sound eye, the Udjat-eye and the Eye of Horus. More precisely, it is about the time when the moon is not visible in the night sky, which, of course occurs on the night of the new moon, but also on the night of last crescent visibility as well. On that night the moon does not reappear in the sky or, better still, is born for the first time in the context of *zp tpj* until it appears in the transitional zone of twilight, the eastern akhet, immediately preceding the sunrise. With the rising sun, the light of the thin crescent moon is quickly engulfed by the brightness of the sun's light. To the ancient Egyptians, the moon was seen to enter the barque of the sun god to journey with Re to begin the new monthly lunar cycle.[94] "The Great God leaves the Underworld in the joined aspect as Osiris and Re at the same time."[95] This perhaps is another subtle allusion to Horus, the Elder, whose two eyes are the sun and the moon.

"The definition of the beginning of the Egyptian lunar month must have been heavily influenced by the very distinctive appearance of the last crescent on the eastern horizon. It is an event not unlike

91 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 18.

92 F. Servajean, 2008 "Duality" UEE, 2.

93 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 21 n. 43. See also his references, especially to J. Assmann, Zeit und Ewigkeit im Alten Agypten (1975), 43-48.

94 Not exactly a novel or new concept see G. Hughes, "The Sixth Day of the Lunar Month and the Demotic Word for 'Cult Guild'" MDAIK 16 1958), 148 n. 1.

95 A. Niwinski "The Solar-Osirian Unity" JEOL 30 (1987-88), 90.

the heliacal rising of Sirius. It is distinctive because the phenomenon appears in the daylight very near to the time of sunrise and consequently is not long lasting.... In fact, it could be regarded as even more distinctive, if not spectacular. One February while awaiting sunrise at Amarna, the sky at about 5:30 AM appeared quite black with very sharp and clear patterns of stars. By 6:00 AM the sky had brightened to a light blue with only the brightest stars noticeable. The eastern sky took on a reddish and greenish glow very close to the horizon. This gradually brightened and changed to a golden color in the area where the sun itself would later appear. By now (roughly 6:30 AM), the sky was completely illuminated and quite bright. The thin, silver curve of the lunar crescent slowly rose just to the right of where the sun was expected to appear and sat momentarily on the eastern horizon. It startled the native gafir who pointed excitedly at the moon's appearance because he was only expecting the sun to rise. Not long thereafter, the sun appeared as a giant sphere of gold washing out the appearance of the lunar crescent."[96] This same type of phenomenon as Wells noted marked the start of the Egyptian New Year with the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius in the eastern akhet shortly before sunrise. Here it is the goddess Sothis who enters the solar barque to travel with her father Re, starting the New Year.

There is a large scene of the aging sun god Atum, accompanied by the king standing at the entrance to the first cavern. (Plate 174) At the end of this lengthy composition, the solar barque is depicted for the first time as partially emerging from caverns as it heads toward the 'Mountain of the East'. (Plate 209) After the initial act of entering and then again at the departure in the final scene, there is no clear time delineation or clear sense of a continuous and orderly movement except for the sporadic mentioning of Re entering into or hurrying past this or that cavern. The Caverns (*qrrt*), therefore, seem to represent a specific realm or region within the *ḏuat*, which is located at its very depths, where *nḥḥ* time and direction appear to have little or no meaning. It borders on the dark watery abyss of precreation and includes part of the Nun, out of which the partially materializing solar barque is depicted emerging from it in the final scene for the first time in the context of *zp tpj*. This scene is reminiscent of part of scene 5, the central vignette of the 'Aker group' in the Books of the Earth.[97] (Plates 365, 366) This portion of the Nun is called the 'Place of Destruction' which is clearly labeled as such in the parallel central vignette of the 'Aker group' in the tomb of Ramesses VI.[98] (Plates 366, 367, 368) In the Book of Caverns, the Place of Destruction is prominent, filling the bottom registers of all six divisions.

The opening scene subtly reinforces that the focus of the Book of Caverns is not so much on the journey like in the Book of the Night above it, but rather, on the specific region in the *ḏuat*, where the mysterious transformations occur. It "starts with two vertical bands filled with dots signifying sandy regions".[99] (Plates 176, 175) This is the same manner that the oval of Sokar at the depths of the *ḏuat*

96 R. Wells, "Re and the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time (1994), 15 and 33 n. 39.

97 See below in 4.3 and J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 146-153 for a detailed analysis of this important scene.

98 Ibid., 149.

99 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 188.

is depicted in the lower register of the fifth hour of Amduat, and likewise is completely bordered by sand. (Plate 342) There the text in the sand reads:

> "Aker guarding the secret flesh.
> The land of Sokar
> This image is like this in the Unified Darkness.
> The oval belonging to this god (Sokar) is illuminated
> by the two eyes of the heads of the great god (the serpent)..." [100]

In the center stands a hawk-headed god grasping the wings of a serpent which has three serpent heads at one end and a human head at the other, this seems to be a form of the sun god according to Hornung and Abt. [101] The texts inside the oval read:

> "Flesh of Sokar-upon-his-sands
> Winged serpent:
> He lives from the breath of his mouth day after day.
> What he has to do is to guard his image (*sšmw.f*)
> [This word is also used for cult statues.]
> The great god, who spreads (his) wings,
> with multicolored plumes." [102]

Through this sandy region, the sun god must be dragged or travel on foot as he does throughout the Book of Caverns. This clearly indicates that it is only a region of the *ḏuat* and not the entire underworld.

In the opening scene to the Book of the Caverns, (Plates 174, 176) the sun god is depicted "in the double form of an anthropomorphic, ram-headed god, followed by his disk; he will appear in one or both of these aspects throughout his journey. These are, it will be recalled, essentially the same forms he took during his voyage inside his daughter Nut's body [in the Book of the Night that is inscribed directly above]." [103] The use of the same two forms of Re suggest that these two compositions positioned one on top of the other are closely connected. They should be viewed as a single unit, occurring simultaneously, one in *nḥḥ* time and one in *ḏt* time and not sequentially as they are in the Book of the Gates and the Book of the Day, where both compositions take place in *nḥḥ* time. [104]

100 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat, The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 168-169.

101 Ibid., 168.

102 Ibid., 168. Recall the depiction on the decorated wall of the Central Hall in the top register of another manifestation of the sun god, now ram-headed, is identified as Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, that special form of the sun god that is born out of the uniting of Re with Osiris, is also said to be with multicolored plumage.

103 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 152.

104 Together the Books of Gates and of the Day represent the entire daily journey of the sun god through all of his manifestations as: Atum; the ram-headed flesh of Re, the *ba* of Re; Re together with Osiris, the united *ba*; Khepri, the newly born sun; and finally the resulting manifestation of the union of Re with Osiris, Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons who arose out of the first occasion.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Specifically, the bulk of the Book of Caverns would appear to serve as a detailed treatise simultaneous with the *wšɜw* hours (hours 5 to 8) of *nḥḥ*, which arise out of *ḏt* time and periodically return to it. This is the darkest part of the night representing the depths of the *ḏuat*, [105] This is where the critical merging of Re (the sun) and Osiris (the moon) occurs, where Re and *nḥḥ* time return to Osiris and *ḏt* time and their joint regeneration begins for the first time in the context of *zp tpj*. In fact, Re tells us what this place actually is. At the end of each of the five registers of the second division of the Book of Caverns, as the god is about to enter the third division, Re says:

> "Look, I enter into the world from which I have come forth,
> I settle down on (the place) of my first birth." [106]

By repeating these exact words five times, Re, in effect, is actually creating the *ḏuat* symbolized by the number five. [107] "As Hornung discusses this text, he says of the deity: 'He therefore returns to the world before creation, from which he went forth on the 'first occasion' and ever again goes forth." [108]

The opening scene of the Book of Caverns in the Osireion is different from those found in the royal tombs including the one in Ramesses VI's tomb in two important respects. [109] The king as ritualist and consequently 'true of voice' by his ritual purity is shown accompanying the ram-headed form of the nocturnal sun god at the approach to the first cavern. (Plate 174) The remaining fragment of the caption in front of the king reads:

> "true of voice in the presence of Re" [110]

At the same time, the ram-headed Re is being greeted by the son of Re, the king wearing the Osirian-lunar white crown (*ḥḏt*) of Upper Egypt who is in the first cavern. (Plate 175) The "symbolism of the White Crown as the (luminosity of) the moon may be related to one of the names of the moon-god, *ḥḏ-wr*, which seems to be evoked in such spells as CT 105.... The *ḥḏt* is therefore a metaphorical expression for the brightness of the moon-god, which is a common topos also in other Coffin Text spells such as CT 985/987. The White Crown's symbolism of lunar light is explicit in CT 531." [111] This connection of the *ḥḏt* crown with the moon is another subtle reference to the lunar nature of the Book

105 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 35.

106 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 202, 204, 208, 210 and 212.

107 See below 4.3.

108 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaevil Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 57.

109 The opening scene of the Book of Caverns is found in the tombs of Ramesses IV. VI, VII and IX. In the tomb of Ramesses IX, the depiction of the ram-headed sun god entering the first cavern is entirely omitted.

110 Author's translation.

111 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature, Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction (2008), 147-149. While these CT spells are specifically referring to Thoth, the symbolism would apply to any wearer of the *ḥḏt* crown.

of Caverns to which the sun god and king are about to enter. The numerous depictions of Osiris wearing the white crown in the Book of Caverns (as elsewhere) allude to Osiris in his manifestation of Osiris-Moon.[112] The fact that there are nineteen depictions of Osiris wearing the white crown, *ḥḏt*, in the first half of the Book of Caverns indicates that it is concerned with the regeneration and renewal of the luminosity or brightness of the moon god. Nineteen is the sacred number to Osiris symbolizing his rebirth. It could be argued on one level, that the king wearing the *ḥḏt* as he greets the setting sun was meant to represent Osiris as the rising Full Moon in the opening scene of the Book of the Caverns, pointing to the successful outcome of the regeneration of Osiris-Moon, in the same fashion as in the opening scene of the Book of Gates, where the newly reborn sun god Khepri is depicted in the solar barque as it sets into the *ḏuat*, foretelling its successful regeneration.[113] At the same time, the much smaller figure of the king slightly bent forward could represent the small last crescent Horus-Osiris-Moon, who greets the sun god and will travel with him on the morrow in the solar barque. (Plates 175, 174) Taken together, they symbolize the complete monthly lunar cycle. In the context of *zp tpj*, it represents the creation of the lunar cycle of Horus-Osiris-Moon and the transmission of royal power as Parker had righty believed.

In the final scene of the Book of Caverns the *ḥa* of Osiris, who does not wear the white crown is depicted in the solar barque which can only occur at the time of the new moon. (Plates 209, 211) Full to new moon, the waning phase of the lunar cycle that leads to the renewal of the monthly cycle seems to be alluded to here as well. On the ceiling above it in the Book of the Night, we see the start of that new lunar cycle now in *nḥḥ* time.[114] Here at the beginning, Atum the creator, is shown leaving the body of Nut, thereby becoming visible in the night sky low in the western horizon as the new crescent moon.[115] (Plate 382) This first crescent moon marks the start of the waxing phase of the lunar cycle and completes the full lunar cycle. Given the position of these scenes on the notional northern wall at the top of the Entrance Passage point to a clear reference to the northern lunar extreme, marking the start of the nineteen year great lunar cycle.[116] All of this, of course, occurs in the context of *zp tpj* on the first occasion at the very beginning of the creation of the cosmos.

Unlike the opening scene in the Osireion version of the Book of the Caverns, neither figure of the king is depicted in any of the royal tombs. (Plate 176) This is because the king has been transfigured

112 See above 3.2 for examples in the Book of Gates.

113 On the night of the Full Moon, the just set sun could perhaps be viewed as passing by the about to rise Full Moon below the horizon.

114 See above 4.2.

115 For Atum's association with Osiris-Moon, recall the year 4 Abydos Stela of Ramesses IV where Osiris is referred to as:

> "One who is mysterious of forms [lunar phases?]
> (when he) is in his guise of Atum."

A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscription of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 152-153.

116 See above 4.1.

through the rituals performed at his death and is now Osiris. The dual king's presence in the Osireion apparently was mandated by its ritual function and as well as in the context of the first occasion. Here, as in the invocation of Atum by the king on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage, both aspects of kingship are being expressed. [117] The king, son of Re, is the living Horus and ritualist accompanying the sun god into the first cavern, where the king also the son of Re and as Osiris greets them. Plate 174, 175) The totality of kingship in life and in the afterlife is subtly but effectively conveyed. In the lunar context of the Book of Caverns, the visible moon as the living Horus and the invisible moon as Osiris, that is to say the dead Horus, is to be understood. Here it would be useful to repeat Wilkinson's remarks. "Interestingly, those cases where the king is associated with the sun god usually show the association quite overtly, while those in which he is associated with Osiris are often much more subtle and almost covert in their association, though this is perhaps in line with the preeminently solar theme of the later [in this case early] Ramesside decoration program." [118]

"Since the Book of Caverns [overtly] is from Re's point of view on his [journey], it seems to emphasize the Underworld's need for him to bring light. However, an examination of iconography and text in relation to each other yields a more balanced picture." [119] It was Barguet who drew "attention to parallels with the myth of Osiris, namely the reassembling of his [the moon's] dismembered body and his resurrection." [120] Hornung also recognized that "Osiris is more prominent here [in the Book of Caverns]... but the distinction between him and Re remains unclear, and both are in fact viewed as aspects of a single deity." [121] This should not be surprising and is to be expected, because the main focus of the Book of Caverns is on that specific region of the *ḏuat*, at its very depth, where the union of Re with Osiris and of *nḥḥ* time with *ḏt* time occurs in the Place of Destruction, a place where time merges or may not exist. This also brings to mind the possible association with the supreme deity whose eyes are the sun and the moon, Horus the Elder. Recall in the invocation of Atum by the king on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage that "the west will open for the Great Elder" depicted as a hawk-headed glyph in the text. [122] (Plate 62, column 18) Might this 'great god' constantly being addressed in the Book of Caverns also be viewed in its manifestation as Horus the Elder who has no eyes?

"The Book of Caverns has proven to be one of the most interesting documents we have when it comes to understanding the way the Egyptians envisioned the regeneration of the gods who had been enfeebled by death like Osiris [the new moon] or by night, like Re. It offers a veritable theological physics of the recomposition and resurrection of divine bodies in the netherworld [including that of the

117 See above 3.1.

118 R. Wilkinson, "Symbolic Orientation and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs" in R. Wilkinson (ed.) Valley of the Sun Kings (1995), 80.

119 S. Onstine, "The Relationship Between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns" JSSEA 25 (1995), 69.

120 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 176.

121 Ibid., 85.

122 See above 3.1.

moon through the reassembling of the six parts of the Udjat-eye in the six caverns of the Book of Caverns]."[123] But as we will see told primarily through the myth of Osiris, his dismemberment, symbolized by the sacred Osirian number seventeen and his, that is to say the moon's restoration, symbolized by the number nineteen.

The first two divisions form an elaborate entryway into the "Primeval Darkness" and are appropriately located at the entrance to the Osireion. The opening address by Re:

"O deities who are in the *ḏuat,*
(in) the First Cavern of That Which is Hidden,
Gate Keepers of the Nomes of the Realm of the Dead,
Ennead of the Ruler of the West!
I am Re who is in the sky.
I enter the Primeval Darkness
I open the Celestial Gate in the West.
Look, I have entered the Western Land!
Receive me, give (me) your arms [assistance]." [124]

The following highlights the ritual nature of this composition.

"Look, I know your place in the *ḏuat*!
Look, I know your names,
your Caverns, your Secrets!
I know of what you live -
off that which the 'One of the Underworld' allots you
(so that) you live! …
(Now) you have heard my words,
I have called you by your names." [125]

By calling out their names, they come into existence on the first occasion, as Re creates the 'First Cavern of That Which is Hidden'. By knowing their names, Re and his son the king who accompanies him will have power over them. The king, as ritualist, may actually be doing the speaking here either as Re or on behalf of his father Re, another case where the enactment of ritual transforms the begotten into the begetter. He says:

"Look, I enter into the Perfect West

123 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 152.

124 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 188.

125 Ibid., 188-189.

to look like [care for] Osiris
to salute those who are in it.
I consign his (Osiris') enemies to the slaughter-house,
I give order to those in his retinue.
I illuminate the darkness of the *shetit*." [126]

Re enters into the Perfect West with "the avowed intention of caring for Osiris [the Moon by reassembling the parts (phases of the moon) to restore it as the sound eye, the Udjat-eye] and sending his enemies to the slaughter." [127]

Throughout the Book of Caverns, Osiris appears in many different manifestations or forms until his final transfiguration into the sound body of Osiris united with his *ba*, (Plate 198) shown as a giant ithyphallic god in the fifth division and again in the final scene as a *ba* standing on his mound in the solar barque as he departs now as a manifestation of Re into the Eastern Mountain. (Plates 209, 211) The first two manifestations of Osiris appear in the second register of the first division: (Plate 176)

"(To a god who raises the Sun Disk):
O that god of great stature
in whose hands is Osiris' Disk [Moon?]
Extremity of the Lord of the *duat* -

(To a goddess who raises the Sun Disk):
O that goddess with the Great Mystery,
over whom the body of Osiris is
to whom has been assigned the great image of the Lord of the West
and the Lord of the Gods - " [128]

Both the masculine and feminine components of Osiris as disk and body are being invoked here by the supporting god and goddess. Barguet's translation of these two scenes provides a deeper insight into their meaning.

"O, this god rich in appearances,
in whose hands are the impenetrable mysteries (*sšt3*) of Osiris.
The secretions (*ʿ3gyt*) of the Lord of the *duat*." [129]

126 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 189.

127 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 85.

128 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 191-192.

129 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 26 n. 10. Author's translation.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"O that goddess rich of mysteries
over whom the putrescence (*snt*) of Osiris is, [130]
to whom has been assigned the sublime essence (*sšmᶜꜣ*)
of the Lord of the West." [131]

"The repetition of the motif of decomposition [signifies it great importance] is really an allusion to the matter ['efflux of Osiris'] from which everything is reborn. This putrefaction is at the heart of the mysteries of Osiris." [132] While putrefaction has a more or less negative connotation today, it probably did not to the ancient Egyptians. The appearance and stench of the Nile inundation waters were quite different from the Nile waters of the other two seasons of the year. The stench arose from the vast amount of decaying plant material that was washing down from the south and accounted for its greenish brown color. But these special putrefied waters of the inundation were equated to the 'efflux of Osiris', and inundated the land, regenerating it. It was from this that Egypt derived one of its names, the black land, kmt. [133]

There may be another level to the meaning behind these scenes. The god and goddess who carry the disks face each other, as do the standard depictions of the decanal constellations Orion and Sothis/Sirius. (Plates 156, 157, 158) Orion stands at the end of the year and Sothis opens the New Year. The putrescence and secretions of the Lord of the *ḏuat* and Ruler of the West equate to the efflux of Osiris, which is also the Nile inundation, and here literally being carried in by Orion and Sothis, heralding the New Year and the start of the inundation for the first time at *zp tpj*.

In the upper two registers of the first division of the Book of Caverns, (Plate 176) the deity count of the 'guardians of the *ḏuat*', that which is hidden, embodies the underlying structure of the Egyptian civil year as it will emerge out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion. It marks the start of cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, with the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius on I *ꜣḫt* 1 on the summer solstice at the time of the New Moon, the beginning of the monthly lunar cycle. [134] There are thirty six deities grouped in four Enneads, two in each register. [135] Each group is addressed by Re and in so doing is brought into existence. They

130 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 26 fn.11. Author's translation.

131 Ibid., 26.

132 S. Onstine, "The Relationship between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns" JSSEA 25 (1995), 72.

133 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2002), 22, 470.

134 For the timing of the beginning of creation see 4.4 and chapter 5 below in the discussion of the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of Stars (the Book of Nut).

135 They are the nine uraei who devour Osiris' enemies; nine bull-headed deities, the Ennead in the retinue of the Bull of the West (Osiris); the Ennead who rest on mysterious sarcophagi: and nine jackal-headed deities who form the Ennead of Great Silence in the Hidden Land who are both the guardians of the *ḥau* and the dog-faced ones who eat that which is decomposed and rotting. See E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 188-192.

represent the thirty six decans which form the base of the Egyptian calendar and the civil year. [136] Here the year is divided into two halves and not the customary division by the three seasons. The top register of the first division can be equated to the half of the year from the summer solstice to the winter solstice and the second register from the winter solstice back to the summer solstice, marked by two successive heliacal risings of Sothis.

The remaining five deities in the upper two registers which bracket the thirty six decan deities are each individually addressed by Re. (Plate 176) Note how Re's addresses serve to define and clarify the structure intended here for the Egyptian year. The five are to be counted as and symbolize the five epagomenal days, who are outside of the year of which the birth days of Osiris and Isis were two. [137] Here they are manifesting as Osiris-Orion and Isis-Sothis heralding the start of the annual Nile inundation on the first occasion. The upper two registers of the first division, in effect, form the template for cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, as measured by the thirty six decans and five epagomenal days of the Egyptian civil year, when it comes into existence out of *ḏt* time with the heliacal rising of Sothis on the first occasion.

In addition, if the two deities holding disks are interpreted in another way, they add a larger dimension to the cycle of *nḥḥ* time being created in the two upper registers of the first division of the Book of Caverns. Here again, Isis-Sothis should be viewed as embracing the solar disk signifying her heliacal rising marking the opening of the Egyptian New Year on I *ꜣḫt* 1, on the summer solstice at *zp tpj*, and heralding the coming of the Nile inundation, the life giving efflux of Osiris which is at the heart of the Osiris mysteries. But there is another subtler interpretation possible for the male figure holding a disk, which also involves the constellation Orion. To the naked eye, the full moon as it appears in the sky looks to be the same size as the solar disk, suggesting it is possible that male figure is actually holding the full moon, the lunar disk, instead of the solar disk. Re's own words lend support to this assumption. Re says:

> "(To a god who raises the Sun [?] disk)
>
> O that god of great stature
> in whose hands is *Osiris'* Disk
> Extremity of the Lord of the *ḏuat* -" [138]

Osiris is the moon and his circular disk as depicted is the moon as the full moon. Note that Osiris is

136 A. von Bomhard, The Egyptian Calendar A Work For Eternity (1999), 83 for the structure of the Egyptian calendar and the principle of the gliding calendar.

137 Interestingly, the first three of the five deities of the epagomenal days are depicted as primordial serpents who Re addresses as he enters the Primeval Darkness alluding to their existence outside of the "created year". For the birth days of Osiris and Isis on epagomenal days see E.A.W. Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians II (1904, reprint 1969), 293-294.

138 See above footnotes 128 and 129.

said to enter the moon on the fifteenth day, the day of the full moon. That god of great stature can be interpreted as the constellation Orion due to its size and prominence in the night sky. "*sꜣḥ*-Orion was associated with Osiris as early as in the Old Kingdom... as is confirmed by passages such as: 'Osiris has come as *sꜣḥ*-Orion (*mk Wsjr ỉỉ.*[*w*] *m sꜣḥ*; Pyr. 819C [PT 442]). In representations found on the astronomical ceilings the link is explicit … as the god is called Osiris-*sꜣḥ*. According to Ptolemaic sources *sꜣḥ*-Orion was regarded the *ɓa* of Osiris … just as Sothis was the *ɓa* of Isis..."[139] Osiris-Orion at Seti's Abydene complex is directly linked to the heliacal rising of Sothis as the opener of the New Year and the herald of the coming Nile inundation, the efflux of Osiris, through the axial alignment of the transverse axis of the Mansion of Millions of Years to which the Osiris Complex there is oriented as well as the Entrance Passage, on which this scene from the Book of Caverns is inscribed, and both Transverse Halls of the subterranean Osireion, demonstrating that Seti was keenly aware of the significance of this relationship and its interconnections. Briefly, when the 'toe star' of Orion, Rigel, for which the constellation Orion may have derived its name,[140] crosses over the transverse axis of the temple,[141] an imaginary line drawn from Rigel through the other "foot" star of Orion points to the place on the eastern horizon where the heliacal rising of Sothis will occur. It forms an easy marker for an observer on the roof of the temple to spot an otherwise difficult observation.[142] From the Pyramid texts we know that the efflux of Osiris -[Orion] flowed from his leg, represented here by its toe star, Rigel.[143] The subtlety and brilliance of this alignment speaks to the keen observational skills of the ancient Egyptians.

Like the female deity embracing the solar disk which represents the heliacal rising of Sothis at sunrise, the male deity with the lunar disk above his head also can be observed in the sky but at midnight. That is to say the full moon appears directly over the "head" of the constellation Orion. It must have made a meaningful impression on the ancient Egyptians not only for its beauty but also for its power. The only two visible manifestations of this god of great stature, Osiris, (other than his cult statutes) are the moon and Orion. Here they are visibly united, which also unities the lunar power of the moon at its fullest with the stellar manifestation standing erect at midnight. (Plates 168, 169) Midnight, symbolizing the deepest part of the *ḏuat*, is where the *ɓa* of Osiris-Orion-Moon will unite with the solar disk. The magnificent event of this great union occurs only once every nineteen years. Recall that nineteen is the sacred number to Osiris representing his rebirth. This nineteen year cycle marks the broad path through the sky over which the moons movements can be observed. It is also the maximum length of time it takes for the moon to make one complete circuit from moon set at its

139 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts (2002), 25. See his many citations of specific texts and references.

140 AEB 68.0036 @ 2001 Editors of the AEB.

141 See C. Leitz, Studien zur agyptischen Astronomie (1989), 67-69 for the calculations for the position of Rigel and the timing of the heliacal rising of Sirius.

142 For a detailed analysis of this important alignment and method for sighting the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius see below 4.4 and 6.1.

143 A. Winkler, "The Efflux That Issued From Osiris" GM 211 (2006), 133.

northern limit to moon rise its southern extreme and back. Contained within it is the ecliptic, the path the sun follows over the course of each year from the summer solstice to the winter solstice (Plate 176, top register first division) and the return from the winter solstice back to the summer solstice (Plate 176, second register first division). Nineteen years is also the length of the Metonic cycle, which reconciles and realigns the movements of the moon in the sky with those of the sun. [144] Thus, the upper two registers of the first cavern in essence contain a concise creation account for the celestial movements of the sun and the moon and their actions which bring into existence cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, on the first occasion.

The forty one guardians of the *ḍuat*, representing the 36 decans (10-day periods) and the five deities (days above the year) of the Egyptian civil year in the top two registers of the first division serve a magical function as well. Collectively they provide for the continuous protection of the *ḍuat*, the realm of Osiris, throughout the course of the 365 day Egyptian year.

In the third register of the first division, Re turns directly to Osiris, son of Re, the king wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, who is only depicted in the Osireion version of the Book of Caverns, and asks for his assistance: (Plate 174)

> "O, Osiris, Lord of the *ḍuat* – I am Re!
> Give me your hand!
> I am he, the *ḅa* -Lord,
> the Most Mighty of the beginning of the World..." [145]

Here also is depicted Osiris, Lord of the West, standing in his shrine. He is protected by the nineteen gods in his retinue, the Ennead of Osiris. (Plates 174, 176) Nineteen is, of course, the sacred Osirian number of regeneration and rebirth but here also serves to connect this scene to the nineteen year cycles alluded to in the upper two registers directly above it.

In the fourth register, Re addresses nine goddesses:

> "O Group of Nine Goddesses
> who are standing on the desert,
> who direct the Mysteries under them for the Greatest,
> the Lord of the West (Osiris)!" [146]

Hornung notes that "'mysteries' are, as always in the Book of Caverns, the corpses of both the gods and

144 For a detailed discussion of these concepts see 4.4 below.

145 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 192.

146 Ibid., 193.

the deceased."[147] The corpse of the moon is the invisible and secret or mysterious New Moon, which is also the corpse of Osiris.

At the end of the fourth register are three more manifestations of Osiris. (Plates 174, 176)

"(To two deities bending over a mound with four hieroglyphs for 'flesh'):
O you One Who is Full of Mystery [and] of Mysterious Nature,
(O) Guardians of the mysterious effigy of Osiris,
the Lord of the West!

(To two [female] deities bending over a mound containing a lock of hair and a beard):[148]
O Isis, O Nephthys,
you two great Goddesses of the West -
lend me your arm and knot your (magic) protection
over the great image [sublime essence] in your hand."[149]

(To a crocodile-headed deity): (Plates 174, 176)
O you Uninjured One of mysterious forms,
who is in the Cavern of Osiris -
you are the figure of the Lord of the *duat*
from whom you have come forth!
He has installed you as Lord of his Cavern
you are his decomposed corpse!"[150]

In the lunar context of the Book of Caverns, the 'Uninjured One of mysterious forms' alludes to the sound eye, the Udjat-eye and thus the full moon, while the decomposed corpse refers to the new moon. Here the six parts of the decomposed Udjat-eye, represented here by the four hieroglyphs for 'flesh' in the first mound,[151] and the lock of hair and the beard in the other mound represent the new moon, waiting to be reassembled into the sound eye.

147 E. Hornung, The Ancient Eyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 315 n. 3.

148 On these two divine elements see E. Chassinat, Le Mystere d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak (1966), 275.

149 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 194-195.

150 Ibid., 195.

151 It should be noted the the normal depiction of the plural is three strokes in this case three hieroglyphs for 'flesh'. The depiction of the fourth 'flesh' sign here is subtle but significant, it enables the parts count for the Udjat-eye to total the required six parts adding support for this lunar interpretation. The two mounds may also refer to the two phases of the monthly lunar cycle.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"Finally [in the fifth register of the first division], the enemies may also be seen here [in the Place of Destruction], as in all the other caverns; they are either headless or about to be beheaded. (Plates 176, 180) With them are the demons charged with torturing them."[152] "In some tombs these condemned dead are shown naked, but without genitals so as to prevent their sexual function in the Underworld." [153] These naked enemies are depicted in the second, fourth, and sixth divisions in the Osireion version of the Book of Caverns. (Plates 179, 189, 192, 203, 208) These actions by the guardian demons ensured that the enemies are contained in the Place of Destruction from which there is no escape for the damned.

The second division is called at one point, the second first cavern, *snwt*. [154] "A mysterious, complex place, this second cavern is where the initial stages of the solar and Osirian [lunar] resurrections unfold. A place of shadows and secrets, it skillfully brings together the symbols of what has been lost (visibility [and luminosity of the moon and the sun], life [of Osiris and Re]), the decomposition due to death [of the senescent sun god and of the waning moon] and the beginning of recomposition and rebirth [leading to sunrise and first crescent visibility]". [155]

According to Manassa, "the reason for the solar journey is not just the rejuvenation of the bodies and souls of the Underworldly inhabitants, but the visitation of the corpse of Osiris, the physical remains of the solar god himself ... the inclusion of the statement 'It is so that I might see He-whose-name-is-hidden that I have come to you! [Re's speech] indicates that it is the single most important goal of the solar journey ... In the Second Division of Caverns, each of the addresses to the various denizens of that part of the Underworld emphasizes the visit to *jmn-rn=f* 'He-who-is-hidden-of-name', a quintessential description of the unified Re-Osiris. The mysterious rebirth that appears when the sun views its own corpse is described in the concluding lines of the Second Division:

m.k jtn=j ꜥḳ=f m-ḫt=j
ms=f wj swt ms=j sw [variant from the Osireion version]
Behold, my disk enters after me,
so that it might give birth to me, and in turn I give birth to it!

This phrase should be elevated as a concise statement that goes to the very core of Egyptian religion. Fortuitously, a representation of this very statement survives on the Second Shrine of Tutankhamun – the unified Re-Osiris is pregnant with the sun disk, which in turn holds the ram-headed *ḥa* of the sun god, the offspring of the disk-womb. [156] (Plate 170) The sun god is literally nested within himself

152 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 155.

153 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 195.

154 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 25.

155 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 155.

156 For the sun disk as womb that gives birth to the sun god see J. Darnell, Enigmatic Netherworld Books (2004), 382-385.

through his various manifestations." [157] He-whose-name-is-hidden, the united Re-Osiris is discussed below where the ninth litany describes the giant ithyphallic god in the fifth division.

At the beginning of the second register of the second division of the Book of Caverns, is the god Horus who has no eyes. This blind form of the Elder Horus is a manifestation of Atum, according to Barguet, [158] and therefore an aspect of the creator god. The sun god, through the ritualist, says of him:

> "O Horus Mekhentienirti [Horus with no eyes],
> who presides over the 'Cavern of the Mourners',
> Greatest God, Mightiest of the West,
> Protector of those who are in His retinue!" [159]

"This Horus has the head of a shrew, a blind rat that fears daylight." [160] (Plate 177) His presence here is significant and refers to a specific time. It is when neither the sun nor the moon, the two eyes of Horus the Elder, are visible. In the context of the Book of the Caverns, it is the night of last crescent visibility at the end of the waning lunar cycle before, as depicted in the final scene, the *ba* of Osiris enters the solar barque to travel with Re on the day of the invisible new moon. [161]

At the end of the second register stand twelve upright mummies in the sarcophagi 'clothed in the shape of Osiris' who are stated to be 'manifestations of the Ruler of the West'. [162] Re says to them:

> "It is I who enters the (place) of his [Osiris-Moon's] birth (again),
> pleased with his limbs becoming young again,
> I am Re who enters the darkness
> I illuminate the *duat* with my Sun Disk." [163]

The place of his birth is the *duat*, where Osiris' limbs, the phases of the lunar cycle, become young again i.e. regenerate to begin the unending waxing and waning cycle with first crescent visibility, which arises out of the first occasion. The final one of these twelve manifestations of the Ruler of the

157 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 495, 519-520.

158 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 27.

159 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 202.

160 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 154.

161 It refers to any night around the time of the new moon when the moon is not visible in the night sky. Horus with both his two eyes is the time of the full moon when both the sun and the moon are visible in the sky after sunrise.

162 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 206

163 Ibid., 204.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

West is associated with the royal head cloth, *sšd*,[164] which as Manassa has pointed out symbolizes the restored sound lunar eye, the Udjat-eye in the Book of Gates.[165]

The Osireion version of the third register of the second division is key. Its location in the exact center of both the second division and the first half of the Book of Caverns alerts us to its potential significance. (Plates 177, 179) The first figure depicted is a ram-headed god leaning on a staff, the 'Most Senior'.[166] This manifestation of the sun god is the creator god Atum, the Great Elder who is also found in the invocation of Atum by the king opening the first ritual cycle on the opposite wall.[167] "As the sun, in his senescent form, passes before those who acclaim him, some turn toward him [of which there are five] and others [nineteen in number] turn away to face a casket."[168]

The group of five deities who are facing the ram-headed nocturnal sun god, arms raised in praise, (Plate 179) are also symbolically significant as it alludes to both the impending rebirth or in the context of *zp tpj*, the birth of this Great God and the creation of the *ḏuat* where this will occur. The clue is the number five and in its geometrical expression, the regenerating pentagon. "Of all peoples, the ancient Egyptians were the most brilliant at integrating geometry, symbolism, art, myth, and language in their works. For example, their hieroglyph for the *ḏuat*, the 'underworld' within ourselves,[169] is a [five pointed] star within a circle. So whenever they created art that related to the *ḏuat* they composed it on a large pentagonal grid decomposed into smaller pentagons and pentagrams."[170] This is a process not unlike the method of halving the geometrical progression of the six components of the Udjat-eye which expresses the relationship between the length of a synodic lunar month and the fixed thirty-day length of the Egyptian civil month.[171] (Plate 171) For example take a piece of "jewelry of Tut-Ankh-Amun from Thebes [KV 62]. The rectangular pectoral symbolizes the creation of the universe [*zp tpj*] by the sun [Atum] above the waters of chaos [the Nun], while the nearly triangular pectoral represents the birth of sun and moon. Both were designed using pentagonal symmetry. Note how the sun in one

164 D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 76, line 29.

165 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 43 and 3.2 above.

166 Although not named here, the same figure of a ram-headed god leaning on a staff is also depicted again at the beginning of the middle register of the third division where he is called the 'Most Senior'. See E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 215.

167 For the Great Elder see above 3.1.

168 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 154-155.

169 For the relationship of the unconscious ("the underworld within ourselves") and the Underworld Books and their relevance today see now A. Schweizer, The Sungod's Journey Through the Netherworld (2010); T. Abt, E. Hornung, Knowledge for the Afterlife, the Egyptian Amduat – A Quest for Immortality (2003); and E. Hornung, "The discovery of the unconscious in Ancient Egypt" in Spring: an Annual of Archetypal Psychology (1986), 16-28.

170 M. Schneider, A Beginner's Guide to Constructing the Universe The Mathematical Archetypes of Nature, Art, and Science (1994), 135.

171 See above 2.2.

and the moon in the other are at the center of the five-pointed stars, forming the glyph of the *ḏuat*, the 'underworld path to rebirth and regeneration." [172]

"The principal motif [of the Book of Caverns] is Re's encounter with the corpse of Osiris [the invisible new moon] in its 'coffer', as laid out [here first then] primarily in Division Three, after which the regeneration of the god commences in Division Four [the start of the second half of the Book of Caverns]."[173] In the casket adorned with the solar disk in the Osireion version of the Book of the Caverns (Plate 181) "lies the rotting body of a god who is at one and the same time Osiris [as the dismembered new moon], the sun [represented by the solar disk on the chest of Osiris, which contains the body of the Lord of the *Ḏuat*, that illuminates him with his shining eye [174]], and even the deceased king [who is also Osiris as the new moon when adapted for royal funerary use. However, here for the living Horus, the king in the performance of the ritual, it most probably signifies the start of his own deification process] … This is also the point at which he commences his rebirth, in all his forms taken together, for this is the place of his 'first' birth [*zp tpj*], as the text expressly says."[175] This conclusion is subtly but clearly supported by the number symbolism employed in this scene in the Osireion by the ancient Egyptians.[176] (Plate 179) The chest of Osiris contains the dismembered body of Osiris as the new moon. The seventeen figures which are depicted behind the chest represent and signify the sacred Osirian number of the necessary death by dismemberment. The two deities in front of the chest bring the total number of figures depicted in this scene to nineteen and signal the start of the regeneration process that will lead to a return of the moon to the night sky with first crescent visibility. It reappears low in the western horizon shortly after sunset as it emerges from the *ḏuat*, the realm of Osiris. It symbolizes the rebirth of Osiris as the Ruler of the West and at the same time the birth of Horus, his reincarnated manifestation – two aspects of the same god, the god of kingship of the living and of the afterlife. In the context of *zp tpj*, the appearance of the first crescent Moon-Horus initiates the creation of the visible monthly lunar cycle. Importantly, its location on the notional northern wall of the Entrance Passage signifies the initiation of the lunar cycle from its northern extreme, the beginning of

172 M. Schneider, The Beginner's Guide to Constructing the Universe The Mathematical Archetypes of Nature, Art, and Science (1994), 137.

173 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 85.

174 For this text see E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 207; and D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 82-87.

175 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 155.

176 A different number symbolism is employed for this scene in the tomb of Ramesses VI. There twenty divinities are depicted instead of nineteen as in the Osireion version, suggesting that a different aspect is being emphasized in the royal tomb from that for its ritual use in the Osireion. See Plate 178 and Appendix A.

the 254 sidereal months of the greater (nineteen year) lunar cycle.[177]

"On the chest [of Osiris] is depicted a sun disk, showing that the rays of the sun penetrate even there. (Plate 181) This is the first time the disk makes an appearance before lighting up the rest of the Underworld. This is significant because it is in the fourth register [of the second division] that Re really enters into this particular region of the Underworld. Previous to this, Re is only asking permission to enter the [depths of the] Underworld and invoking the help of its inhabitants. Here, in the address to the hawk-headed deity [Horus],[178] Re says: 'Behold I have entered into the earth [Tatenen] which gave birth to me [on the first occasion]. The West extends its arm toward me, its first cavern leads me'."[179]

The first scene, fourth register of the second division, depicts twelve major manifestations of Osiris in their sarcophagi. (Plate 179)

"Re says:

O Osiris Khentamenti
whose Cavern his son Horus protects!
O Osiris, Lord of the *ḏuat,*
Lord of the Bier, with a large sarcophagus!
O Osiris, Lord of Tatenen,
whose place is hidden from his retinue!
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
who moves along to his...! (unclear)
O Osiris who destroys his Enemies,
Ruler of the Dead and Ruler of the *ꜣḫw*!
O Osiris, Lord of the Bench (of Judges),
who judges the Dwellers of the West!
O Osiris, King of the West,
who provides for the Ones in the Realm of the Dead!

177 That the northern lunar extreme/limit initiating the 254 sidereal month lunar cycle was probably intended and not the southern lunar limit as one might expect because of the effect of the inversion principle in the *ḏuat* is supported by Onstine's astute observation that it isn't until the fourth register of the second division that the sun god actually enters the depths of the Underworld. Thus, until the fourth register of the "second first cavern", the sun god should be viewed as still being in a interstitial realm like the first hour of Amduat and of the Book of Gates where the inversion principle is not yet in effect. This can be surmised from the texts of the Amduat. At the end of the first hour, the interstitial realm, the text indicates that Wernes, the second hour, is exactly 300 *jrtw* in length. But at the start of the second hour, the stated length is 309 *jrtw*. This is not a scribal error, but rather reflects a switch in the base for measurement from solar to lunar. Time and distance are closely related concepts to the ancient Egyptian way of thinking such that distances can be measured by the length of time it takes to traverse a region. In a 25 year period signified here by its 300 civil months (each of thirty days), there are exactly 309 lunations. The length of Wernes is exactly the same, only in the second hour of the night, which is part of the *ḏuat* proper, it is in darkness and so logically must be measured in lunar terms. See below 4.4.

178 While the name is destroyed in all versions, it is in all probability Horus since the texts talk of "the ones to whom Horus calls out".

179 S. Onstine, "The Relationship Between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns" JSSEA 25 (1995), 70.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

O Osiris, Lord of the Upper Egyptian Crown [Lunar Luminosity]
who gives his son Horus instructions!
O Osiris, who presides over the *ḏuat*,
Lord of the Cavern and Ruler of the Cavity [*tpḥt*]!
O Osiris, who opens the way,
Lord of the Roads, with many paths.
O Osiris, Lord of the Ennead,
whose words have annihilated his Enemies for him!
O Osiris, who repulses his Enemies,
who destroys the *ḫau* of the ones who rebel against him!
O those twelve deities,
who are in the retinue of Osiris and have come forth from him - you are... (gap),
the Dwellers of the West, the staff of Him Who Is In the *ḏuat*,
the ones to whom Horus calls out
and whom The One with the Sublime Form (guards?)!" [180]

As depicted in this scene, the twelve deities who are in the retinue of Osiris and have come forth from him along with Horus, who is associated with the moon especially the first crescent moon, and 'the Sublime Form' constitute a unit of fourteen deities. (Plate 179) Taken in a lunar context this would be a reference to the fourteen visible phases of the waxing moon, starting with the new crescent just as Horus is depicted at the head of the group in this scene with 'the Sublime Form' at the end as the full moon, the protective Udjat-eye. At another level this group of fourteen could be a subtle allusion to the length of the night over the course of a year. That is to say the ratio of the length of the shortest night of the year on the summer solstice is represented by the twelve forms of Osiris to the longest night on the winter solstice represented by the group of fourteen deities. This 12:14 ratio was discussed in the section on the first hour of the Book of the Gates. [181]

Behind the fourteen Osirian deities are two ram-headed guardians with their nine ram-headed deities in sarcophagi, who are nocturnal forms of the sun god's corpse. (Plate 179) Re says to them:

O Divine Image in his sarcophagus,
Lord of the Two (ram's) Horns, Greatest One in His Cavern!
O Corpse, Mighty of Magic...
O Lord of my *ḫa* on my own corpse,
whose corpse is illuminated in the Hidden Land!

180 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 208-209.

181 See above 3.2.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

O Deities, who are in my retinue,
who have come forth from me and emerged from my body -
look, I speak to you,
(I) place your *ba.u* behind me, together with me...
It is I who... (gap) you
and the 'Eternal One' ,guards you, together with his brother Isde
[Thoth, the regulator of the movements of the sun and the moon]." [182]

The two ram-headed guardians and the nine in sarcophagi are representations of the nocturnal sun god and counter-balance thereby complimenting the Osiris lunar figures in the first half of the fourth register of the second division.

Again in the bottom register the enemies are guarded in the Place of Destruction. (Plates 179, 180)

The last address of the second division serves as a transition to the final division of the first half of the Book of Caverns. Here the sun god Re addresses Osiris-Moon, and alludes to what will transpire in the third division.

"O Osiris – look I have hurried past the Dweller of the West,
I have prepared your way!
Look, my Sun Disk passes behind me! [183]
It has given birth to me,
and I have given birth to it.
I protect Osiris... (gaps)
They [the four manifestations of Osiris called the Ancient One] have prepared
the paths of the *d.uat* for me...
I enter into the Cavern in which Aker is,
I illuminate the Great Mystery which is under him. [184]
Your *ba* shall be above him (Aker) [with Re],...
I let your *ba* be strong on your corpse,
your *ba* transverses the *d.uat,*
your hole is in your Cavern (?).
How pleased is Osiris, how strong is the *ba* of the Lord of the *d.uat*!
I met out punishment to (your) enemies,
(I put) them into the Place of Annihilation [Destruction]!
I am the Protector, [as is Horus, protector of his father, who as the ritualist is speaking.]

182 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 209-210.

183 First scene second register, third division. (Plate 182)

184 Third scene of the second and third register, third division. (Plate 182)

and you breathe when I walk past you.
O Osiris, Ruler of the *duat* who is in the *shetit* -
I hurry past your Cavern
to see your corpse, your image
which you have hidden under Aker,
which is secret and unknown,
to look after the West and to cross the mysterious *duat*,
to spread your *ba* wide over your corpse
in the mysterious Cavern in which Aker is,
to protect you at your secret place,
to inflict punishment on your enemies.
O Osiris, Ruler of the West,
Lord of the Mystery in the *shetit* -
Look, I enter into the world from which I have come forth,
I settle down on (the place) of my first birth [*zp tpj*]." [185]

Importantly, Barguet sees the third division as representing nine separate elements of the divine body which he has identified.[186] (Plate 182) In its lunar context, they represent the waning phase of the moon's monthly cycle. The elements of the divine body here have been clearly separated and therefore equate to the necessary dismemberment of Osiris-Moon before the regeneration and renewal can begin leading to the moon's rebirth with first crescent visibility as Horus, the rejuvenated Osiris.

The third scene of the second and third registers are connected and is the focal point of the third division and of the entire first half of the composition. (Plates 182, 183) The double sphinx Aker surmounts a prone figure of an ithyphallic Osiris. This ithyphallic Osiris figure symbolizing the new moon appears in the second half of this composition in the fifth division, pointing to its vital importance in the transformation process. The erect phallus represents Osiris' everlasting procreational power. Between Aker and the ithyphallic Osiris is a connecting passage, the only one in the Book of Caverns. (Plate 183) "This passage permits the sun to descend below the earth, by way of the Double Sphinx [to the Place of Destruction], in order to warm and rouse Osiris." [187] According to Onstine, "the symbolism evokes two things: Osiris fertilizing the sun and the sun fertilizing Osiris. A graphic representation of this can be seen on a 21st Dynasty coffin where the sun's directly cause the sprouting of the grain from the body of Osiris." [188] (Plate 184) Barguet provides more details. "The second scene [Hornung's third scene] is a lot more complex and eloquent: around the double sphinx Aker, are arranged on one side three gods (Geb, Atum and Shu) on the other side four goddesses (Tefnut, Nut,

185 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 211-212.

186 P. Barguet, RdE 28 (1976), 25-37. For the nine elements of the divine body, see 27-30.

187 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 157.

188 S. Onstine, "The Relationship Between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns" JSSEA 25 (1995), 71.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Isis and Nephthys), below [the sphinx] Osiris, ithyphallic lying in the folds of a serpent. These eight deities belong to the Heliopolitan Ennead... We have a representation of the forces in power in the initial chaos; the area of the night normally placed inside the body of Aker; it is closely circumscribed by the body the protective serpent *nḥɜ-ḥr*, which encloses in its folds the ithyphallic Osiris. [This corresponds to the heart of the domain of Sokar in the fifth hour of Amduat.] This group expresses life, still imprisoned by the forces of [the primordial] darkness [the Nun], from which the gods constituting the Ennead... begin to emerge [(including Osiris-Moon) on the first occasion, *zp tpj*]." [189]

"Re says to this Cavern:
O corpse of Him whose *ɓa* is hidden,
(of) Osiris, Lord of the West,
with mysterious limbs and shrouded putrefaction, [190]
whom the dead cannot approach,
(but) of whose smell of putrefaction those who are in the West live.
O look, I move past, Osiris,
I let my Sun Disk remain in your Cavern!" [191]

Here for the first time, Re let's his Sun Disk remain with Osiris in the Place of Destruction, where Re says:

"I protect your *ɓa* and your shadow,
I dispel the darkness for you!
'The One with the Terrible Face' who is in (your) Cavern
holds your corpse together, Osiris!
I move past your Cavern,
I give orders to those who are in your retinue!

(Above Osiris' corpse):
This is what this Great God is like in the Cavern which is in the West.
This Great God talks to him,
he lets his Sun Disk tarry in his Cavern.
The *ɓa* of this god is in Re's retinue
when he looks after those who are in the Earth.
'The One with Terrible Face', who is in his Cavern
holds the corpse of this God together.

189 P. Barguet, RdE 28 (1976), 29-30. Author's translation.

190 In a lunar context, the limbs represent the phases of the moon.

191 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 220.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

(Under the Serpent [from the tomb of Ramesses IX]):
This is what this Snake is like.
He shrouds Osiris' corpse,
who is in his Cavern, in primeval darkness
[of the Place of Destruction in the Nun on the first occasion]." [192]

The uniting of Re and Osiris that just took place is reinforced and elaborated upon in the following fourth scene in the second register, where the "Ouroboros-snake coils around three ovals in which a god (Osiris), a ram's head and an eye can be seen. (Plates 185, 187) The explanation reads: 'This is what they are like. 'The Ancient One Who Is In His Cavern' (Ouroboros guards their sarcophagi). Behind stand four deities, bowing with the Sun Disk above them. The first two are called jointly 'Fighter who is jubilant for Re's sake. His power is in his Mystery'. The third one is 'The One of the Corpse who is standing with joy for Re', the fourth 'The One Above his Stench who is Jubilant for Re'. They also have the note "His Power is in his Mystery'.

Re says to this Cavern:
O Osiris, you of mysterious places,
with living *ba*, who is in his sarcophagus!
O my head and my eye,
my mysteries and my images,
my corpse and my manifestations
which are in Osiris' retinue
at the secret place in which he rests!
Which place the 'Ancient One who is in his Cavern' encircles so
that he guards his (Osiris') secrets -
Look, I pass by, I look after you,
for your mysteries (corpses) at your place!
You are indeed the Only One who has come forth from me myself,
and I let you see the rays of my Sun Disk!" [193]

Recall from the opening scene in the Book of Gates, another depiction of the Ouroboros-snake, which symbolically represents the "regenerating nonexistence that encircles the world [out of which arose the eye of Re = the sun, the new moon = Osiris in the oval and the earth = the Ram' head]... The complete circle of the snake's body illustrates – so far as it is possible to depict it – the nonexistent, which encompasses the world continually on all sides." [194] Where the lower *duat* meets the Nun, the primeval darkness, it is not surprising to find a depiction of the Ouroboros-snake.

192 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 221.

193 Ibid., 218.

194 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt (1985), 164, 178-179.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

In the fifth and final scene of the second register of the third division, a crocodile-headed deity with a divine beard stands on a snake. "He is called 'the Intact One', the snake 'The Ancient One' (like the Ouroboros in the fourth picture). Before them stand two deities in a position of worship, 'The Leaping One' and 'The Praising One'. Above the whole scene is again a Sun disk. (Plates 186, 188)

Re says to this Cavern:
O Osiris, you 'Who is Intact', [195]
Corpse, who is above the 'Ancient One'
so that he may grasp 'the Single One' who came forth from his body,
the hair on his chin,
the secret of his divine beard;
who does not know the one who came forth from him,
while 'the One with the Scepter' praises him and worships
the corpse which is him.
You are these deities who deliver the *ɓau* to the slaughterhouse,
who fight for the One from whom they have arisen!
You Great Gods in the West -
O look, I hurry past you
to look after you, you 'Who is Intact',
to light up the darkness for your corpse,
to make your *ɓau* strong, Osiris,
You are 'the Single One' who has become two,
you are the two who have become Osiris
[or 'who have come forth from Osiris]
with a great corpse in the West!" [196]

Although the fourth and fifth scenes are depicted sequentially, they are meant to be understood as being parallel and thus simultaneously unfolding out of the uniting of Re with Osiris on the first occasion. 'The Intact One' forms the final part of the combined scenes highlighting the lunar aspect of this sacred union. 'The Intact One' is the restored sound eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye. That is to say the full moon. The corpse is the dismembered body of Osiris which is the blacked-out moon (the "new moon") which is in the *ḏuat.* Together they represent the complete lunar cycle arising out of *zp tpj*. Their depiction on the notional northern wall of the Entrance Passage signals that it is also the start of the great nineteen year lunar cycle which begins at its northern limit/extreme. [197]

195 You 'Who is Intact' signifies the full moon, the Udjat-eye, who is also depicted as a crocodile-headed deity as at the end of the fourth register of the first division. (Plates 174, 176)

196 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 218-219.

197 The northern limit or extreme is the furthest most point along its journey across the sky that the moon can be observed reaching in the northern sky. See 4.4 for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon and its importance.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The final text in the third division forms a transition to the fourth division and beginning of the second half of the Book of Caverns.[198]

"Re [and the king as ritualist] says:
when he arrives at the Cavern of 'The Great One on His Belly':
O that 'Great One on His Belly'
who unities the two halves of the *ḏuat*
and the two (halves of the West)
whose Cavern is filled with fire,
with that flame coming forth from his mouth!
Enter into the Earth, 'You Who Enters',
and shroud your head, you with the Terrible Face!
Look, O West, I sit in judgment on the *ḏuat*,
I let its deities be pleased (with) my rays!
I punish the enemies who are in it,
who have been placed in the Place of Annihilation [Destruction],
I deliver them up to the keepers
from whose custody there is no escape!
Ho! Look, I move past you!"[199]

"Similar to the First Section [Half], this one begins with vertical bands. (Plates 186, 189) This makes a clear incision in the layout of the book. We are in the middle. The second half of the Underworld (*ḏuat*) starts – this division is hinted at in the final text of the preceding Section [just quoted]. In the first band is a red Sun Disk, the second one is completely filled with the serpent, 'The One With Terrible Face' (or 'The Great One On His Belly'), in the third one the ram-headed Sun God stretches out his arms toward the deities in the second half of the *ḏuat*."[200] This pronounced division of the Book of Caverns into two halves also brings to mind the distinctiveness of the lunar cycle with its waxing and waning phases.

Between the figure of the sun god and the illustrated regions of the fourth division, there is a lengthy introductory text consisting of three litanies.

"This Great God enters into the primeval darkness [the Nun].
This Great God moves past the Cavern of the 'Great One On His Belly'
whose head is in darkness

198 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 223.

199 Ibid., 223.

200 Ibid., 223.

and whose posterior is in darkness,
whose Cavern the deities, *akhiu* and the dead do not approach,
whose Cavern nobody passes by,
except this Great God who is in the Sky." [201]

This mysterious and hidden place of the primordial abyss is only accessible to the sun god in his manifestations of the creator god, Atum, the *ba* of Re and the solar Disk of Re. Here, the regeneration of Osiris-Moon unfolds through the actions and words of Atum with the assistance of the dwellers in this Cavern, who have come forth from Atum. The first two litanies are jubilations by these deities at the arrival of the sun god. In the first litany, each of the twelve couplets begin with:

"How beautiful is Re when He moves through the darkness!" [202]

In the second litany of thirteen couplets, each begins:

"Jubilation be to you, Re be to Re!
We do breathe,
we are indeed contented in our Caverns!" [203]

Re responds back first to Osiris:

"O, You One Tired of Heart, Greatest of the Ones Who Are Not,
Osiris-Khentamenti, Lord of Words,
Greatest of the Group of Nine Gods, Great Head of His Council,
to whom the ones talk who are in the *duat*..." [204]

"Re says to the Ones of the Underworld,
he calls out to the Inhabitants of the West...
O Ennead of Osiris,
Council of the Lord of the *duat* -
Look, I unite your Caverns
when I entered the primeval darkness,
to protect you in your Caverns,
(in order) to judge you and carry out the plans for you
which I have made when I was alone [and]
which I have myself determined.

201 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 224.

202 Ibid., 224.

203 Ibid., 224.

204 Ibid., 225.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

You have been chosen after me,
and I have been chosen after you,
in your name of the 'Chosen Ones'. [205]

These refer to the plans that the creator god Atum devised when he was alone whereby he initiates his creation by bringing them into existence by naming them.

A third litany follows of ten invocations and Atum-Re announces:

"Look I enter the primeval darkness, I shine in the primeval darkness,
I move past and I see!
I see the 'One Whose Heart Is Tired '(Osiris)
while he lights up 'What is Mysterious' and 'What is Hidden'.
I let his images see my Sun Disk,
I light up the Darkness in his Hidden Room,
My rays light up the ones amongst whom he is...

This Great God starts out on the beautiful path (in the) West." [206]

And with this the transfiguration unfolds in the second half of the Book of Caverns. In the first episode, top register of the fourth division, (Plate 189) the text states:

"This is what this God is like in his Cavern.
The Sun Disk enters into his Cavern.
Re says to this Cavern of Osiris:
Be alive, Osiris! [Be alive Osiris-Moon!]
Breath of air belongs to you,
breath belongs to your *ba* when you have encircled the *duat.*
Look, the two goddesses [Isis and Nephthys] have lifted up your corpse,
O Osiris, who is in his Mystery!" [207]

Here the text is explicit. The Sun Disk enters into *his* Cavern, named the Cavern of Osiris. It is the place of their temporary union. The result is that Atum-Re enlivens Osiris both by his 'sweet breath of life' and by the assistance of Isis and Nephthys. "My Sun Disk has entered the darkness, the two

205 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 225-226.

206 Ibid., 226-227.

207 Ibid., 227.

goddesses join their brother together."[208] The two goddesses lift the corpse of Osiris and in one sense reanimate it by so doing. This is the same action that the goddesses do at sunrise for Re. The corpse here is both the corpse of Osiris and of Re. Osiris now lives as he encircles or perhaps better still becomes the embodiment of the *ḏuat.* Also recall that it is in this form that Osiris is depicted in the important final scene of the Book of Gates.[209] In the context of *zp tpj*, this episode depicts the birth of Osiris and his *ḏuat,* over which he will be Lord and possessor. As Re-Sun Disk, it will be his birth, the first sunrise of *zp tpj*. As Osiris-Moon, it will be the creation and start of the lunar cycle.

Meeks sees the fourth division as the simultaneous rebirth of Osiris and Re, on its way to completion. As evidence he cites the first episode. "The first scene shows Osiris alive, as he will soon be, lifted up on Isis' and Nephthys' arms along with the solar disk. This is a transposition of a well-known motif that portrays the two goddesses as guarantors that the sun will come up at the break of day."[210] In fact, this same motif is present in the concluding episode of this ritual cycle.

In the next episode Osiris is depicted standing between his two sons Anubis, Son of God, and Horus, Heir of his Father. (Plate 189) Re says to them:

> "the corpse of your Father –
> prepare it, embrace it for this great heart (of the) *ḏuat.*"[211]

Anubis and Horus complete the remembering of Osiris with the placement of his heart, the seat of consciousness, in his body of the *ḏuat.* In the first litany of the fifth division, it is said about this episode:

> "My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
> Anubis clothes his [Osiris'] Mysteries!
> … Horus hands his father [Osiris] his [Horus] eye!"[212]

Anubis clothes and with it conceals the corpse of Osiris, which is also the corpse of Re. By giving his eye to Osiris, Horus restores him, an act of the utmost importance. This eye is his sound eye, the Udjat-eye, which was restored by Thoth and hence is renewed. The action symbolizes their triumph

208 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 232. This quote comes from the first litany at the beginning of the fifth division. The fact that the actions of the top register of the fourth division are repeated at the beginning of the fifth division attest to their great importance to the regeneration of Osiris-Moon underway.

209 See above 3.4.

210 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 157.

211 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 227-228.

212 Ibid., 233.

over Seth and their vindication, which in turn, rejuvenates Osiris making him complete. In a lunar context, the restored Udjat-eye is the Full Moon, thus Osiris, who is now in possession of the Full Moon is also completed by it. That is to say, he is rejuvenated and fully restored. Note that the eye is not actually depicted in Horus' hand in the scene. (Plate 189) This most likely is because it has already been put in its proper place – restored to Osiris' head. Thus, the action has been completed as is Osiris-Moon.

In the third and final episode of the top register of the Fourth Division, like the first two Re is still in the Cavern of Osiris, *ḥis* Cavern. It is in "a single Cavern" that these three episodes take place. Here Osiris, the invigorated Bull of the West, has now become active guarding the sarcophagus of Horus. (Plate 189, 191) "... the 'Bull of the West' incarnates as Osiris who has regained his vital powers. He leans toward two figures in containers; they too herald the sun's rebirth. One of them represents an ichneumon, another of the animals emblematic of the Elder Horus; it serves as a pendant to the shrew we met a moment ago and indicates that the god has recovered his eyes and his eyesight. The period of total invisibility is ending..." [213] That is to say the period when the sun and the moon are not visible in the sky, at the time of the new moon.

"Re says to this Cavern:
O Horus-Mekhentienirti [*ḥr-ḫntj-n-jrtj*], Ichneumon,
Lord of Manifestations in the *ḏuat* -
To you belong your two eyes, so that you can see with them,
that your heart remains in the inside of your body,
that your Father makes you firm and raises your corpse,
(i.e.) 'Osiris, Bull of the West'.
I illuminate your corpse with my Sun Disk,
(O) Ichneumon who is in his sarcophagus!" [214]

As Mercer noted: "*ḥr-ḫntj-n-jrtj*, translated 'Horus without eyes' … This represents Horus as the heaven or sky-god [i.e. the Elder Horus] when neither the sun nor moon was visible." [215] That is to say not visible, they are both in the *ḏuat* which occurs at the time of the new moon. This is when the monthly ritual cycle, the rites for the New Moon were to be enacted. Their purpose was to insure, through their proper performance, that the rejuvenation of Osiris-Moon would be affected and the god would reappear in the night sky as the first crescent visibility. Simultaneously these rites would also insure that the sun too would rise. The ancient Egyptians viewed this as an especially critical and potentially disastrous period because of the real possibility that the sun or the moon or both would not reappear in the sky. This would trigger the unthinkable horror where chaos would engulf and consume the created cosmos. Recall the words of Atum that forewarns of just such a catastrophe in Chapter 175

213 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 157-158.

214 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 228.

215 S. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt (1942), 126-127.

of the Book of the Dead.

"I [Atum] will dispatch the Elders
and destroy all that I have made;
the earth shall return to the Primordial Water
to the surging flood,
as in its original state.
But I [Atum] will remain with Osiris,
I will transform myself into something else [no longer the sun and the moon],
namely a serpent, [the One who is in the Primordial Darkness, i.e. the Nun]
without men knowing or the gods seeing." [216]

However, the text in this episode specifically states and by its ritual enactment, that Horus the Elder is given his two eyes that he may see, and thereby adverting the catastrophic end of the created cosmos. This may well be behind the statement in the Year 4 Abydos Stela of Ramesses IV, where he says:

"I have not been forgetful on the day of my new moon festival,
for (I) pacify the Moon-god so that he may shine forth [at first crescent visibility]. [217]

Furthermore, in the text in this same episode by the lower oval which contains the two radiant eyes of the Elder Horus (the sun and the moon) and his heart (his consciousness) we learn: (Plate 190, 191)

"This is what they are like
in his sarcophagus, in a single Cavern,
This god talks to his heart." [219]

By talking to his heart, "that was how the creator god initiated the act of creation". [220] Thus the process

216 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 29.

217 A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 154-155. He translates the last line: "for (I) pacify the Moon-god when he shines forth." However, since the moon is not visible in the night sky on the day of the New Moon (Festival), a more accurate translation is: "for (I) pacify the Moon-god so that he may shine forth." That is to say reappear in the night sky to shine forth on the day of first crescent visibility and thereby averting the catastrophic end of the created cosmos, which is a major purpose for enacting of the rites for the New Moon for which Ramesses IV was not forgetful. This was no trivial matter . Recall that in 30% of the cases, the moon does not reappear until the third day of the lunar month, which must have caused the ancient Egyptians considerable anxiety and consternation when it did not appear on the second day of the lunar month in spite of the ritual having been performed.

Ramesses IV states that it is "the day of *my* new-moon festival". Here Ramesses IV, as the living Horus, equates himself with the moon providing additional support in favor of Parker's hypothesis about the connection of kingship with the moon.

218 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 228.

219 Ibid., 228.

220 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 158.

of creation is continuing to unfold across the top register of the fourth division.

The third episode in the top register also introduces the paradox of the begetter becoming the begotten. This enigmatic and complex concept is an essential aspect of the ancient Egyptians' creation accounts. We have encountered this Elder Horus, *ḥr-wr*, before, first in the opening invocation of Atum at the beginning of the first ritual cycle. [221] There the king, the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process, by reciting the invocation actually initiates the creation of which he is the final product. Here, Horus with no eyes, a manifestation of the Elder Horus, is an ancient god "personifying the face of the sky, the sun in heaven being his right eye and the moon his left." [222] He is called the "Lord of Manifestations" i.e. the creator god. Yet the text also states of him:

> "that your Father makes you firm and raises your corpse
> (i.e.) Osiris, Bull of the West." [223]

Here, we see the creator god, the begetter, Horus the Elder being assisted by his father Osiris and by this action becomes the begotten. "*ḥr-wr*, at a very early period, was equal with Osiris and was considered his brother, … and according to Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 12, *ḥr-wr* was the son of Osiris and Isis when they were united in the womb of their mother [Nut]. That is, before their birth. Afterwards, he was 'Horus, the Son of Isis'. On the other hand, there seems to have been a theory that both Osiris [the moon] and Re [the sun] were sons of Horus the Elder." [224] In other words they are his two eyes.

My father is my brother is my son. How could this possibly be? Where does the answer to this paradox lie? It stems primarily out of their concepts of Kamutef and *ḏt* time set in *zp tpj*, the first occasion. [225] Traunecker sees in Kamutef, not a deity but a functional epithet of a deity and through it "a way of denying linear time and inverting the succession of generations by uniting the past and the present in one personage. This personage, being both father and son of itself, possesses a legitimacy that is not questionable." [226] Put in other terms, linear time is cyclical *nḥḥ* time and its denial, static *ḏt* time out of which *nḥḥ* time arose on the first occasion. Recall Allen's analogy. "The Egyptians notions of Order and Eternal Sameness [*ḏt*], Life and Eternal Recurrence [*nḥḥ*], reflect a view of the world that is like a play on the cosmic scale. Like a play, the characters and script are always the same. Yet each performance of the play is different, with different actors and different settings. The Order of the

221 See above 3.1.

222 S. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt (1942), 118.

223 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 228.

224 S. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt (1942), 118.

225 See 4.3 below the commentary on the giant ithyphallic deity in the fifth division. D. Redford (ed.) The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 184.

226 C. Traunecker, "Kamutef" in D. Redford (ed.) The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 184-185.

world, its Eternal Sameness, was written in the beginning and remains fixed; its acting out, in the Eternal Recurrence of Life, is new each day."[227] The Book of Caverns exists in *ḏt* time as I have demonstrated.[228] The depiction of Kamutef and therefore its function are found in the Book of Caverns and so are part of *ḏt* time. The succession of generations are not and occur only in cyclical *nḥḥ* time. As part of the script written in the beginning, the inverting of the succession of generations by uniting the past and present which do not exist in *ḏt* time allows for both father and son to be seen as one personage in the context of *ḏt* time. So the apparent paradox of the begotten becoming the begetter only arises within the context of cyclical *nḥḥ* time, where the succession of the generations actually unfolds. We have already seen an aspect of this concept expressed in Osiris and Horus as "one god in two persons" to use van Dijk's terminology.[229] "Horus of Edfu [Behedet] is Osiris who is reborn as Horus in the person of the divine Living Falcon [winged sun disk] and of the reigning King who performs the ritual."[230] In the lunar context that I am proposing for the Book of Caverns, this also allows for Osiris and Horus simultaneously to be the Moon.

In the middle register of the fourth division, the ram-headed deity leaning on a staff is identified as Re. (Plate 189) But it also signifies Atum, the eldest god, the creator and the *ḃa* of Re. Three deities each called 'The One Who Is Osiris' bow in homage as they greet Atum and the sun disk Re. Similar to the episode at the start of both the second and third divisions, the group of five deities represent the *ḏuat* – the Underworld. In each scene the Eldest God opens the scene. It should be pointed out that there appears to be a steady progression unfolding. In the second division, Atum approaches the group of five deities, which has no overt solar element. In the third division, the Eldest God again approaches five deities, a solar disk and four manifestations of Osiris. However, here in the fourth division, the Eldest God now becomes part of the group of five as he has immersed himself in the *ḏuat.*

In the second episode of the middle register of the fourth division, (Plate 192) there are two oval sarcophagi. In the upper one Osiris wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, the symbol of lunar luminosity, is Osiris, Foremost of the West. In the sarcophagus at the bottom there is a reclining mummy with a divine beard who is 'The Inhabitant of the West Who is Osiris'. A serpent, 'The One With the Terrible Face' along with a solar disk separates the two. Behind them stands Horus, who protects his father. (Plate 190)

"Re says to this Cavern.
Look, I have entered the 'Great Sand'.
I have divided up the primeval darkness!
Give me your arms so that you may receive me,
you deities; who are Osiris!
You are strong when you look at my Sun Disk!

227 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 27.

228 See above here in 4.3.

229 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus according to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-1980), 10-25.

230 J. van Dijk, "A Ramesside Naophorous Statue from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery" OMRO 64 (1983), 55. See below 4.7 for a beautiful depiction of this concept.

4. THJE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

O you, Khentamenti, Greatest God with mighty Crown!
O you, Prince of his Sarcophagus,
Lord of Hair of loud lament,
whose guardian is Horus,
while the 'One with the Terrible Face' separates them!
O look, I pass by you,
I illuminate you with my Sun Disk!

This is what they are like.
Horus who protects is father is their guardian,
and Re's Sun Disk illuminates them."[231]

The place Re enters is called the Great Sand. The epithet 'He Who Is Upon His Sand is associated with Osiris but also with Sokar, specifically his cavern. Here, Osiris is meant as he is clearly identified in the text. In the entryway to the Central Hall of the Osireion, Chapter 183 of the Book of the Dead is inscribed. It begins:

"Worshiping Osiris, giving praise to him,
kissing the earth before Wennefer [paying homage],
touching forehead to earth before the Lord of the Sacred Land
[doing obeisance]
exalting Him Who Is On His Sand...

I have come to you
O Son of Nut, Osiris, Ruler of Eternity..." [232]

The Great Sand represents the primordial mound of the first occasion, Tatenen, the rising or distinct land. In the Osireion, this place is the island in the Central Hall, which is surrounded by the waters of the Nun. The island divides the primordial darkness by its coming into existence. Re, depicted as the solar disk, calls for the two deities 'who are Osiris' to give him their hands, causing them to unite. 'You are strong when you look at my Sun Disk!'

The Greatest God with mighty crown, that is the white crown symbolizing the brightness of the moon, has been noted earlier. In a lunar context this form of Osiris in the upper oval sarcophagus would represent Osiris as the full moon. The mummy in the oval sarcophagus at the bottom of the scene is the Prince of his sarcophagus, Lord of Hair of loud lament refers to the mourning that occurs upon death. This mummy, The Inhabitant of the West Who is Osiris, is Osiris dead. In a lunar context it is Osiris as the new moon. The serpent who separates the two forms of Osiris-Moon here probably

231 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 229.

232 Author's translation based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 133; and T.G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 200.

alludes to the distinctive characteristics of the lunar cycle with its waxing and waning phases. Horus, who protects his father stand as their guardian. It is this manifestation of Horus that revivifies and awakens Osiris with the sweet breath of life. This exact scene is prominently displayed later in this ritual cycle when his rejuvenation has been completed, so that his *ba* may travel with Re in the solar barque. (Plates 225, 224) While we are told that Horus acts here as the guardian, at the same time he can also be seen as his earthly manifestation of the living Horus, the king, who is the "Lord, Who Performs the Rituals". [233] So in a ritual context, it is the king who is speaking on behalf of Re or as Re while he enacts the rite. [234] The text also indicates that while Horus protects his father, Re's Sun Disk illuminates them. The solar disk is depicted above the serpent between the two oval sarcophagi containing Osiris as the full moon and Osiris as the new moon. In the scene later in this ritual cycle mentioned above, it should be noted that the sun disk is also depicted hovering over Osiris in his shrine [with a life-giving ankh attached to his uraeus]. (Plates 225, 224) Here then in this key episode placed in the middle of the middle register of the fourth division, we find, when taken in the context of Osiris in his manifestation of the moon, the beginning of the creation of the lunar cycle on the first occasion.

The third episode of the middle register of the fourth division represents a further stage of development in the regeneration of Osiris with the first appearance of his *ba.* (Plate 190) Recall that it is the *ba* of Osiris that will travel with Re on the day of the New Moon.

> "Re says to this Cavern:
> O Osiris with his *ba*,
> and Anubis with his mystery (corpse of Osiris) –
> look, I hurry through this Cavern,
> I have transformed myself into your protector!
> The *ba* of Osiris rests on the corpse
> and Anubis protects the Lord of the *duat*...
>
> (Above the scene):
>
> This is what these gods are like, in a single Cavern.
> Re speaks to them
> and provides for them.
> He illuminates them with his Solar Disk..." [235]

The text indicates that the *ba* of Osiris unities with his corpse in the presence of the embalmer

233 "Lord Who Performs the Rituals" is an epithet for Ramesses IV in his Great Abydos Stela thought now to have been commissioned for the Festival of the New Moon. See above 4.1 and A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 161.

234 In fact, Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is depicted doing just this, performing the rites for the Festival of the New Moon. See H. Wilson, U. Holscher, Work in Western Thebes 1931-1933 (1934), 13 fig. 8.

235 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 230.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Anubis, who has reassembled the dismembered corpse to make it *sꜣḫw*, as the eternal image.[236] This is a critical condition for the regeneration to progress. While all the time, the solar disk of Re illuminates them providing another essential component in the rejuvenation of Osiris and of Osiris-Moon. Meeks sees a wider implication. "This group of scenes [three episodes] indicates that the simultaneous recomposition and rebirth of Osiris, Re and the deceased king [Here in the ritual context, it is the living king, the Lord Who Performs The Rituals, who becomes deified.] have been brought about at last."[237]

"In the bottom register, that of the damned [which is the Place of Destruction], offers further confirmation of the uniqueness of the moment depicted here. A cat-god, a well known emblem of the nascent sun, is waging victorious battle with the enemies [of Re and Osiris] who, every day, try to prevent the sun from rising [and Osiris-Moon from rising as well]."[238] (Plates 190, 193)

The transition from the fourth to the fifth division is accomplished through a text commenting on the actions in the three episodes of the top register of the fourth division. This repetition underscores their ritual importance in the rejuvenation process underway. The text is found as the last six couplets in the fourth litany, which forms part of the lengthy introductory text.

"My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
the two goddesses [Isis and Nephthys] join their brother [Osiris] together! [episode1]
My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
Anubis clothes [conceals] his mysteries! [episode 2]
My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
Horus hands his father (Osiris) his [Horus'] eye! [episode 2]
My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
Mekhentienrti [Horus with no eyes] is behind his sarcophagus! [episode 3][239]
My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
his two divine eyes [sun and the moon] and his heart [seat of consciousness]
are in his 'mystery' [corpse]! [episode 3]
My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
the 'Bull of the West' [Osiris] (has) the arms on (my) *ḥau*! [episode 3]
My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
My Sun Disk has indeed entered the darkness!"[240]

236 E. Raymond, "The *sʿḫ*, 'Eternal Image'" ZAS 98 (1972), 132-140.

237 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 158.

238 Ibid., 158.

239 Horus with no eyes is the manifestation of the deity, Horus the Elder when both the sun and the moon are not visible in the sky. This occurs at the time of the new moon. The sarcophagus refers to Horus' location. He is in the *ḏuat* and hence not visible.

240 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 232-233.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Note the symmetrical expansion (1-2-2-3-3-3) within the litany's structure and the three episodes. It corresponds to and reinforces the idea of a progression in the regeneration process underway. This litany directly ties the three scenes to the opening episode of the top register of the fifth division following the giant figure of the goddess Nut.

> "My Sun Disk has entered the darkness,
> Osiris has stretched his arms out toward me." [241]

This is exactly how Osiris is depicted in the first episode. (Plate 194, top left) Onstine also sees a connection with the giant figure of Nut. "Nut, here called Shetait, the Mysterious One, carries Re in her arms, presenting him to make a gesture of submission to a small figure of Osiris, who adores him in return." [242] Recall that Billing connects this to the uniting of Re with Osiris. "The nocturnal union of Re and Osiris seems likewise connected to the body of the Secret One [Mysterious Lady] already mentioned Osiris Scene in front of the goddess in the Book of Caverns [first episode, top register of the fifth division], this god is seen raising his arms in a greeting to the nocturnal sun, the ram [*ba*], who meets him with a similar gesture of recognition. The text in front of Osiris succinctly describes their encounter:

> 'This god is in this fashion.
> He gives his arms to this great god,
> when he passes the secret *Duat*'." [243]

From a parallel scene of the Mysterious Lady in the Books of the Earth, the connection is explicit: [244]

> "This goddess in this form:
> It is over her two hands that this Great God travels, …
> the head of the Mysterious Lady being in the Upper *Duat*
> while her two feet are in the Lower *Duat.*
> The double *ba*, it traverses her corpse." [245]

The double *ba* is that of the united deity Re-Osiris. [246] This twin *ba* is mentioned in the third ritual cycle in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead in the Sloping Passage in the Osireion. This same arrangement

241 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 232.

242 S. Onstine, "The Relationship Between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns" JSSEA 25 (1995), 71.

243 N. Billing, "The Secret One. An analysis of a core motif in the Books of the Netherworld" SAK 34 (2006), 68-69.

244 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 253-256.

245 Ibid., 321-322.

246 Ibid., 322 n. 120. Following J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (2004), 382.

occurs in the opening scene of the Osireion version of the Book of Caverns. The king and the ram-headed sun god, the *ba* of Re, bow down in a position of submission to the Osiris king, whose arms are raised in a gesture of greeting at the entrance to the first cavern.[247] (Plate 174)

Barguet interpreted the fifth division as: "It is the mystery of the birth that is evoked, or more exactly that of the formation of the new being."[248] The layout of the fifth division is unlike any other and highlights its importance. In the Osireion version, a giant figure of the goddess Nut called the Mysterious Lady, *štȝ(y)t*, spans the height of the three registers. (Plates 195, 196, 197) It immediately follows the lengthy introductory texts which include three litanies. The eight scenes in three registers that follow Nut are meant to be considered inside her body. Then, in juxtaposition to the Nut figure is one of Osiris ithyphallic, the Lord of the West, Foremost of his Form, which spans the height of the three registers. (Plates 194, 198) Four more episodes are depicted again in three registers. Like the scenes following Nut, these four episodes occur inside the Lord of the West, literally Possessor of the West and are a result of his ithyphallic state, a symbol of his enormous regenerative power, here both literally and figuratively. This would also explain the unusual technique utilized here of dividing the three registers of the fifth division into two unequal parts. The texts that follow and separate the fifth division from the sixth, all refer back to the episodes of the fifth division and contain thirteen litanies which provide valuable additional information about each episode. The fifth division like the fourth begins with three litanies.

The second litany is addresses to the Inhabitants of the Underworld and contains twelve verse couplets relating to the activities underway in this division.

"I hurry past you, Inhabitants of the Underworld,
I have put your affairs in order.
I hurry past you, Inhabitants of the Underworld,
I have illuminated you with (my?) light...
I hurry past you, Inhabitants of the Underworld,
I destroy (your) enemies.
I hurry past you, Inhabitants of the Underworld,
I let the Great *ba* tarry on the mystery.
I hurry past you, Inhabitants of the Underworld,
Tatenen has been raised when I come forth from him...
you worship my *ba* with this my veneration,
you worship this mystery, you praise my corpse
(with) this my (glory),
you[r throats] breathe through my breathing!

247 See above 4.3.

248 P. Barguet, "Le Livre Des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 31. Author's translation.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Tatenen give[s] birth to me,
I come forth and I am rejuvenated!" [249]

Here, Re has become fully rejuvenated by Tatenen's rising on the first occasion as is depicted in the Central Hall. This paves the way for the supreme act of creation of the cosmos, the first sunrise.

In the third litany, as creation continues to unfold, this is what the mysterious deities say to Re. There are eleven verse couplets in the Osireion version, but twelve in the tomb of Ramesses VI, a deliberate manipulation of the number symbolism. [250]

"Praise be to you , *Akhti* [the One of the (eastern) horizon]!
We do give you our hand!
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
Tatenen gives birth to you in the *duat*!
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
You stretch out your hand, you receive the morning.
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
You change into the one of great shape.
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
You succeed in massacring the rebels.
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
You fill the *duat* with your sun's rays.
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
Your Sun Disk illuminates the *shetit.*
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
The *bau* are powerful when they come forth.
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
Those who tow (?) reunite with their body.
Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
Anubis holds his body together...
Re is born in the Earth,
his Sun Disk is born in the *duat*!" [251]

249 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 233-234.

250 The twelfth couplet is found in the version in the tomb of Ramesses VI. It reads:
" Praise be to you, *Akhti*!
The 'One Who Is Filled (?) [Udjat-eye] holds (his) body together."
E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 234.

251 Ibid., 234.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Concluding the third litany, nineteen secret deities acclaim and by the offering of their hand participate in the successful regeneration of Re and his sun disk. Re in return calls them into existence as well by saying each of their names twice. The number nineteen itself also serves to magically enhance the effectiveness and reinforce the successful regeneration.[252]

"O secret [nineteen] deities!
You Mighty Ones!
You With The Nose!
You Hidden Ones!
You Shrouded Ones!
You …! (unclear and lacuna).
You Of The Caverns And The Mounds!
You Who Have Been Shaped!
You Who Have Come Into Existence And You Mummies!
You Powerful Of Magic
You Burdened Ones (?)!
You With The *Ba*!
The Shadow!
You Dwellers Of The West!
You Of The Places!
You Of The Thrones!
You Are Coming Forth!
You Who Tarry!
You Strong Ones!
Osiris[Moon]!"[253]

Note the interesting division of this text. There are seventeen "You" secret deities, the sacred Osirian number of death by dismemberment. "The Shadow" is the twelfth and the rejuvenated Osiris is the nineteenth secret deity, dividing the "You" deities into two groups. The six deities preceding Osiris in a lunar context could symbolize both the six divisions of the Book of Caverns where Osiris-Moon is rejuvenated and the six parts of the Udjat-eye, the restored full moon, which is the nineteenth secret deity Osiris-Moon.

Billing published an in-depth analysis of the large Nut scene in the fifth division.[254] (Plate 197) He considers it to be a core motif in the Underworld Books. "The concept of the core motif offered the

252 We have already encountered this same device, the use of the number nineteen, to magically enhance the effectiveness of a text. Recall that in the opening episode of the first ritual cycle, the invocation of Atum by the king, was also designed so that it was in nineteen columns.

253 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 235.

254 N. Billing, "The Secret One. An analysis of a core motif in the Books of the Netherworld" SAK 34 (2006), 51-71. Since he incorporates and comments on earlier interpretations I mainly cite his study here.

theologians and artists an exceptional tool in the expression of religious conceptions. Elaborations on the different elements gave an almost unlimited spectrum of modulations of individual or combined motifs, though always within the well-defined laws of ancient Egyptian iconography." [255]

Identified as the Mysterious Lady/Secret One, *štꜣyt*, "this goddess is perhaps the most conspicuous image found in the Book[s] of the Earth and the Book of Caverns in expressing the idea of the netherworld in terms of a female body within which life is regenerated. She was cast within an iconographic mold that combined two originally independent core motifs: 1. the protective deity represented en face with reptiles/flowers in the hands, and 2. the prostrating [and regenerative] goddess of the sky. Both communicated mutual constitutional qualities that through this fusion could be emphasized in the new environment. They were manifested in an individual version of the Secret One, obviously formulated in close relation to the immediate context in which it was placed. This resulted in a rather uniform picture of the goddess, whereas the other core element, the reptiles, took on totally diverging roles. In the Book[s] of the Earth the snakes saluted the arriving sun god, in the Book of Caverns they were turned into his enemies." [256]

In the Book of Caverns and the Books of the Earth "among their great number of images describing a world beyond [normal] human perception, a scene is included that in an unparalleled way describes the sun's movement in relation to a regenerating female body that is flanked by two erect snakes. The goddess is called the Secret One [Mysterious Lady] (*štꜣyt*), a name that among scholars traditionally has been interpreted as an epithet of the sky goddess Nut. Included within this new context, the core motif had thus been turned into a manifestation of the great mother goddess from whom all life emanated." [257]

"In the Osireion, a text written on the image of the goddess even seems to confer on the scene the status of an independent composition: 'The Book of the Secret One, first form of the great edition' (*mḏꜣt štꜣyt ḫprw tpy sỉp ꜣ*ʿ).[258] (Plate 196) In the context of *zp tpj*, however, perhaps a more appropriate translation might read: 'Book of the Mysterious Lady, first among manifestations (in the sense of the unfolding of creation) of the great revision.' [259] Recall that in order to undo the wrongdoings and evil caused by Akhenaten, Seti I had to restore *mꜣʿt*. [260] To accomplish this, he instituted a comprehensive state sanctioned program of *wḥm mswt*, 'the repetition of creation', which included 'the great revision'. That is to say a reestablishment of cosmic order by reaching all the way back to the very beginning of creation on the first occasion in order to recreate *zp tpj*, and thereby

255 N. Billing, "The Secret One. An analysis of a core motif in the Books of the Netherworld" SAK 34 (2006), 69.

256 Ibid., 70.

257 Ibid., 55.

258 Ibid., 56.

259 R. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (2002), 212. He cites revise after inspect, examine.

260 See above 1.2.

restore *mɜʿt*. Importantly, this was one of the major functions of the Osireion.

In the Book of Caverns, the scene of the goddess, Mysterious Lady, is a depiction of the *ḏuat* "as a nocturnal world of darkness and concealment in which the sun god joins with his mother..." [261] (Plates 196 and 197) She stands facing notional east. Her left and right feet represent the eastern and western horizons respectively in the Osireion version. In her two hands are the two forms of the sun god that the god has assumed throughout the Book of Caverns, that of the ram-headed eldest god, Atum, the *ḥa* of Re and creator god and of the source of illumination and all life, the solar disk. In the introductory text, which is only found in the Osireion, we are told that:

> "The Great God travels along above the Cavern
> on the two arms of the Mysterious One (Nut)..." [262]

This then represents on one level the path that the sun god follows nightly from its setting in the western horizon (represented by the goddess' right foot) to its reappearance in the eastern horizon at sunrise (the goddess' left foot).

On either side of the Mysterious Lady, two erect divine serpents with human heads serve to delineate the boundaries of the created cosmos, here specifically the *ḏuat.* This is similar to the Ouroboros coiled around Khepri in his disk in the opening episode of the Book of Gates, which symbolically represent the "regenerating nonexistence that encircles the world… the outer darkness." [262] This nonexistence is chaos, the undifferentiated matter of precreation and is symbolized by Apophis. Viewed in this light, the identification of the two serpents flanking the goddess in this scene is clear and not as problematic as Billing had suggested. But it does support his conclusion. "...one can in any case notice that a shared phraseology between legends and the similarity of the names of Nepai ['He of the bowels', as an epithet of Apophis in Ptolemaic times] and Shepai ['He of the naval cord'] render them as a plausible pair and as enemies of the sun god." [263] The fragmentary text behind the goddess in the Osireion lends additional support for this interpretation:

> "Re sets in the Mountain of the West
> in order to provide for those who are in the Earth.
> He rises in the Mountain of the East
> in order to fight off that Wenti-Apophis,
> the one with the evil eye." [264]

261 N. Billing, "The Secret One. An analysis of a core motif in the Books of the Netherworld" SAK 34 (2006), 57.

262 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt (1985), 164. See above 3.2.

263 N. Billing, "The Secret One." SAK 34 (2006), 62.

264 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 236.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Contained by the two serpents and the arms of the Mysterious Lady "a sequence of representations on both sides reproduces the trajectory of the sun god." [265] The reconstructed text from the sarcophagus of Tjaiherpata equating to the destroyed portion of the Osireion text indicates that:

> "Her head is in the upper *ḏuat,*
> her feet in the lower *ḏuat*..." [266]

This is indeed the case for this giant depiction of the goddess and is reflected in the structure of the registers of the Book of Caverns, where the lower register is the Place of Destruction. However, there is a different orientation inside the goddess' body. Those gods that are depicted behind the Mysterious Lady are the ones who have entered the goddess' body from the western horizon, here represented by her right foot. They are traveling inward towards the depths of the *ḏuat*, the lower *ḏuat*, and the Place of Destruction. Dispersed between the four crocodiles are four solar symbols.[267] The ram's head is symbolic of the aging sun god Atum, the creator god, and the *ḇa* of Re. As one would expect, it is at the bottom nearest to the western entrance of the *ḏuat*. The scarab beetle here in the lower *ḏuat*, most likely should be interpreted here as the verb 'come into being'. [268] The Udjat-eye above it can represent both the solar and lunar eye. However, in the context of the lunar treatise that is embodied in the Book of Caverns, the emphasis is to be placed on the sound eye of Horus, the full moon, which is at the same time a manifestation of Horus and Osiris, one god in two forms. Positioned at the top, complimenting the full moon, is the source of all illumination in the created cosmos, the solar disk. These four symbols taken together can be read as a text. Literally, it roughly translates as: 'Atum (the creator) comes into being as the moon and the sun', is precisely what appears to occur inside the regenerative body of the Mysterious Lady.

In front of the goddess are eight solar symbols in the upper *ḏuat*. [269] (Plate 197) Together they represent an elaboration on the conclusion of the final scene in the Book of Caverns where scarab beetle, ram, child and solar disk are also depicted entering the Eastern Mountain on the first occasion. (Plate 209) At the top, the scarab beetle the solar disk towards the left foot of Nut, the eastern horizon. Said another way, it represents the coming into being of Re in his disk, the source of illumination and all life. The ram, the *ḇa* of Re, further develops the transformation as he pushes the solar disk along its path. The ram-headed Atum, the creator, then lifts the sun disk up towards the eastern horizon, and is now in the form of a child, the renewed sun god as he enters into the assisting arms of the eastern horizon for his birth at sunrise.

265 N. Billing, "The Secret One." SAK 34 (2006), 56.

266 Ibid., 57.

267 As part of the group of gods who make this Great God travel, the four crocodiles should be viewed as beneficial to the sun god as they assist him in his nocturnal journey through the lower *ḏuat*.

268 R. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (2002), 188.

269 By turning the figure of Nut upside down, the sense of the action can be viewed more appropriately.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The Nut scene is depicted on the notional northern wall of the Entrance Passage. Given that it is in the *ḏuat*, the law of inversion applies, where right becomes left and north becomes south. Her right arm therefore is in the south and thus aligned to the winter solstice. In the goddess' right hand is the ram-headed *ḥa* of Re, the creator god, Atum who initiates the annual solar cycle with the setting sun at the winter solstice. As is the case with the invocation of Atum by the king and the opening scene of the Book of Gates on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage.[270] In her left hand, oriented to the notional north is the solar disk, symbolizing the pinnacle of solar power on the summer solstice. This then would seem to indicate that at another level, not only is the Nut scene a representation of the nightly journey of the sun god through the *ḏuat*, but also one of its annual journey, beginning with the winter solstice.[271] Furthermore, in the context of *zp tpj*, it would represent the very first sunset on the winter solstice at the beginning of *nḥḥ* time, initiating both the daily and annual solar cycles.

Interestingly, the Nut scene also provides an exemplary case to demonstrate how the examination of the number symbolism employed in a scene can enhance our understanding of what the ancient Egyptians were expressing. There are a total of twenty one figures in this scene including the Mysterious Lady. The ten on the one side of the goddess behind Atum, the creator, symbolizes the unfolding of the Heliopolitan creation process on the first occasion.[272] (Plate 197) The ten on her other side represent the daily recurrence of this cycle recreating the first occasion. Given their location in the notional south, it could also subtly allude to 'the southern Heliopolis' Thebes, where Amen-Re is king of the gods and as such the creator god of Upper Egypt. Juxtaposing and counter-balancing this is Atum-Re of Heliopolis in the notional north at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt.

Note that the ram-headed Atum and the solar disk in Nut's two hands are separated from the other nineteen deities by the two human-headed erect serpents who mark the boundaries of the created cosmos.[273] As we have repeatedly seen the number nineteen, sacred to Osiris, held a special significance to the ancient Egyptians. As will be shown, the nineteen year cycle reconciling and realigning the movements of the sun with those of the moon was, in all probability, a major reason

270 See above 3.1 and 3.2.

271 The importance of the winter solstice to the ancient Egyptians is still under appreciated today. For an up-to-date detailed analysis see: J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout, In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 215-279. 229 is quoted below. The sheer number of temple alignments to the winter solstice, spanning Egypt's long history, underscores its significance to the ancient Egyptians. “With a peak at -24 degrees +/- ¾ degrees, this group is dominated by a series of temples oriented to the sunrise at the winter solstice, although other solstitial orientations have also been documented... This is the dominating astronomical custom in the temples of Upper Egypt and was also found at many other locations within Egyptian geography. Hence, we would catalogue it as universal within in ancient Egyptian culture... The temple of Karnak is the paradigm of the family... Karnak would have been located at a particular place in the [Nile] valley where the winter solstice sunrise was perpendicular to the course of the Nile (see figure 8.5 on 219.).”

272 The ten deities are Atum in the hand of the Goddess, the human-headed erect serpent, Khepri, the first solar disk, the ram as the *ḥa* of Re, the second solar disk, Atum lifting up the third solar disk, the solar child, and the assisting arms.

273 Similar to the figure of Atum between Nut's arms leaving his creation in the Book of the Night.

that the number nineteen was held sacred to Osiris. [274] For without Osiris, Re could not exist, i.e. regenerate and visa versa. This concise depiction of the first occasion may well have been the reason it was considered by the ancient Egyptians to be an individual composition, 'Book of the Mysterious Lady, First among manifestations of the Great Revision'. In this one simple but elegant picture, they encrypted the secrets of the cycles of regeneration that manifest out of the body of the great mother goddess, the Mysterious Lady. It embodies the cycle of the Heliopolitan creation cosmology; the nightly journey of the sun god from west to east; the annual solar cycle along the ecliptic from solstice to solstice; and the great cycle of nineteen years reconciling and realigning the movements of the sun with the moon. While predominately a treatise on the cycles of the sun, the covert lunar symbolism is ever present both in the depiction of the Udjat-eye and in the reconciling nineteen year cycle, a number sacred to Osiris-Moon. To repeat without Osiris, Re could not exist. [275] The text of the first litany at the end of the fifth division concerning the Nut scene reveals Osiris' presence in this scene.

> "Look (?), my Solar Disk illuminates the 'Mysterious One'!
> Look, my light walks behind me,
> so that my corpse and my image are illuminated in their great Caverns,
> to protect Osiris and to create the supply for those amongst whom he is!
> This Great God hurries past the Cavern of the 'Secret One'..." [276]

In a text above Nut added to the later version of the Book of Caverns in the tomb of Petamenophis (TT 33), which closely parallels the Osireion composition, Osiris' presence is explicit.

> "This is what this god is like.
> This god stretches out his hand to Osiris [twin *ba* in the Books of the Earth]
> he lights up his face... (destroyed)
> Osiris is being shrouded [clothed by the brilliant light],
> the husband [of Isis here in her manifestation as the Mysterious Lady] is hidden,
> … (destroyed)." [277]

The ancient Egyptians never developed the science of what we term modern astronomy, far from it. However, what they apparently did do and were masters at it was a form of observational astronomy. That is to say, they carefully watched the sky tracking the movements of the sun, moon and certain stars over long periods of time to discern patterns and cycles which their 'gods', the *nṯrw*, followed. They also encoded into their Books of the Underworld their perceived movements for the sun, moon and stars, when they were in the *ḏuat* and absent from the night sky. In a certain sense, their

274 See 4.4 below for a detailed analysis of this nineteen year cycle.

275 This explains precisely why in Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead at the end of creation when Atum destroys all that he had made and the earth returns to the primordial waters as in its original state, only Atum will remain *with* Osiris. See R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 29.

276 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 244-245.

277 Ibid., 236.

efforts could be viewed as a search for cosmic order in the pursuit of maat.

In the top register of the fifth division, the first episode depicts the uniting of Re with Osiris. (Plate 194) Here, in the mysterious *ḏuat* inside the Secret One's body, Osiris is said to have given Re his hands, joining the two together. [278] Behind him are four erect serpents named 'The One With The Head', 'The Weeping One', 'The One Who Has Risen Out Of Re', and 'The Body In Which (?) Re Is' or 'The Flesh Of Re'. [279] These four are iconographically cast in the same mold as Nepai and Shepai in the Nut scene preceding the first episode. [280] They should be viewed as surrounding this union and, in effect, form the boundaries of the Place of Destruction where the primordial abyss of Nut meets the *ḏuat.*

> "Re says to this Cavern [of Sefeg, 'the Hidden One', a form of Osiris [281]]:
> (O) Osiris, you have given me your hands!
> Look, I move through the *shetit*,
> I pass by the ones who are before her (Nut),
> who have come forth from (my) body... (mutilated)
> The evil ones, the ones who my flesh dispels, they have created evil.
> O look, I place them (into) the darkness
> (so that) the accuser may condemn them.
> When (I) move past them they do not see me,
> and these guard them when they come forth." [282]

The hostile nature of the four serpents is clear. It is also part and parcel of the nature of the Place of Destruction bordering the Nun, which they symbolize. Re has placed them here in absolute darkness, where the rays of the sun disk do not even penetrate. These four serpents "loom up on the sun's path, their aim is to keep him from emerging from the 'waters' in which he is stilled immersed." [283] They are said to be the images of Sefeg, the "Hidden One'. [284] As such, they appear to also have beneficial qualities, which we learn from the second litany following the fifth division.

278 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 237.

279 Ibid., 237. See quote below.

280 N. Billing, "The Secret One." SAK 34 (2006), 63.

281 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 33.

282 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 237.

283 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 159.

284 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 245.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"O you of the hidden face, Lord of Beard,
great snake in the center of the Cavern -
Look, I move through the *shetit*, I hurry along to guard (Osiris)!
O Nehebkau in his Cavern, [285]
who joins the Great Head with mighty face -
Look, I move through the *shetit*, I hurry along to guard (Osiris)!
O Nepun (snake) who is in the West,
who judges those who are in his Cavern -
Look, I move through the *shetit*, I hurry along to guard (Osiris)!
O Unknown One, who belongs to the Cavern,
who annihilates those who are in his Cavern -
Look, I move through the *shetit*, I hurry along to guard (Osiris)!

This Great God passes by this Cavern of Sefeg, who is great in his appearance.
This Great God arrives at the Cavern of Tatenen.
Re says to the Cavern of Tatenen
whom the gods have formed after he had formed them." [286]

In the second episode of the top register in the fifth division, creation is seen progressing as it begins to take a more concrete form for the first time. (Plate 194) It unfolds as Tatenen, the rising or distinct land. He is adorned with a variant of his standard crown. Here he wears two ostrich plumes, *šwty*, symbolizing luminosity "as well as the concept of maat and life" [287] He is supported by the two forms of the sun god that signify the creation of the cosmos, but here as it has yet to unfold, are called the 'Corpse of Atum with Living Speech' and 'Corpse of Khepri with Living Speech'. [288] "They possess the 'living word' and are thus capable of making use of the creative word that engenders the world. Re speaks to them, encouraging them to perform the creative act." [289]

"Re says to this Cavern:

285 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 323, 326. "Nehebkau, who is often clearly identified with the sun god, is said to eat his fathers and his mothers, drive off Seth, and beget the Bull of Heliopolis [Osiris ?]... As a deity who subsumes in himself the *ḳas*, *aḫu* and the heka of all gods, Nehebkau can therefore also provide with these features the gods whom he appears to cyclically destroy and (re-)create. This destruction, however, is creative in itself, in that it leads to the creation of one superior being [Atum}, which can subsequently be 'subdivided' again into many parts."

286 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 245.

287 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 163-164 on luminosity; Y. Barbash, The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikaken (2011), 166 for maat and life.

288 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 237.

289 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 159.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

O Standing One whom the gods let stand,
who form their shapes, you deities with living corpses!
You talk to me, and I talk to you,
I illuminate you, I dispel your darkness!
You appear in your images,
you rejoice at the sight of my Sun Disk.
It is I who lets the manifestations come about,
I see the thrones of those who are hidden,
I let the Ones of the underworld be content." [290]

In the third litany following the fifth division, it is important to note that Tatenen as the creator embodies both Atum and Osiris. Thus creation encompasses both that of the sun and the moon on the first occasion.

"O Tatenen who creates births,
who sires the ones who come forth from him, the manifestations!
O Tatenen, with mighty double plum,
whose corpse Anubis has made secret!
O Tatenen with resting corpse,
who judges those who are (in the Earth)!
O Tatenen who is in his Cavern,
Osiris who is in his hole!
O Tatenen whose essence remains hidden,
from whom Khepri (emerged from) his body!
O Tatenen, with mighty corpse,
through whose sight the *ɓau* breathe!
O Tatenen, who came forth in his primeval time (?),
…. (not clear)
O Tatenen, who protects the gods
and protects himself when he made their places!
O Tatenen, who has let the Caverns come about
and who creates the (grave) mounds of the gods!
O Tatenen, who is in his darkness,
who converses with the 'Mysterious Ones'!
[Corpses of Atum and Khepri]
O Tatenen, who creates the sacrifices,
the Ones of the Underworld are pleased with what he has created!
O Tatenen, Ejaculator of the Seed,
whose ejections make the forms come about!
O Tatenen, of great manifestations,
who creates and completes (?) forms!

290 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 237-238.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

O Atum, who is in Tatenen, and Khepri in his Cavern,
your ancient and great gods with *ḥau* remaining,
who have come from me -

O look, I illuminate.... (destroyed) the corpses,
while your *ḥau* belong to me, in my retinue!...
I move past you with my Sun Disk behind me
to see my dead body which is among you!
This Great God passes by the Cavern of Tatenen..." [291]

This litany enumerates the creative aspects for which Tatenen is responsible. Creation now begins to manifest as completed forms. Tatenen must first arise out of the watery abyss of the Nun creating the phenomenon of Place before the sun god can alight on 'the Distinct Land', a backdrop for the prime act of creation, the first sunrise. [292] The litany is comprised of fourteen verses. It is possible in a lunar context to associate the fourteen components attributed to Tatenen with the more concrete aspects of the monthly lunar cycle, the fourteen days of lunar visibility in the waxing and waning phases of the Osiris-Moon.

The third episode in the top register of the fifth division continues the theme of the unfolding of creation on the first occasion. The texts imply that it is still very closely connected to the rising or distinct land, Tatenen, as the deities depicted here are called 'the ones who are in Tatenen'. [293] It is the Cavern of the "Bloody One of great mystery'. (Plate 194) In this cavern the 'Great Guardian/Protector' stands over two oval sarcophagi surmounted by the solar disk. [294] The sarcophagus with the standing mummiform deity Hornung identifies as 'The One With The Shape Who Clothes Osiris'. [295] Werning sees him as the 'Bloody One of great mystery'. [296] His epithet is 'Lord of Red Blood'. Barguet connects him to the deity Herishef. [297] Goebs' identification of this god is to the point. "Osiris as Herishef, the united Re Osiris in Herakleopolis where Herishef as Lord of blood and slaughter-houses is crowned..." [298] In the first episode, Osiris unites with Re by giving him his hands. Here in the third

291 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 245-246.

292 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Ancient Egypt (1988), 24-25.

293 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 247.

294 The version in the tomb of Ramesses VI differs from the one in the Osireion in that it has a second solar disk above the guardian. In the Osireion, this disk is placed in front of the giant figure of the ithyphallic Osiris.

295 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 238.

296 D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 299.

297 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 34.

298 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 113 n. 260.

episode, the 'Bloody One' of great mystery is a form of this united Re Osiris. In the other oval sarcophagus are his two children. While their identification is unclear, most likely, the two infants represent Re and Osiris as royal children.[299] On another level they could be Khepri and Horus. Khepri represents the regenerated sun god as the 'Child of Re', the soon to be newly reborn sun god. The 'Young Man of Re' may be interpreted as Horus, son of Re and the son of Osiris, that is to say the son of the united Re Osiris, who after sunrise manifests as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons.

"This Great God arrives at the Cavern of the 'Bloody One', of great mystery.
Re says to this Cavern:
O 'Bloody One' of great mystery, Lord of Red (blood),
who gives orders to this butcher who is in his sarcophagus [Herishef],
while his two children [of Re Osiris] are in their sarcophagi.
Who is pleased with his two children,
of mighty form, when (they) guard him.
O look, I pass through your Cavern, the one of mysterious forms!
Give me your hand [unite with me]!

Fourth Litany [at the end of the fifth division]:

There is light in the West.
Strong is the *ba* of the one of great possession.
There is light in the West.
The 'Bloody One' tarries (in?) his images.
There is light in the West.
He (the West) has given me his hand.
There is light in the West.
Osiris is pleased with my Sun Disk or I go to rest in my Sun Disk.[300]
There is light in the West.
I hurry through the Caverns of Darkness.
There is light in the West.
'The Ones in the Earth' are pleased with my light.
There is light in the West.
Those who had no air breathe, my corpse breathes.
There is light in the West.
I let the silent ones talk (and) their body.
There is light in the West.
I shroud the mystery with the rays of my light.
There is light in the West.
I address the one whose name is hidden (Osiris) [as Herishef].

299 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 34.

300 According to Ramesses VI version.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

There is light in the West.
The Nine Gods of Osiris rejoice.
There is light in the West.
The Council of Tatenen is strong.
There is light in the West.
I walk past the Lords of the Mysteries.
There is light in the West.
I travel through the Cavern of the West.
O 'Bloody One', O 'Bloody One'! O look, I move past the 'Bloody One',
I pass the ones who are in Tatenen, I walk through the secret *duat*
to see my corpse [Re Osiris as Herishef] which is in it,
to illuminate my form [the united Re Osiris] and my images [the two children].
This Great God passes the Cavern of the 'Bloody One',
this god arrives at the Cavern of the Osiris-form." [301]

Here the 'light in the West' from the solar disk stimulates the regeneration process underway for both Re and Osiris, the sun and the moon on a more concrete level. It is also said that this mystery is shrouded by the rays of the sun disk and thus hidden both in the Underworld and to the perception of human beings. The text tells us that the episode is taking place inside the rising or distinct land, Tatenen, who represents the manifestation of the creation process which arises out of the body of the Mysterious Lady.[302] In all subsequent episodes in the fifth cavern, the deities therein are all also said to be the 'ones who are in Tatenen'.[303] It should be noted that what is inside Tatenen is depicted on the walls and ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall, where the closely related Books of the Earth are found. It is also in this hall that the corpse of Osiris and of Re would have been found in the deepest part of the Underworld and of the Osireion complex.[304] Again as in the fourth litany, the fifth is divided into fourteen couplets, a further possible allusion to the creation of the visible portion of the lunar cycle, that of the phases of the waxing and waning moon.

In the first episode of the middle register in the fifth division, called both the Cavern of the Osiris-forms and the Cavern of Anubis, four falcon-headed standing mummies are called; 'Horus Who Clothes Re', 'Horus Who Conceals Atum', 'Horus Who Shrouds The Face Of Khepri, and 'Horus Who Came Forth From The Most Ancient [Osiris].[305] (Plate 194, 196) Anubis stands directly behind the four manifestations of Horus as their guardian. An oval containing the Solar Disk, the Lord of the Scepter

301 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 246-247.

302 Recall that the feet of the goddess are in the lower *duat*, where the *duat* meets the Nun.

303 See E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 247, 248, 249, 252, 253, 254 and 255. While not explicitly stated, the lower register where the enemies are condemned to nonexistence is the Place of Destruction which is in the Nun. It is out of the watery abyss of the Nun that the rising land, Tatenen emerges.

304 See below 5.1 and 5.7.

305 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 238.

who is above his mysteries, and the *sḫm*-scepter, that Atum had created concludes the scene. "From these names can be deduced that the Sun God himself is 'concealed' in these figures." [306] According to Meeks, in this episode the sun god depicted as a solar disk above the four forms of Horus encounters and "incorporates [these] images that personify the elements of his manifestation in the world. Involved here are both the four phases of his evolution in the heavens as Horus and the scepter that is the sign of his authority." [307] Billing suggests that "the generic name of these gods [Re, Atum, Khepri, Osiris], as well as the formal arrangement of the scene, invites the interpreter to search for further layers of meaning, just as the outer appearance of the four deities makes it possible to see them as the sons of Horus in their traditional role as canopics. A set of canopic jars where all four have falcon heads is anomalous in itself, but given the high range of artistic freedom in the compositions of the Netherworld, such an anomaly definitely falls within the range of acceptable. Moreover, their denomination as 'those who are in the bodies' could easily be seen as a deliberate play on the akin *ỉmyw ḫwt*, 'entrails', giving a tacit meaning of them as 'the great gods of the entrails'. If so, the complete pic ture given by this section of the Book of Caverns is that the Secret One who is a netherworld manifestation of Nut symbolizes the sarcophagus, [309] in the immediate vicinity of which the canopics are properly placed. The presence of Anubis behind the four gods as their guardian (*sꜣw*) provides additional strength to this interpretation." [310] Barguet offered an interesting observation with respect to the scepter that Atum had created. "... curiously, the scepter has above, a circle of red color: this is probably the solar disk (already colored in red too, throughout the book [of Caverns], but this would have its own value Re, for normally the disk *jtn*, representing the soul [*ḥa*] of Re which illuminates each cavern, is never found present in a sarcophagus oval; and should, therefore, be understood as the *sḫm* power of Re." [311]

From the text in this episode:

> "Re says to this Cavern:
> O you four great gods who are in the corpses, you in the *ḍuat*.
> O that specter with great images,
> having created the *ḍuat* and
> having brought forth the Realm of the Dead,
> whose image is unknown,
> a unique one concealing itself from those who are in its Cavern.

306 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 238.

307 Ibid., 238.

308 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 160.

309 N. Billing, "The Secret One. An analysis of a core motif in the Books of the Netherworld" SAK 34 (2006), 64.

310 Ibid., 65-66.

311 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 34. Author's translation. In footnote 66 there, 'it should be noted that in Ramesses VI, the caption next to the scepter is *sḫm ḥr* [power of Horus].

O look, I move past you,
I install Anubis as your guardian!
I illuminate you and dispel your darkness.
I give instructions to those who are in your retinue." [312]

"This god arrives at the Cavern of the Osiris.
Re says to this Cavern:
O Anubis, who is above his mysteries,
Lord of the Scepter who makes the ones bound in bandages contented,
who is above the mysteries of the West,
who shapes heads and knots bandages." [313]

The fifth litany following the end of the fifth division.

"O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who is above the bandages, with great mummy bandages!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
Lord of the Mystery who makes the bodies secret!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
corpse from which Osiris has come forth!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who attaches the head to the One who is in his Cavern!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who attaches the head to the One whose name is hidden [Osiris]!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who attaches the head to the Lord of the *ḏuat*!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who places his scepter into his sarcophagus!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who inters the great mystery (corpse)!
Greatest One of the West, who is the first in the Kingdom of the Dead!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who clothes the Ennead!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
Lord of the *ḏuat* who lets the Kingdom of the Dead breathe!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who provides for the Lord of the West (Osiris)!
O Anubis, 'Most Mighty One of the West',
who calls the Lords of Supply [Need] (and) Osiris in his Cavern!

312 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 238.

313 Ibid., 247.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

O Anubis, O Anubis! O look, I move past Anubis,
I pass the ones who are in Tatenen, I walk through the mysterious *ḏuat*
to see my corpse and to illuminate my images." [314]

In the context of the process of regeneration underway in the fifth division, the key point that is being made is that the reconstitution of the divine corpse of Osiris, as the united Re Osiris has been completed here in this episode by the 'Most Mighty One of the West', Anubis, the Master of Secrets with the *sḫm*-scepter. As stated, it occurs within the rising or distinct land, Tatenen, which represents the first concrete visible manifestation of the creation process on the first occasion.

In the next episode, the Great God passes between four goddesses, 'the Ones of the Underworld' and speaks to them, which is the sixth litany following the fifth division.

You are these Goddesses with whom Osiris is pleased.
You are these Goddesses Messengers of Him of Secret Name.
You are these Goddesses Messengers of the Mistress of the *ḏuat.*
You are these Goddesses with powerful *ḥa* in the Kingdom of the West.
You are these Goddesses who bestow animation, Mighty Ones in the Council.
You are these Goddesses Mistresses of Words in the retinue of the Ennead.
You are these Goddesses with hidden bodies in which they are.
You are these Goddesses the female escorts of the *šhetit.*
You are these Goddesses the Ones whom have come into Existence, who are in Tatenen.
You are these Goddesses whose locks of hair are secret.
You are these Goddesses who speak to their shadows.
You are these Goddesses who let the *ḥau* approach and welcome them." [315]

They are powerful goddesses but are ordered to remain in their Caverns inside Tatenen by the Great God. Their purpose is obscure. But presumably they are the guardians for the newly reconstructed divine corpse of Osiris, the united Re Osiris. As guardian or gatekeepers, they are instructed to let the *ḥau* approach and welcome them.

"This Great God passes by the Cavern of the Goddesses who are in the *ḏuat.*
This Great God reaches the Caverns of Annihilation [Destruction].
This Great God passes above them." [316]

314 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 248.

315 Ibid., 249

316 Ibid., 249.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"In the basement register of this region [fifth division], the décor changes. To this point, the only creatures seen in this bottom register were the damned who were doomed to live on eternal darkness, without air, immersed in putrefaction or destined to suffer bodily tortures. Now we witness their complete destruction. (Plate 194) To begin with, torture posts are set up at the feet of the goddess of the sky. The rebels, who have been condemned to death are bound to them. Next, three kettles are put in place; under them burns an inextinguishable fire that has been lit by the cobra-headed deities of flame and burning heat. The heads and hearts of the condemned are put in the first kettle; their life and spirit [seat of consciousness] are thus destroyed and reduced to ashes. Their decapitated bodies are thrown into the second kettle, where they undergo the same treatment. After this, the enemies no longer exist in a physical sense. In the third kettle, finally, the [*ḥau*] souls and shades, which also make up part of their identity, meet the same fate, disappearing forever. (Plate 202) Re … approaches the great king Osiris, who stands facing the goddess of the sky." [317] The seventh litany at the end of the fifth division describes this fate of the enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* in the basement register in detail:

"The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
their heads have fallen into cauldrons.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
their hearts have been hurled into the flames.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
'The One of the Shape of the uraeus is boiling them.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
the fire is great in the *ḍuat.*
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
the arms of Nun are under their cauldrons.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
the corpses plunge down head first.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
their heads have been cut off from them.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
tied up and shackled with their *ḥau.*
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
the 'Burning One' spits flames amongst them.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
the 'Flaming One' spits her searing breath amongst them.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḍuat* have been destroyed,
their fire has opened the *ḍuat.*

317 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 160.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḏuat* have been destroyed,
who have been put in the Place of Annihilation.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḏuat* have been destroyed,
I deliver you up to your annihilation.
The Enemies of the Lord of the *ḏuat* have been destroyed,
the ones in darkness and the ones without light,
these Enemies of Osiris
who are amongst the flames, with cremated corpses.
You are the Enemies of Osiris, the ones who do not see my light
whom I have put in the darkness of the Place of Annihilation,
whom I have ordered to be guarded as the ones who are in perdition (?)" [318]

In this litany, there are a total of sixteen stanzas concerning the destruction of the enemies of Osiris, the Lord of the *ḏuat*, which are carried out in the Place of Destruction. The term *ḏuat* is also repeated sixteen times. In the thirteenth litany, there are sixteen couplets which describe the carnage of the enemies of Osiris resulting in their final total annihilation, that of nonexistence also rendered in the Place of Annihilation.[319] Thus, the number sixteen appears to be associated with the Place of Destruction/Annihilation, the abyss and nonexistence. The enemies usually sixteen in number are often depicted in two groups of eight or four groups of four. "By virtue of its association with the cardinal directions, four is the most common symbol of 'completeness' in Egyptian numerological symbolism and ritual repetition."[320] In "the 'rites of protection' in which the king and a priestess performed actions intended magically to protect the cenotaph of the god Osiris, the texts associated with [it]...show that the votaress shot four arrows at four targets which symbolized both the four cardinal points and the principal foreign peoples which were under Egyptian rule in those directions. These four ethnic groups are represented in a good many contexts which show their destruction or subjugation."[321] Four times four here not only signifies the totality of all the enemies of Osiris, the Lord of the *ḏuat*, but also in a maximum state of magical protection for Osiris which was ordered by the sun god i.e. their total annihilation. The litany continues:

"I walk to the Cavern of Osiris,
I let his *ḥa* tarry on his corpse.

318 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 250.

319 Ibid., 256 for the thirteenth litany.

320 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 162 n. 750.

321 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 144.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

This Great God passes the Place of Annihilation,
while he metes out punishment to them who are in it
as Enemies of the Lord of the *ḏuat.*
This Great God tarries in the Cavern of Osiris." [322]

In this cavern, opposite the Mysterious Lady, the goddess Nut is the giant ithyphallic figure of Osiris which also extends over the entire height of the three registers. (Plates 194, 198) "He wears a divine beard and as Ruler of the Realm of the Dead a uraeus on his forehead. The bird on his head represents the god's *ḥa* which has been united with his body.[323] Before the divine figure a protective snake and (in the Osireion) a Sun Disk are shown."[324] It should be noted because of its significance that the scene that opens the second half of the Book of Caverns is paralleled by that of this scene of the ithyphallic god in the Osireion. At the entrance, it is the Solar Disk, the serpent 'One with the Terrible Face' and the *ḥa* of Re. (Plate 186) The same arrangement is repeated in the Osiris scene except that it is the *ḥa* of Osiris. The texts which are essentially the same confirm the identification of the three deities. At the entrance to the second half:

"This Great God enters into the primeval darkness.
This Great God moves past the Cavern of the 'Great One on his Belly'
['One with the Terrible Face']].... who unites the two halves of the *ḏuat*
and the two halves of the West....
whose head is in darkness
and whose posterior is in the darkness,
whose Cavern the deities, *aḫu* and the dead do not approach,
whose Cavern nobody passes by,
except the Great God who is in the Sky [Solar Disk]." [325]

Compare with the texts for the ithyphallic Osiris in the fifth division:

322 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 250-251.

323 Hornung points out here that because of this bird and its parallel to the Nut scene (as late as the edition by Piankoff) this scene was previously termed the Geb picture. However, more recent works as does Hornung clearly identify this god as Osiris. For example see: J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 254; D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 264-265; S. Onstine, "The Relationship between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns" JSSEA 25 (1995), 72; F. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI (1989), 72-73; and P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 35. Although Meeks favors a dual identity of Osiris, the resurrected king, and Geb, the Earth god in D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 159.

324 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 241.

325 Ibid., 223-224. Excerpts from the final text of the third division and the opening text of the fourth division.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"This Great God enters into the primeval darkness.
This god passes the Lord of the West (Osiris) in his mysterious Cavern....
O Osiris, Lord of the West in whose Cavern the 'One with the Terrible Face' is.
O Osiris, Greatest God,
whose head is in darkness
and whose back is in darkness....
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
Lord of Stench, of Great Decomposition.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
his *ba* rests on his corpse....
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
your *ba* tarries above you...." [326]

Both caverns are located in the same place at the depths of the *duat* in the primeval darkness.

This sequence of Solar Disk, symbol of the created cosmos, to serpent in the primeval darkness of the watery abyss, the Nun, to Atum, the creator, mirror both the pattern laid out by Atum in Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead for the destruction of the created cosmos and the nightly pattern of the sun god's death, the disappearance of the Solar Disk, transforming into a serpent 'One with the Terrible Face' where the text quoted above states only 'the Greatest God who is in the Sky' i.e. the Solar Disk can enter the Cavern of the 'One with the Terrible Face/Great One on his Belly' in the primeval darkness of the Nun. Here the sun god is rejuvenated and reemerges in his manifestation as the ram-headed *ba* of Re. Like Khepri, surrounded by the ouroborus of nonexistence, in the opening scene of the Book of Gates, here too the sun god's successful rebirth is foretold. This same sequence present in the giant ithyphallic Osiris scene foretells of the successful rejuvenation of the *ba* of Osiris and of the united *ba* of Re and Osiris.

The text in front of the ithyphallic deity is in part cryptographic, adding to its mystery. It reads:

"This Great God enters into the primeval darkness [on the first occasion].
This god passes the Lord of the West (Osiris) in his mysterious Cavern.
This is what this god is like in his secret Cavern,
while the Greatest God [as the Solar Disk] speaks to him
and tarries for a while since he provides for him.
The *ba* of this god walks behind Re [to enter the solar barque]
while darkness then envelopes the corpse
after the Great God has moved past them." [327]

326 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 241, 251-252. Excerpts from the Osiris scene, eighth and ninth litanies that describe him.

327 Ibid., 241.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Two full litanies following the end of the depictions of the fifth division describe this ithyphallic god, who represents the enormous regenerative power of the *ba* of Osiris united with his corpse.

"I walk to the Cavern of Osiris,
I let his *ba* tarry on his corpse.
This Great God passes the Place of Annihilation,
while he metes out punishment to them who are in it
as Enemies of the Lord of the *duat.*
This Great God tarries in the Cavern of Osiris.
Re says to the Cavern of the Lord of the *duat,*
of great appearance, Lord of Manifestations!
O that … (destroyed) in the West -
bend your arm [in worship] and make your shoulder narrow!
Look, I move past the Cavern,
my great Sun Disk stays behind me!
O Osiris, Greatest God,
whose head is in darkness and whose back is in darkness,
while his corpse has traversed the *duat*
and his *ba* is strong on his images -
bend your arm [in worship] and make your shoulder narrow!
I let you be pleased (with) my light.

(Eighth Litany)

O Osiris, Lord of the West,
my *ba* is content, my corpse is divine.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
Lord of Stench, of Great Decomposition.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
his *ba* rests on his corpse.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
in whose Cavern the 'One with the Terrible Face' is.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
look, I move past your mystery.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
look, I hurry past so that I can pacify the Realm of the Dead.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
look, I dispel the darkness, I illuminate you.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,

your *ba* walks behind me, and I give orders to the ones in your retinue.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
whose corpse breathes because of my Solar Disk.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
of mighty face and living *akhu.*
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
You of the Underworld who speaks to his *ba* of mighty words,
Prince of his Cavern.
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
You Lord of the Sarcophagus, King of the Inhabitants of the West.
O Osiris, O Osiris,
Greatest God whose corpse is hidden,
you with whom the 'One with the Terrible Face' is together
when he guards the dead body of the One with the Hidden Name!
O look, You with the Hidden Name,
I light up the darkness with my Solar Disk!" [328]

Osiris as the 'Lord of Stench of Great Decomposition' is significant. Onstine views this aspect of Osiris as crucial. "The repetition of the motif of decomposition is really an allusion to the matter [the efflux of Osiris] from which everything is reborn. This putrefaction is at the heart of the mysteries of Osiris."[329] The ithyphallic Osiris is clearly identified as Osiris, Lord of the West in the Cavern of Osiris, where his *ba* tarries on his corpse. There is no ambiguity here. Unlike Nut whose head is said to be in the upper *duat*, Osiris' head and back are both in the primeval darkness at the very bottom of the *duat*, as he is likewise depicted in the third division beneath Aker in the depths of the underworld. He is addressed here by Re as the "Lord of the *duat* of great appearance, Lord of Manifestations!" The Lord of Manifestations may be another subtle reference to the many phases that the moon appears in the course of its monthly cycle. The number symbolism embedded in the structure of the eighth litany suggests that it relates to the twelve hours of the night, the length of the longest night on the winter solstice to that of the shortest night on the summer solstice expressed by the ratio 14:12, and the fourteen visible phases of both the waxing and waning moon.[330] There are twelve couplets which begin with the phrase O Osiris, Lord of the West. This is immediately followed by the refrain O Osiris O Osiris, Greatest God whose corpse is hidden. The hidden corpse is Osiris as the new moon when the

328 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 251-252.

329 S. Onstine, "The Relationship between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns" JSSEA 25 (1995), 72.

330 Amenemhet made a water clock that he dedicated to Amenhotep I of the 18th Dynasty. On the interior of the clock which indicated the ratio of the length of the longest night on the winter solstice and that for the shortest night on the summer solstice is 14:12, he also mentioned that there was represented "the movements of Re and the moon-god with the utterances of both and an offering". Given the erratic nightly appearance and movement of the moon across the sky, it is unknown to us today how the ancient Egyptians connected them to measuring the hours of the night, although it may relate to the fact that the moon rises almost exactly one hour later each night over the course of its waxing and waning phase. See M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science II Calendars, Clocks, and Astronomy (1995), 457-462.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

moon is not visible in the night sky. The phrase 'O Osiris' appears at total of fourteen times as do the visible phases of the waxing and waning monthly lunar cycle.

In the latter part of the eighth litany at the end of the fifth division, Re announces that the *ba* of Osiris walks behind him, having been regenerated by uniting with his corpse which now breathes because of the Solar Disk. In my opinion this is key and the main purpose of the Book of Caverns. The *ba* of Osiris has been reanimated so that it can now walk with Re, in order to enter the solar barque as is depicted in the final scene of the Book of Caverns. By entering the solar barque, Osiris will travel together with Re at sunrise on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon (the new moon). This accounts for and explains why the moon is no longer visible in the night sky. The *ba* of Osiris as Osiris-Moon travels with Re and in so doing becomes renewed, so that the moon in Osiris' revivified manifestation as Horus will again reappear in the night sky low in the western horizon with first crescent visibility on the birthday of Horus.

Returning to Manassa's observation that 'He whose Name Is Hidden' is the quintessential description of the united Re Osiris, we find strong support for her interpretation in the ninth litany following the end of the fifth division.[331]

"O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
your *ba* tarries above you.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
I move through your Cavern.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
your *ba* is on your dead body when I have welcomed her.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
I let the secret (dead body) of your Cavern be content.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
I move (past) those who are in your Cavern.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
I move along for the birth of my manifestations.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
I have caused his seed to come into existence for me.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
Lord of the Great Mysteries in which he is.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
who has created the *duat* and has formed Horus.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
Anubis protects his mystery.

331 See above 4.3 on the second division.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
with your rejoined heart [consciousness] and your reunited corpse.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name,
you are breathing, your limbs are fresh.
O rise, You with the Hidden Name, and breathe,
(for) Osiris is breathing (also),
his limbs [phases of the lunar cycle] have been refreshed.
I move past, I illuminate you with my Solar Disk,
I give brightness in your cavern.
I pass those who are in Tatenen, I walk through the secret *ḏuat*
to see my corpse which is in the Earth,
in order to illuminate (my) form and my images.
This great god moves past the Cavern of Osiris,
this great god arrives at the Cavern of the Body.
This great god speaks to the ones who guard him,
Re says to this Cavern:
O [rise, You with the Hidden Name], [332] who is above his body,
Unique One, Osiris, who guards the secret!
O look, I move past you, I protect the body which is in your hand,
I illuminate your (darkness?) and your hidden mystery!" [333]

The ninth litany is extremely complex and difficult to decipher. It is addressed to 'You with the Hidden Name', who is being urged to rise up and is no longer Osiris, Lord of the West as in the eighth litany. Here, simultaneous with the reanimation of the *ḫa* of Osiris united with his corpse, we are told of the regeneration that Re is undergoing, which leads to the birth of the sun god's manifestations. They are shown in the emerging solar barque in the final scene of the Book of Caverns. There are three: Atum, the creator in his form as the ram-headed *ḫa* of Re; Khepri, the soon to be (re)born sun god; and the *ḫa* of Osiris standing on an oval, the egg of creation as the seed of Osiris – Horus as the first crescent moon. This seems to suggest that the identity of 'You with the Hidden Name' is an aspect of the united Re Osiris and not just Osiris, Lord of the West. The text above states that Re causes Osiris' seed to come into existence specifically for Re. 'You with the Hidden Name' is said to have created the *ḏuat.* This is an act by the creator god Atum-Re on the first occasion, as is explicitly stated in the invocation of Atum by the king in the opening scene of the first ritual cycle. [334] 'You with the Hidden Name' also formed Horus. This is a well known act done by the revivified Osiris. In a lunar context, this would be the revivified Osiris as his seed Horus-Moon, the new crescent moon as the visible sign of the successful return of the moon to the night sky and the start of the monthly lunar cycle on the first occasion. Therefore, 'You with the Hidden Name' is at the same time Atum-Re and Osiris; and can

332 Although not clear, it would be consistent with the numerical structure of the litany of 14 'O rise' couplets.

333 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 252.

334 See above 3.1.

only be the united Re Osiris. Urged to rise, 'You with the Hidden Name' is equipped with his rejoined heart, the seat of consciousness of the twin *ḥas*, and his reunited corpse, the corpse of Osiris and of Re. Finally we are reminded that these transformations are occurring in Tatenen as Re walks through the secret *ḏuat* to see his corpse in the Earth, *tꜣ*, specifically here the rising/distinct land, *tꜣ-ṯnnt*, in order to illuminate and thereby revive his forms and images. This urge to rise psychologically "refers to a self-dynamic of the content that is rising upward from the unconscious and into consciousness, or, as we [Jungian psychoanalysts] may also put it, to an urge within the unconscious to become conscious. Every archetypal image that breaks through from the collective unconscious to the threshold of consciousness manifests itself in two different ways: as a specific form or shape [here that of the *ḏuat*] and as an energetic or dynamic process [the act of procreating here of Horus]..." [335]

There is clearly a connection between Nut and the ithyphallic god. Given their size and their prominence, it must be a very important connection. "In the Book of Caverns, contact can apparently be established between the Secret One/Mysterious Lady and the erect ithyphallic god of the same size, facing her from the other end of the fifth section. (Plate 194) Their status as a couple is rendered especially clear in the version form the tomb of Ramesses IX, where they are placed on either side of the doorway in the sarcophagus chamber. (Plate 200) However, whereas one has recognized Nut as the identity of the Secret One, there has been some debate concerning the identity of her partner, variously being referred to as Geb, Osiris, and Sefeg-iru. In the text connected to the scene the god is left nameless, although he is given the 'Osirian' epithet 'Lord of the West' (*nb jmnt*). In the sixth section, where his cavern is likewise described, the second litany is devoted to Sefeg 'foremost of his form' (*ḫnty ỉrw.f*) and 'foremost of the Duat' (*ḫnty dꜣt*). Hence there are reasons to see the ithyphallic god of the fifth section primarily as a manifestation of this deity.

The traditional translation of Sefeg-iru as 'Concealed of form', though not unchallenged, does indeed harmonize well with the name of his partner. [336] Grieshammer's proposal 'revealed of form', i.e. in a referential frame of fertility, would likewise accord well with his ithyphallic appearance." [337]

Recall that in Re's address to the Cavern of Sefeg, Re identifies this deity as Osiris. Thus, Sefeg in this context is a manifestation of Osiris. What has not been recognized, however, seems to be the obvious. Nut, the mother of Osiris, stands before her ithyphallic son, Osiris. As such the ithyphallic depiction of Osiris as the son of Nut could be interpreted here as the deity functioning as Kamutef, the Bull of His Mother. Kamutef is an obscure but important concept worthy of his great size. It is "not exactly the name of a deity, but rather is a functional epithet associated with the name of a deity – usually Amun-Re, or less frequently the combination Min-Amun-Re, or even alone. It makes Amun [or which ever deity it is applied] his own father.... Kamutef is represented under the appearance of

335 A. Schweizer, The Sungod's Journey Through the Netherworld (2010), 161.

336 "*štꜣ* and *sfg* are parallelly used already in Pyr. 665A [378]." Source see n. 337 Billing below.

337 N. Billing, "The Secret One. An analysis of a core motif in the Books of the Netherworld" SAK 34 (2006), 70. For 'Revealed of form' see R. Grieshammer, Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten (1970), 85.

Min, a figure bound up (like a mummy), having an erect penis. Amun-Re-Kamutef is attested at Karnark during the time of Senwosret I, and its ithyphallic depiction dates to the eleventh dynasty. At Coptos during the Middle Kingdom, Min-Kamutef was considered as the son of Isis. The Osirian terminology was thereby introduced into the Coptite theology, and Min-the-son was able to assume the functional name of Horus.... Kamutef appears in Hermetic texts under the Greek name 'Kamephis'. To impregnate one's mother was considered incest, a practice attested in the Pyramid Texts. Such an act allowed Geb, who raped his mother Tefnut, to appropriate the royalty of Shu, who was Tefnut's brother and husband and Kamutef's father. Yet to be 'Kamutef' is also a way of denying linear time [*nḥḥ*] and inverting the succession of generations by uniting the past and the present in one personage [possible in *ḏt* time]. This personage, being both father and son of itself, possesses a legitimacy that is not questionable. Helmuth Jacobssohn (1939, 1955) sees in Kamutef a concept employed by the Egyptians to express the continuity of the regeneration of the gods and of royal dynasties.

Probably, the historical circumstances of the appearance of Amun-Re-Kamutef clarify the significance of this theological construction. Around 2000 BCE, Montuhotep I reestablished the pharaonic power over the entire country. Parallel to his military and political actions, he established his power by means of a new theology whose central figure was Amun, the Theban god who appeared during the reign of his father Antef II. The unifier Montuhotep I is depicted on certain reliefs as adding the feathers of Amun to his crown of Upper Egypt. Amun is not a vague and weak local god; in his first attestations he is a divine and solar king, and an immanent entity, hidden in all things. He represents himself under two forms, a normal and an ithyphallic one, the latter being an appearance borrowed from his companion Min. During the reign of Senwosret I, even the nonithyphallic form of Amun could be described as 'Kamutef'. The two forms were equally important. Later, they alternated systematically on the walls of the Theban temples.

In the new theocracy, Amun-Re-Katmutef was an expression of the idea of legitimate descent without ancestry, and it kept the royal function safe from dynastic contestation."[338]

Seti I's state-sanctioned program of *wḥm mswt*, 'Renaissance', not used by a pharaoh since the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat I, founder of Dynasty 12 over 650 years earlier, could well explain the inclusion of the concept of Kamutef as a function of Osiris in the Book of Caverns, which I believe was composed specifically for use in the Osireion. It embodied the concept of legitimate descent without royal ancestry, an idea which would be of great value for the non-royal founders of Dynasty 19. It also tied it to Osiris to strengthen the god's legitimacy after the heretic Akhenaten had abolished him. Furthermore, in a rare but crucial later reference, there is a direct link associating Kamutef with the Osirian lunar cycle and specifically to the day of the New Moon. It is found in p.Leiden T32, the Book of Traversing Eternity:

338 D. Redford, The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 184-185. The author also notes that: "Although a divinity without ancestors, Amun-Re-Kamutef was not really one of the primordial deities, those solitary and unique gods present at the beginning of the world. Amun-Re-Kamutef is practically absent from the great funerary texts and cosmogonic stories."

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"You will see Kamutef adorned with his regalia
when he sets out on new moon day.
You will spend the day in a state of joy
within the house of Opet the great
on that day of fastening on fresh plants (?)...." [339]

Further on in the same text, it states:

"Appear (as) a divine youth
at the feast of the beginning of the month [day of the new moon]
and that of the fifteenth day [day of the full moon].
You will pay homage to Osiris-[Moon]
at the new moon festival." [340]

Smith notes: "'The house of Opet the great' is the temple of Opet in Karnak, the birthplace of Osiris. In the ensuing lines, the deceased is said to assist at Osiris's birth [that is Osiris-Moon]." [341] The placing of Kamutef in the Book of Caverns and his setting out on the day of the New Moon fits perfectly with the Lunar Treatise that I am proposing for the Book of Caverns as a part of the ritual cycle for the rites of the New Moon Festival.

The ninth litany following the fifth division describes the ithyphallic god but now as 'You with the Hidden Name'. As we have seen, this god can be viewed as a manifestation of the united Re Osiris. Both are born of Nut and thus are her two sons, but here are united as one. As such it adds another more complex level to the interpretation of Kamutef but is consistent with the nature and concept of the Bull of His Mother.

The scenes that follow are meant to be inside the body of the ithyphallic deity which itself is inside Tatenen on *zp tpj*. In the scene of the top register, there are two protective deities called 'The Hidden One' and 'The One Who Moves Along' (ram-headed image of the nocturnal sun god) Atum, the creator, as the *ba* of Re. [342] (Plate 194) They support an oval sarcophagus containing the hidden image of Osiris, the Lord of the *duat.* The corpse is depicted as four hieroglyphic signs for 'flesh' and a small red oval between them. Note how the number symbolism is employed inside the sarcophagus. The five parts of the body of Osiris which have been reunited reinforces the concept being expressed in this scene. Five is the number associated with and as such a representation of the *duat* where the transformation occurs. The Sun Disk is above illuminating and revitalizing the concrete aspect of Osiris, his body, which has come into existence but is hidden i.e. not visible as it is in the *duat* according to the texts. In a lunar

339 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (2009), 415.

340 Ibid., 426.

341 Ibid., 415.

342 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 241.

context, it would also seem to represent the dismembered but now reunited limbs of Osiris-Moon which occurs at the time of the new moon.

> "(The Oval):
> This is what the sarcophagus is like,
> which bears the mystery of 'The Great One' (Osiris)
> who is in the *ḏuat.*
> Re's Sun Disk illuminates it (the sarcophagus).
>
> Re says to this Cavern:
> O you two great protected deities,
> who guard my decomposition!
> O look, I check what I have hidden,
> my body is pleased with me and my body is pleased,
> my flesh is complete which I have joined together for me!
> Rejoicing be to you – this my body in which I am,
> my flesh and my corpse!
> I illuminate you with my light,
> I dispel your darkness (for) you!" [343]

"... in the process of being reborn, the god leaves his dead body behind in the other world. This is the body of both Osiris [the Moon] and Re [the sun]. Though reassembled and revivified, it [the body/corpse] cannot reside anywhere but in the netherworld. The god examines the fragments of this dismembered body, gathered together in a container [sarcophagus], he verifies that they are all there and in good condition and then entrusts them to two of his own manifestations." [344] This is one of the many ways that Re looks after and takes care of Osiris and his corpse which is at the same time his own corpse.

The tenth litany at the end of the fifth division concerns the Cavern of Osiris' Body, where his members have been reunited inside Tatenen on the first occasion. It consists of fourteen couplets, which is by design and significant. In a lunar context they equate to the fourteen visible phases of the new lunar cycle which will appear in the night sky, low in the western horizon with first crescent visibility shortly after the solar barque with the ram-headed sun god, Atum as the *ḥa* of Re and the *ḥa* of Osiris-Moon have re-entered the *ḏuat.* The reappearance of the new crescent moon will be the rejuvenated Osiris but now in his manifestation as his own son Horus, the 'One Shaped like a Falcon' (twelfth couplet). Unlike in the eighth and ninth litanies where the structure of the fourteen couplets embodied the 14:12 ratio of the length of the longest night on the winter solstice to the length of the shortest night on the summer solstice, the tenth litany 'Hidden is the body of Osiris' does not. The focus here is strictly lunar.

343 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 242.

344 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 160.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"Hidden is the body of Osiris,
my Sun Disk tarries in his Cavern.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
mighty is his corpse in the West.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
shrouded in the outflow [his efflux] which is in the *ḏuat.*
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
the Ones of the Underworld rejuvenate (?) him.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
the divine *ḅa* tarries on his decomposition (var. on his corpse).
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
the Lord of the *ḏuat* rests on his flesh.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
the god protects his own flesh.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
the Ones of the Underworld mourn him.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
my great Sun Disk shines above them.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
the arms of the Goddess of the West are on that which she is hiding.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
Anubis hides the dirt of the … (destroyed).
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
the One Shaped like a Falcon stretches out his arms to the mystery.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
Lord of the Mummy Bandages, in his true shape.
Hidden is the body of Osiris,
provided with the *ḅa* when he hurries to me.
The body of Osiris is hidden,
the body of Osiris is indeed hidden!
The god tarries on his decomposition,
his *ḅa* is protected, his images have come into existence.
I do illuminate your body, Osiris-Khentamenti,
with my Sun Disk, the brightly shining one!
The body rests (in) its Cavern,
while I move past their Caverns.
I pass those who are in Tatenen, I walk through the mysterious *ḏuat*
to see my corpse which is in it,
in order to illuminate my form and my images.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

This Great God passes by the Cavern of Osiris' body,
this Great God reaches the Cavern of Nephthys whose head is hidden...." [345]

As Re emerges from the primeval darkness and from the Cavern of Osiris, he is greeted by a goddess identified as both Tayet and Nephthys, *nbt-ḥwt*, whose head is hidden.

"Re says to this Cavern:
O Nephthys, whose head is hidden,
who stands (protectively) behind Osiris -
give me your hand, you with your head hidden!
Look, I move pass your Cavern,
my *ɓa* is behind me, (and) I illuminate the *ɗuat*!" [346]

This goddess stands directly behind the giant ithyphallic Osiris united with his *ɓa* in a protective fashion. Yet her role is not specified. [347] Meeks sees Tayet's role her as the goddess of bandages and woven cloth as the one "who will ensure the cohesion of his members by restoring his [the united Re and Osiris] body intact." [348] The fact that the text repeatedly state that her head is hidden may reflect her location, positioned at the boundary or border of the primeval darkness out of which the Greatest God is emerging but still inside Tatenen. As the protectress of Osiris, the One with the Hidden Name – the united Re Osiris, her head remains in the primeval darkness and as such is hidden.

In the second episode behind the ithyphallic Osiris united with his *ɓa* in the middle register (Hornung's fifth register) of the fifth division, standing on either side of the ram's head are two deities, arms raised in praise towards the Solar Disk. (Plate 201) The first deity is labeled Osiris before Re's Head and the second falcon-headed deity is Horus before Re's Head. [349]

"Re says to this Cavern:
O Atum, my own heir [the nocturnal form he assumes in the *ɗuat*],
Greatest God, whose *ɓa* praises Osiris!
O his corpses, enemies of Osiris!
O Horus, heir of Osiris,
who protects his *ɓa* who is talking above his decomposition!
Look, I move past you
so that I may tarry in the Cavern of my images!

345 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 253.

346 Ibid., 253.

347 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 35.

348 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 160.

349 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 243.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

It is you who have come forth from my body -
give me your hand and rejoice at my arrival!
I am Re, my dead corpse [of my head] speaks!
While the corpse is in its Cavern
my *ba* is strong (?) on its decomposition." [350]

Meeks interprets this scene as the sun god shedding his "ram's head that symbolizes the fact that he is invisible in the night".[351] Both Osiris and his heir Horus, son of Osiris and of Re, exalts the divine head of the creator.

In Hornung's sixth and final register at the bottom of the fifth division, the annihilation of the *bau* and shadows of the enemies of Re and Osiris in the Place of Destruction is depicted. (Plates 201, 202) The litany describing this episode again consists of sixteen couplets, the number sixteen would appear to magically reinforce the annihilation of the enemies of Re Osiris.

In the lengthy text that separates the fifth division from the sixth in the Osireion, only the final column (of a total of 162) refers to the sixth division. Specifically, it concerns the first episode of the middle register.

"This Great God arrives at his Cavern which is in the *duat.*
When he passes his burial mound the manifestations emerge,
and the Inhabitants of the Underworld give (him) their hand." [352]

Recall that in the fifth register of the fifth division which is opposite this episode, we were told that Re goes forth from the primeval darkness and the Cavern of Osiris. Here, Re enters into his own Cavern which is no longer in the primeval darkness of the Nun, but in the *duat* i.e. a part of the created cosmos. (Plates 203, 206) The scarab beetle symbolizing his coming into being and who is pushing the Solar Disk emerges from between two caverns with the assistance of four deities. "In the upper cavern is Osiris, in the lower one 'The Ram-Shaped One' (with a ram's head), both mummiform." [353] The text for this pivotal episode reads:

"This god comes out in this way [with his birth into the *duat*]
between the two mysterious Caverns in the West [the birth canal],
when the ones who are in the West [the *ba* of Re and the *ba* of Osiris]
are born [on the first occasion and then] (again).

350 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 255.

351 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 160.

352 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 256. For the text see Frankfort, Cenotaph (1933), plate 44.

353 Ibid., 260.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

This is what these deities are like [the four male midwives].
They stretch their hands out towards Re,
(during the) birth of the one who is [now coming into] the *ḏuat* and his forms which are in the West,
when this god has spent some time (in) this Cavern.
These gods, who are in it, are illuminated,
they see the light after this Great God has moved past them.
To take on a form which is unknown -
This image of the birth of Re [as Khepri].
To see the figure (?) of the birth of Re
(between) the two mounds which are in the *ḏuat.*"[354]

It is important to bear in mind that these two mysterious Caverns of the West are an extension of the final scenes in the fifth division as well as the opening episode of the final scene of the Book of Caverns, (Plate 209) where the birth of Re is not into the *ḏuat* as it is here, but rather as the text tells us, into the Eastern Mountain – eastern akhet in preparation for sunrise in our world. The mummiform gods, the ram-headed *ḥa* of Re and the *ḥa* of Osiris are depicted in a fetal position.[355] (Plates 203, 206) They are facing each other as the twin *ḥas*, the two Progeny in their embryos, the two Caverns of the West from which Khepri and the Sun Disk, the visible forms of Re-Horus of the Two Horizons are emerging.[356] In essence, the four male deities serve as midwives. Unfortunately, their names are obscure.[357] They assist with the birth of the one who is coming into existence and the *ḏuat*, which is Re, and his two forms, the twin *ḥas*. The ram-headed *ḥa* of Re is the Greatest God, the creator, Atum. The *ḥa* of Osiris is the Lord of the West, the One with the Hidden Name, the quintessential form of the united Re Osiris depicted in the Cavern of Osiris in the fifth division as the giant ithyphallic god united with his *ḥa*, who stands before his mother the Mysterious Lady, Nut. Here in the role of Kamutef, the Bull of His Mother, Osiris is the self created god. The image of the birth of Re is said to be unknown in the sense that it is not yet visible to human beings on the earth. It is the birth into the *ḏuat*, as the text makes clear.

Any birth even that of the Great God, Re, is not without danger. In the second episode of the middle register of the sixth division, (Plate 207) the Solar Disk illuminates the Cavern where the scarab beetle is depicted rising up out from the folds of 'The Great Serpent' an enemy of the sun god, who would prevent his rising i.e. the first sunrise of *zp tpj*. "In front and behind is an oval, each with a god

354 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 260-261.

355 See below my commentary on the first scene of the top register of this (the sixth) division, where again the deities are in a fetal position but also depicted with *ḥa* bird resting on each oval.

356 In Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, it is explicitly stated that the Two Progeny/Two Fledglings are the *ḥa* of Re and the *ḥa* of Osiris. R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 10.

357 See E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 260 and D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 396-397.

above four hieroglyphs for 'flesh'. They are 'The One Who Brings' and 'The One With His Face Turned Away'.

> Re says to this Cavern:
> Look, deities, I am undergoing a metamorphosis,
> I am reborn, I am master of my Sun Disk!
> The two ancient and great gods in the *ḏuat* join me,
> the great snake which encircles me -
> they cast a spell on it, they carve up (its) *ḫa*.
> Hey! I have undergone a metamorphosis – (to utter) four times!
>
> The two ancient and great gods say to Re:
> O look, we cast a [magic] spell on 'The Punished One' [*njk*],
> we carve up the *ḫa* of the one who encircles you!
> You pass through the manifestations, Re,
> you illuminate us and we are pleased with the Sun Disk
> for it is you who have created us,
> this Unique One, Greatest, who illuminate the darkness!
> This is what these deities are like, they guard the serpent.
> This Great God comes forth,
> he tarries for a time in this way.
> Everything this god does in this way -
> the deities and the blessed dead (also) do -
> Their face is in the lands;
> without seeing the light they see what is coming." [358]

We have encountered this evil serpent, the agent of chaos and extinction before. It is first mentioned in the opening scene of the first ritual cycle in the invocation of Atum by the king.[359] 'The Great Serpent' is Apophis who relentlessly attempts to prevent the sun god from completing its solar journey. Here, the two ancient and great gods with their powerful magic (heka) cast a spell over the serpent which causes its *ḫa* to be carved up. Hornung translates *njk* as 'The Punished One'.[360] "*Njk* refers to a bloody punishment, the cutting to pieces of Apophis", just as is described here in the text.[361] This protective action allows the metamorphosis of Re to unfold, where he states:

358 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 261.

359 See above 3.1 for the text and a discussion of *njk*.

360 For the text see D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 402-403 line 27.

361 J. Zandee, Death as an Enemy (1960), 283.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"I am reborn,
I am master of my Sun Disk!...
Hey! I have undergone a metamorphosis – (to utter) four times!" [362]

The repetition of this profound announcement four times, reminds us yet again that the purpose of this composition in the Osireion was for ritual enactment here to complete the successful metamorphosis.

In the third episode of the middle register of the sixth division, we again encounter Apophis who is now contained within a mound out of which rises the ram's head with the Solar Disk. (Plates 203, 207) The 'One in the *Duat*' guards the 'One With Evil Face' in his mysterious mound, while he praises the head of Re. Another mound follows in which the god Tatenen is depicted emerging in his mound, the rising or distinct land. The 'One in the *Duat*' is again shown with arms praised in praise.

"Re says to this Cavern:
I appear so that I can dispel my Enemies!
The deities punish the 'Evil Face' which is in the *duat*,
they join me when I show my head in my secret places,
when he (the Enemy) is at (?) the Hidden Place,
expel him from the vicinity of Tatenen!

The deities say to Re:
You of perfect shape who emerged from his mound,
Lord of the Sun Disk, with great divine beard!
Homage be to you who emerged from (the snake) 'The One Who Is In The Earth'
and who has entered the *duat* so that you can remain (on)
the mound of Tatenen.
We let you be mighty when you appear (in) your lands.
You illuminate us, Re, you illuminate us,
and we praise and worship you!

(By the ram's head):
This is what this god is like.
When he shows his head he illuminates his Cavern
with his Sun Disk which is on his horns.
'The One in the *Duat*' praises him,
while he is guarding his mysterious mound.
This god emerges entire,
when this god passes the Cavern in which the 'One With The Evil Face' is.

362 Quoted from the text above.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

(Tatenen)
This is what this god is like in his tomb, the hidden sarcophagus,
while 'The Mysterious One' (?) guards him.
This god emerges complete,
after this Great God has moved past his Cavern.
This god sees the light,
(and) then darkness envelopes him." [363]

This scene maps out the unfolding of a more advanced stage in the creation process, "the phenomenon of Place" – material reality. [364] The Great Serpent, Apophis, has been contained. His destructive powers are held in check by the head as the command of Re depicted on top of his mound, symbolizing his domination over the Hidden Place. Now, at least for the moment, the forces of chaos are contained and thus effectively expelled from the vicinity of Tatenen. The sun god as creator then emerges whole as he passes on from the Cavern in which the 'One With The Evil Face' is confined to the mound, called the tomb of Tatenen which contains his hidden sarcophagus. After an encounter with the creator, Tatenen materializing, (Plate 207) emerges complete as the rising or distinct land. Thus, the concrete platform of material reality upon which the sun god will alight and Khepri rise forth from, has been established, setting the stage for the prime act, the first sunrise and with it the creation of divine kingship on the earth and its legitimate means for transmission from father Osiris to son Horus.

The mound of Tatenen is referred to as his tomb. Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, which predates the Book of Caverns and is found in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion, may shed some light on this statement. At one level, the tomb (mound) itself can be viewed as the Tjenenet-shrine, *ṯnnt-pr*, the abode of Tatenen. Of the *ṯnnt-pr* in Chapter 17, it is said: "As for the Tjenenet-shrine, it is the tomb of Osiris". [365] The tomb and shrine, in general, were sacred spaces which provided protection for their occupant. According to Wilkinson, "Tatenen also has a chthonic aspect in which he was viewed as a protector of the deceased king in the netherworld." [367] The king upon death was ritually transfigured into Osiris and here the link between Osiris and Tatenen becomes clear. Tatenen and his sacred shrine, *ṯnnt-pr*, provide protection for Osiris and in that sense could be regarded as his tomb. Furthermore, in "his primeval aspect meant he could be viewed as a bisexual deity and in one text he is called the creator and 'mother' of all gods [perhaps in a similar fashion as Kamutef]." [367] "In the New Kingdom Litany of Re he [Tatenen] is cited as the personification of the phallus of the dead king [Osiris] perhaps based on a linguistic play on the idea of rising or risen conveyed in his name." [368] This emerging or

363 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 262.

364 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 25, 60.

365 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 10. It should be noted that this section was omitted from the Osireion version of BD 17, as it is not part of the speech by the sun god, the creator.

366 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 130.

367 Ibid., 130.

368 Ibid., 130.

rising state is how Tatenen is described in our text. The connection between Tatenen and Osiris helps clarify the next episode.

In the fourth scene of the middle register of the sixth division, the Sun Disk is depicted directly above twin sarcophagi each containing the same falcon-headed deity. They are two aspects or manifestations of Horus. (Plates 203, 208)

"Re says to this Cavern:
O You Tramplers, O You Tramplers [What Horus did for his father to conceal his grave],
you of the sarcophagi in the West!
O look, I have emerged entire,
I walk through the *duat* in my manifestations!
The Horus deities have emerged from his body,
my manifestations are his (Osiris/Tatenen's ?) first birth.
Praise be to you when I illuminate you,
I illuminate you, the Dark Ones!

The 'Tramplers' say to Re:
O Re, who created him [Osiris] who created us [the two manifestations of Horus],
who made the One come into existence from whom we have come into existence!
When we are spoken to we have been joined together,
when we have been illuminated, we are in control of our feet [revived]!
We (?) are the ones who have come from Horus [his two manifestations]:
Turn your face to us, you who moves through the *duat*,
so that we are powerful and can see your rays!

This is what these deities are like in their mysterious sarcophagi.
This Great God speaks to them,
and they speak to him when they have seen the light of the Sun Disk.
When this god has walked past them their darkness envelops them." [369]

The focus of the unfolding of creation on the first occasion shifts in the fourth scene to two important manifestations of Horus. Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, section 14, may again provide the key to their identities:

"I am his Twin *Bas* lodging in his twin progeny.
Who is He?
(It means) Osiris when he entered Mendes.
He found the *ba* of Re there.
Then they embraced Each Other.

369 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 263.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Then (he) became 'his twin *ḥas*'.

And as for 'his Twin Progeny',
it means Horus, Protector of His Father and
Horus with No Eyes in His Forehead.

Variant: As for ' his twin *ḥas* lodging in his Twin Progeny',
they are the *ḥa* of Re and the *ḥa* of Osiris,
the *ḥa* of him who is in Shu and
the *ḥa* of him who is in Tefnut;
they are the twin *ḥas* of them that are in Mendes." [370]

The text shows how closely linked these two manifestations of Horus are to the united *ḥa* of Re Osiris and Atum, the creator, the focus of much of the fifth and sixth divisions of the Book of Caverns. If this identification is correct, it is Horus with No Eyes in His Forehead and Horus Protector of His Father who are coming into existence in our text through the light and spoken word of the sun god, who himself has just emerged complete. It further indicates that when the two manifestations of Horus were spoken to by Re, they have been joined together and are the ones who come forth from Horus. That is to say his two united manifestations, which are of particular importance to kingship and its transmission from father Osiris to son Horus; the mythic prototype of dynastic rule. Recall that this ancient tradition had been disrupted by the heretic Akhenaten and its restoration is part of the state-sanctioned program of *wḥm mswt* instituted by Seti I. As will be shown this is an important function if not the primary purpose of the Osireion. [371]

Horus with No Eyes in His Forehead, a manifestation of Horus the Elder, represents Horus in the *ḏuat*. No eyes refers to the condition when neither the sun nor the moon are visible in the sky because they are both in the *ḏuat*. This only occurs at the time of the new moon. Horus is conceived, *bkj*, on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon (New Moon), *psḏntyw*. In the context of *zp tpj*, the conception of Horus-Moon in the *ḏuat* and thus invisible marks the beginning of the lunar month, the lunar year, and the great nineteen year cycle from its northern extreme. [372] His other manifestation as Protector of His Father, *ḥr nḏ jt.f*, is the tutelary deity of the second lunar day. [373] On this day of the lunar month, Horus, son of Isis and Osiris was born. [374] This "birth" is the reappearance of the new crescent moon in

370 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 29; and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), pl. 10 and 101. Where both translators use the word soul, I have replaced it with the original Egyptian word *ḥa*.

371 See below Chapter 5.

372 See below 4.4.

373 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 59.

374 Ibid., 59.

the night sky, low in the western horizon, having emerged from the *ḏuat.* In terms of the transmission of royal power, Horus as Protector of His Father, who is prominently depicted in the Antechamber of the Osireion and is part of this ritual cycle, revivifies his father Osiris. (Plates 225, 224) Rejuvenated by Horus and made ithyphallic by the magic of Isis, Osiris impregnates Isis. Horus conceived as the new moon in the *ḏuat* will reborn as the new crescent moon, son of Osiris and Isis, under the protection of his tutelary god, a manifestation of himself, Horus Protector of His Father. As the son of Osiris, he is the legitimate heir of his father and the rightful recipient of his inheritance, the rulership of the Two Lands. These two lunar manifestations of Horus as the progeny of the twin *ḫas* of Re and Osiris, who are themselves the *ḫas* of the creator Atum(-Re) have been shown here to be intimately connected with the revivification of the dead king Osiris-Moon and Horus' own conception as the son of Osiris and the legitimate heir to the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. As such they provide strong support for Parker's hypothesis "that the whole character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to have, ultimately, a lunar explanation." [375]

In the fifth episode of the middle register of the sixth division, are four sarcophagi each with a headless deity under the Solar Disk which illuminates them. (Plate 208) They are "called 'The One With The Head', 'The Completed One', 'The Whole One' and 'The Perfect One'...." [376] They are called the 'Followers of Horus of the *Ḏuat*' who is 'Horus With No Eyes in His Forehead' and therefore directly linked to the two sarcophagi in the fourth episode next to them. Together, they are six in number forming the latent six parts of the Udjat-eye, the left lunar eye of Horus which makes it complete, but here in their formative stage are still in the *ḏuat.* As we have seen, the two manifestations of Horus in the fourth episode represent the new moon when Horus is conceived and first crescent visibility when he is born. Both are aspects of the beginning of the waxing phase of the lunar month. The names of the four in this fifth episode would all appear to relate to the other end of the waxing phase of the lunar cycle, that of the full moon. The 'Followers of Horus of the *Ḏuat*' as those who come after the new moon, represent the later phases of the waxing moon to its completion.

Re says to this Cavern:
O you of the pupil (of the solar eye [better the lunar eye]),
who have no heads [still in the formation stage],
who are in the middle of their sarcophagi and see with their veins(?)!
Un(known?) Ones, since their manifestations are secret,
Followers of Horus of the *Ḏuat* whose heads have been placed
in his eye [the Eye of Horus]!
O look, I move past you, I give you instructions,
I illuminate you in the secret Caverns!

375 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

376 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 263. The names are restored from the Tomb of Petamenophis (TT 33).

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

You are the Ones of the Mysterious Manifestations,
the ones (without) any face, who are in (my) retinue!" [377]

In the first episode of the upper register of the sixth division, Anubis with outstretched arms stands between two sarcophagi. (Plate 206) Each contains a mummy in a fetal position with its *ḥa* bird standing on top and thus united with its embryonic body. The are called 'The One Who Is Intact' and 'The One Who Returns (*ḥɜy*)'. [378] Both names appear to have lunar connotations. 'The One Who Is Intact' can be interpreted as the full moon, the restored Eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye. 'The One Who Returns' would be the Blacked-out Moon returning to the *ḏuat* as well as the first crescent reappearing in the night sky. At another level, they could represent Osiris as "The One Who Is Intact' and Re as 'The One Who Returns' as Barguet has suggested. [379] In this context, it brings to mind the two types of time that the ancient Egyptians associated with these two deities. Osiris as 'The One Who Is Intact' is a precise expression of Eternal Sameness (*ḏt*), Order (*mɜꜥt*) and the night time. Re as 'The One Who Returns' is the quintessential symbol signifying Life (*ꜥnḫ*), Eternal Recurrence (*nḥḥ*) and day time. [380] And yet at another level and somewhat more obvious, the scene can be interpreted as the twin *ḥas* of Re and Osiris about to be born. "These bodies are under the protection of Anubis, who has then finished the work that leads to bodily resurrection." [381]

Re says to this Cavern:
O Anubis, the one who has formed his body as a god is strong.
Lord of the West, guard the *ḥau*,
so that the *ḏuat* is pleased with my plans!
Look, I enter into the *shetit*,
I have been transmuted, I am born myself,
I have appeared in the Two Caverns, the two burial mounds." [382]

These last two lines specifically relate to the scene directly below it and probably suggest that a tandem reading for the two upper registers is intended. In a lunar context, there is a progression in the two scenes. First, the sun god is born followed by the creation of the moon in both its manifestations of Osiris and as Horus. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the Osiris scene, the fourth episode in the top

377 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 263-264.

378 Hornung has amended the second name from *ḥɜy* to *ḥy* and translates it as 'The Jubilant One' also found in the twelfth hour Amduat. See D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 374-375 for comments on Hornung's amendment. P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes" RdE 28 (1976), 36 for his translation as 'The One Who Returns' as I have done.

379 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 36, n. 72.

380 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 25.

381 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 161.

382 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 257.

register of the Osireion version, is combined with the fifth episode of the middle register into a single scene, which also points to a tandem reading for the two upper registers. (Plate 205)

In the second episode of the upper register of the sixth division, the focus is on the transformation of Re into the "One Who Has Come Into Existence'. (Plates 203, 207) Here again as in the prior episode, Anubis' presence as the guardian of the transfiguration is mandated. In addition, two ancient and great goddesses in their ovals with four hieroglyphic signs for 'flesh' assist as they stand on either side and guard over the corpse, a ram and a falcon's head of Re in the center sarcophagus over which the Sun Disk is depicted as it illuminates the sarcophagus with its vivifying light. The ram and the falcon's head of Re allude to the manifestation of the sun god who has come into existence. It is Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. In the Central Hall of the Osireion, this form of the sun god is depicted in the uppermost register of the decorated notional northern wall as ram-headed and labeled Re-Horakhti with variegated plumage. The two ancient and great goddesses are in all probability Isis and Nephthys, who are depicted in the final scene of the Book of Gates assisting in the sun god's birth by lifting him upward.

"Re says to this Cavern:
O you two ancient and great goddesses who guard the secret sarcophagus
while Anubis guards them,
as the ones (?) who carry my corpse and the head of Re,
the mystery of the One, the Lord of Manifestations.
Look, I pass by your Cavern,
I illuminate you, your darkness has been dispelled.

The two goddesses say to Re,
they speak to this (god) who made them come into existence:
O you who shaped us,
you, whom they (?) guard so that he has no Enemies -
look, we guard your mystery (corpse),
you who illuminate the Earth with your great Sun Disk,
Lord of Manifestations, you who perfects the births,
Khepri who lets the Ones Who Have Come About come about! (play on words)

That is what these deities are like on either side of his (Re's) sarcophagus.
Re – his form is elevated in his mystery.
He has changed into the one who has come into existence.
This Great God speaks to them, and they speak to him,
he illuminates them with his light.
He tarries for a while in this Cavern so that (they) can see him.
Then darkness envelops them after he has moved past them." [383]

383 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 257-258.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

As the “Changed One', the 'One Who Has Come Into Existence', Re is the Lord of Manifestations, who perfects births and in his manifestation of Khepri, the sun of the first sunrise will soon bring the “Ones Who Have Come About' to come about i.e. come into existence by its first light in the newly created cosmos.

In the third episode of the upper register of the sixth division, two standing goddesses protect the 'One of the Underworld”, a recumbent divine figure in the upper oval. (Plate 207) In the lower oval are the 'Head of the Ram' signifying the command of Re and the scarab beetle determined by the hieroglyph for 'child', Khepri. [384] The great Sun Disk is between the two ovals in the Osireion version illuminating the sacred forms of the twin *ḥas*, the united Re Osiris.

Re says to this Cavern:
O you two goddesses who are rejoicing (at my arrival),
  who are my own protection
when they guard the One with the Hidden Mystery, the Greatest God,
the Lord of the *ḍuat* (Osiris);
the ones who watch when I am being born in the *ḍuat*,
  when I have changed into the form of Khepri,
  when I have been rejuvenated in the Beautiful West.
The two goddesses say to Re:
You Primeval One, you Primeval One [Atum]!
  Shape who has shaped himself!
Who reunited himself and reforms his limbs
  through that which comes from his mouth (the magic word)!
From whose body 'The One of the Underworld' [Re and Osiris united in one form]
  has come forth.
  Ejector of Seed, who ejaculated when he procreates!
Look, we (act) according to the way you have ordered,
  when they let your Solar Disk rise, Khepri!

This is what they are like.
They guard the images of Re and the corpse of the 'One of the Underworld'.
Re speaks to them and they speak to him.
This Great God illuminates them with his great Sun Disk
  when he enters their Cavern.
Then darkness envelops them after he has moved past them.” [385]

384 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 258.

385 Ibid., 258-259.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Here the creation process continues with the preparations for the birth of Re which is underway. Re will soon change into his visible manifestation of Khepri after having completed his rejuvenation in the Beautiful West. As the child, Khepri will make his first appearance with sunrise on *zp tpj*. The ancient and great goddesses remind us of the crucial role the 'Primeval One', that is to say Atum who created them, plays in the unfolding of sunrise and the created cosmos. The text says that he is the one who has shaped Himself (the self creator). Who reunited himself (as Re Osiris) and reforms his limbs by speaking the creative word, heka, which is the command of Re symbolized by the ram's head in the lower oval. His limbs are both those of Osiris in the upper oval as phases of the moon which must be reunited to perpetuate the lunar cycle and those of the manifestations of Re, regenerating himself from the aged creator god Atum who enters the *ḏuat* to 'the child', symbolized by the scarab beetle, Khepri, who will rise up out of the *ḏuat*, born anew as the sunrise. Atum, from whose body 'The One of the Underworld', the united *ḥa* of Re Osiris, comes forth. Ejector of the seed, the ithyphallic Osiris who is united with his *ḥa*, as depicted in the fifth division of the Book of Caverns, (Plate 198) is also a manifestation of the united Re Osiris and Kamutef, the Bull of His Mother, the self created one, Atum the Primeval One who ejaculated when he procreates.

In the forth episode of the upper register of the sixth division, the deity 'Osiris-Orion', the celestial manifestation of Osiris is depicted bending over a mound. (Plates 203, 208) Under his feet is a bound decapitated enemy, the 'Robber'. Next a deity with arms raised in praise, 'The One Who Worships', stands before the great Sun Disk and the Great Falcon, Horus, who is perched on a mound containing five hieroglyphic signs for 'flesh'.[386] The large disk and falcon are of equal size.

Re says to this cavern:
O Osiris, Lord of the *ḏuat*,
  Unique God, Orion of the West!
Protect your son and affix his eye!
  Let him be pleased with his divine eye.
Protect the god and destroy the 'Robber',
  you with your unique power,
whose adversary lies under his feet,
  in your shape as Osiris-Orion!
I shine for you with this my light,
  I protect you with that which is on my forehead (the Solar Disk).

Osiris-Orion says to Re:
O look, Re, we have carried out what you have said!
The One who has come forth from me is protecting that which has come forth from me.
It is this (?) which you have done for us,
  that you made our place secret and shroud (my) throne.

386 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 259. Also to be noted is that in the version from the tomb of Ramesses VI, this scene is split. Osiris-Orion is paired with the two manifestations of Horus from the fourth episode in the middle register of the sixth division forming a single scene. (Plates 203, 204, 205)

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

May you let your *ḅau* speak above us!
O illuminate us, Re, you of great manifestations!

This is what these deities are like in their Cavern.
They talk to this Great God and he talks to them.
This 'One who Worships' who is in his Realm of the Dead,
he protects Horus because of his divine eye,
the Great Falcon who tarries on his images.
They see the light after this Great God has moved pass them.
Then darkness envelops them.

Horus says to Re:
O Re who has formed him [Osiris] who formed me,
you unique one who let (my) procreator come into existence. (?)
Look, I tarry in this dark divine eye, [of] mine.
Come and approach me, you with great light,
you are indeed my divine eye!
Come and approach me, you with the great Sun Disk,
you are my shining eye, my Udjat-eye!
Homage be to you, (O) Re when you shine for us,
Lord of the Sun Disk, when you dispel (for 'our') darkness!" [387]

The introduction of Orion, the celestial manifestation of Osiris at this transitional point where the sun god and the *ḅa* of Osiris begin their departure from the *ḍuat* to the Mountain of the East, from which the sun will rise on the day of the Blacked-out Moon (new moon) is highly significant. It refers to a specific sunrise. The final scene of the Book of the Caverns is depicted on the notional northeastern most point of the Entrance Passage. It signifies the impending sunrise of the Great Sun Disk, as it is called in the text, on the summer solstice at the peak of the annual solar journey, the northernmost point along the ecliptic. [388] Recall that the Entrance Passage like the two Transverse Halls in the Osireion and the transverse axis of the main temple to which the Osiris Complex is orientated to mark the place of the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius on the eastern horizon by use of the toe star of Osiris-Orion, Rigel, as it transits (i.e. crosses the meridian of) the transverse axis. As will be shown, the Book of Nut in the Second Transverse Hall has the same orientation and from it we learn that the heliacal rising of Sothis on I *ꜣḫt* 1 occurred on the summer solstice at the time of the new moon on *zp tpj*. [389] This auspicious day marks the start of: the ancient Egyptians' New Year with sunrise on the summer solstice; the

387 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 259-260.

388 The inversion principle in the *ḍuat* is not operative here as it is very near sunrise and the sun god with the *ḅa* of Osiris are no longer in the *ḍuat* proper.

389 See below 5.7.

monthly lunar cycle; the great nineteen year lunar cycle from its northern extreme;[390] and heralds the coming of the life giving inundation of the Nile, the efflux of Osiris.

Here in this episode, Re tells Orion in the West, i.e. Orion in the *ḏuat*, to protect his son Horus, the new moon also in the *ḏuat*, and to reattach his (restored) eye, the lunar Udjat-eye to make him complete. Further, Re asks Orion with his unique power to destroy the 'Robber', who is presumably Seth, who ripped out Horus' eye and damaged it. Osiris-Orion replies to Re saying that we have carried out what you have said. The bound decapitated enemy Seth, the 'Robber' is depicted beneath his feet. Osiris-Orion has clearly triumphed over his enemy and death.[391] Then Osiris, Lord of the West, Unique God, Orion of the West says that the One who has come forth from me, Horus as Horus, Protector of His Father, the new crescent moon of the unfolding lunar cycle, is protecting that which has come forth from me, Horus in his manifestation as Horus with No Eyes in His Forehead, the new moon in the *ḏuat*. The interpretation for this episode gains support from the arrangement of the scenes of the sixth division in the tomb of Ramesses VI, where Osiris-Orion is paired with the two manifestations of Horus from the fourth episode in the middle register (Osireion version) forming a single scene. (Plates 203, 204, 205) I have identified the two Horus manifestations as Horus, Protector of His Father and Horus with No Eyes. Both have lunar connotations associated with the start of the monthly lunar cycle. So here Osiris-Orion, the stellar manifestation of Osiris when he is in the West, i.e. the *ḏuat* is told by Re to protect his son Horus-Moon. Furthermore, the 'One who Worships' who is in his Realm of the Dead is said to also protect Horus because of his divine eye, the Great Falcon who tarries on his images (the phases of the moon). In a lunar context, the Great Falcon, Horus can be interpreted as the moon, the deputy of Re in the night sky. Goebs recognized this role as deputy. "This conception of a succession of gods – in the temporal and in the political sense – is based on the attribution of a royal role to the sun god, who is seen and worshiped as 'king of the sky'. During periods of invisibility, this role is taken over by 'deputies' in particular the moon god – who may be in the 'role' or 'form' of the sun god, his *ḥa*, or 'left eye' – but also the constellation Orion [as we have seen here in this episode]. The latter may be identified with Osiris as easy as the Pyramid Texts, who is the ruler of the *d*(*w*)*ꜣt* or West in his most prominent role, and also as such complements the role of the sun god."[392]

Barguet sees this scene in terms of kingship and the transmission of royal power. "In the last scene [of the upper register], more complex, shows the victory of Osiris-Orion over the enemy, that had delighted the eye of Horus, which is restored here to its legitimate owner, the [Great] Falcon Horus-King, son and successor of Osiris-Orion, who awakes at dawn."[393]

390 See below 4.4.

391 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 162.

392 K. Goebs, "*Njswt nḥḥ* – Kingship, Cosmos, and Time" in Z. Hawass (ed.), Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century II (2003), 239.

393 P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin" RdE 28 (1976), 36. Author's translation.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The lower register of the sixth division is again the Place of Destruction/Annihilation where "some of the dawned who seem to have escaped the earlier massacres are being put to death; the two blood-soaked goddesses who carry out this operation are painted in red. It appears quite likely that these are enemies of the sunrise; after being duly punished, they will not be able to leave the netherworld to interfere with the passage of the sun. This time, Re will come into view above the horizon."[394] With the enemies finally subdued and held in check within the created cosmos in the Place of Annihilation in the lower *ḏuat* bordering nonexistence, the Nun, the necessary process of cleansing the impurities, symbolized by the enemies, has been completed. There are seventeen enemies including the three disembodied hearts, not the usual sixteen.[395] (Plates 203, 207, bottom left) Apophis, the nemesis of Re, the seventeenth is among them. This is the number sacred to Osiris signifying dismemberment and death. In this final register depicting the enemies in the Place of Destruction, Osiris' fate is delivered back onto those who perpetrated the evil crime. With the cleansing of impurities accomplished, the re-membering of Osiris and Osiris-Moon begins.

In the fourth and final episode of the lower register of the sixth division (Plates 203, 208, 204, 205), Osiris is in the process of re-membering as he is emerging and rising up out of the Place of Annihilation. He is encircled by the 'Great Serpent', who in the second episode of the middle resister also endangers the sun god. Osiris' legs still in the Place of Destruction are not yet visible. "On either side of the snake is the figure of an Enemy ('The Bloody one') in the Earth, his head invisible. In the most concise and graphic way, the fate of the deceased is shown in the rise of Osiris and the damnation of the enemies.

Re says to this Cavern:
(O) Osiris, whom the 'Great Serpent' encircles,
You "Bloody Ones', corpse prone, face downward,
with the face in the interior of his (Osiris') Cavern!
O see, I hurry past your Cavern,
you who is in the coil of the Serpent!
I give you the order which is in my mouth (the word of the Creator),
I let you breathe through that which comes forth from me (the breath of life).
Praise to you, Osiris, (for) your *ba* lives!
Your Caverns are illuminated through the rays of my light
which (the snake) 'Evil Face' cannot see!

This is what this God is like.
(His) torso has come forth from the Place of Annihilation.
This Great God (Re) speaks to him,

394 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 162.

395 Note that in the tomb of Ramesses VI (A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI, pl. 33 = my Plate 204), there are only two hearts depicted totaling the usual number of enemies, sixteen, in the bottom register. This suggests that the Osireion scene is deliberately altered or as the original intended to signify the sacred Osirian number. For the three hearts see H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II (1933), plate 46 = my Plate 207.

this god (Osiris) sees the light after this god (Re) has moved past him.
Darkness is (allotted to) this Serpent,
after (he?) [Re] has moved past.

Re says to these Caverns:
I have moved (past) the Caverns of the Annihilated,
I have surrendered them to their fate,
after I have moved through the Realm of the Dead and have provided for it.
Do pay homage to me,
do rejoice for me,
do make ready the way for me!
Look, I hurry along,
while I have been transfigured,
on the path of the One With Mysterious Form!" [396]

The scene of Osiris is placed at the end of the sixth division in the bottom register rising out from the Place of Destruction, (Plate 203) so that his rejuvenated *ḥa* can join Re, also transfigured, to travel with him in the solar barque on the Day of the New Moon, as they are depicted in the emerging solar barque at the beginning of the final scene of the Book of Caverns. (Plate 209)

The text in thirty seven columns that separates the sixth division from the final scene in the Osireion version has an introduction. (Plate 214) Here, Re proclaims that he has been (re)born and is transfigured. His Sun Disk has been fixed by the divine members of the council who are in the retinue of (Osiris) Khentamenti, 'The Foremost of the West'. [397]

"Look I emerge from my two mounds [in the *ḏuat*]." [398]

This proclamation by Re is in the first five columns of the text. The number five symbolizes the *ḏuat* where these events are unfolding. A litany to the *ḫas* of thirty two deities follows. All of whom appear to have played a role in the transfiguration of Re and the re-membering of Osiris. The thirty two *ḫas* consists of four goddesses and twenty eight gods. Taken in a lunar context, the twenty eight gods could allude to the twenty eight visible phases of the monthly lunar cycle that will arise out from the rejuvenation of Osiris-Moon in the *ḏuat* at the time of the new moon, beginning with new crescent visibility. The four goddesses: the *ḥa* of the (Goddess) 'With the Mysterious Face'; the *ḥa* of the (Goddess) 'With Hidden Place'; the *ḥa* of Isis; and the *ḥa* of Nephthys are probably a reference to the cardinal directions given that Isis and Nephthys can symbolically represent the south and the north

396 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 266-267.

397 Ibid., 268.

398 Ibid., 268.

according to Wilkinson.[399] If this is the case, then the *ḥa* of the (Goddess) 'With Hidden Place' would symbolize the west, the location of the *ḏuat* which is hidden and thus the *ḥa* of the (Goddess) 'With the Mysterious Face' would represent the east. Here, they likely serve as the four supports of the heavens, through which the twenty eight visible forms (lunar phases) of this god travels.[400] This is illustrated on the outside of the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun. (Plate 172) The decoration is "dominated by the four tutelary deities, Isis, Nephthys, Selkis [*srqt*] and Neith, carved in high relief.... They stand at each of the corners of the monument, their winged arms outstretched to envelop the box in a protective embrace... "[401] It is possible, indeed probable, that the structure of the texts on the head end of the sarcophagus on one level could be a subtle reference to the waxing phase of the lunar cycle, itself a symbol of rejuvenation. The horizontal band at the top represents the time of the invisible new moon, the start of the lunar month. The fourteen vertical columns by their number signify the visible phases of the waxing moon. (Plate 172) The two Udjat-eyes incised to either side of the head of the sarcophagus are meant to symbolize the culminating event of the cycle, the day of the full moon when the sun is visible rising in the east and the full moon is setting in the west. Together they represent Horus with Two Eyes, a manifestation of Horus, the Elder. In general at least in the New Kingdom, the sarcophagus especially its lid symbolized the goddess Nut providing protection over the transfigured body of the king, now Osiris and, so too, Osiris-Moon.[402] Visually then the four standing goddesses at the corners support the lid. That is to say Nut, the sky goddess. The symbolism just described adds additional support for Parker's hypothesis "that the whole character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to have, ultimately, a lunar explanation."[403]

Returning to the structure of the thirty seven column text that separates the sixth division from the final scene in the Osireion, from a lunar standpoint it suggests that it equates to the complete lunar cycle. The first five columns of the introduction to the text marks the start of the lunar month. The number five symbolizes the *ḏuat*, where the Blacked-out Moon is rejuvenated to begin its monthly cycle. Here, as part of the final scene in the Book of Caverns, a Osirian Lunar Treatise concerning the first occasion, *zp tpj*, it represents the first lunar cycle of the newly created cosmos. The position of this composition on the notional northern wall of the Entrance Passage orients it to the northern lunar extreme, the start of the great nineteen year lunar cycle.[404] The introduction to this text is followed by a

399 R. Wilkinson, "Symbolic Orientation and Alignments in New Kingdom Royal Tombs" in R. Wilkinson, (ed.), Valley of the Sun Kings (1995), 76.

400 The heavens that the Goddesses support would be the day and the night time sky, but also that of the Underworld. The moon travels through all three. Note that the moon can be seen in the sky during the day as well. It is especially prominent when the moon is full. It is in the western sky opposite the rising sun in the east, which may be what. (Plate 172)

401 N. Reeves, The Complete Tutankhamun (1990), 105. He further states "and at the westernmost end, an incised Udjat-eye. The east and the west ends of the box are similarity inscribed with a single horizontal band of text and a further 14 verticals." In fact, only the head end of the sarcophagus is inscribed with the 14 columns of vertical texts. The foot end has only a single horizontal line of text. There are two Udjat-eyes not one. See M. Eaton-Krauss, The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun (1993), plates 2-10.

402 For example, the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I, now in the Sloane Museum in London, has a giant figure of the goddess Nut on the inside bottom. See J. Bonomi, S. Sharpe, The Alabaster Sarcophagus Of Oimenepthah I [Seti I], King of Egypt (1864), plates 16-17.

403 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

404 See below 4.4.

litany of the thirty two *ḥas* in thirty two columns. (Plate 214) The *ḥas* of the four goddesses support the sky,[405] through which the twenty eight *ḥas* travel as the twenty eight visible phases of the waxing and waning of Osiris-Moon to complete the monthly lunar cycle. The last *ḥa* in the litany is "that *ḥa* of the One With The Injured Face",[406] which could be interpreted as a veiled allusion to the last crescent moon.

It is also possible that there is a sort of number play concealed in the structure of this final thirty seven column text. It has been shown that the number five can be equated with the *ḏuat.* The litany of the thirty two *ḥas* is written in thirty two columns. The number thirty two is written with five hieroglyphs (nnnII). The five then also equates to the *ḏuat*, where the thirty two *ḥas* are located.

Recall that the first episode of the middle register of the sixth division, we witnessed the birth of Re into the *ḏuat,* i.e. part of the created cosmos as he emerged from the primeval darkness. From the place where time does not exist, his birth into the *ḏuat* brings him into *ḏt* time. In the final scene of the Book of Caverns, the birth of Re again unfolds. This "second birth" takes the sun god and the *ḥa* of Osiris ultimately to the daytime sky of our world and into *nḥḥ* time, which arose out of the first occasion on *zp tpj*. Its depiction occurs at the end of this ritual cycle of the Rites for the New Moon on the notional eastern wall of the Antechamber.

In the final scene, the solar barque is shown for the first and only time in this composition. Its stern is not yet visible as it materializes out of nonexistence. (Plate 209) In it are three deities. The ram-headed standing deity, the *ḥa* of the Great God, the creator Atum-Re is transfigured and now addressed as Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons.[407] Before him is the scarab beetle the "symbol of his coming into being and also, it would appear, of Shu, [first born of the creator] the air that enables the boat to rise up in the sky."[408] The god at the bow of the solar barque is depicted as a *ḥa*-bird and clearly labeled the *ḥa* of Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses VI.[409] (Plate 211) The barque is

405 For a much later (circa 50 BC) representation of four goddesses supporting the heavens/night sky see the famous circular zodiac from Dendera now in the Louvre in J. Buchwald, "Egyptian Stars under Paris Skies" Engineering & Science No. 4 (2003).

406 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 270.

407 This exact image of the god is clearly identified in the Central Hall in the top register of the decorated wall. See H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II (1933), plate 73 = my Plate 313.

408 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 162. Also "Shu, whose name may mean 'emptiness' or 'he who rises up', was the god of air and also of sunlight." R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 129. Thus, Khepri shares two attributes with Shu, the first born of Atum which initiates the creation of the cosmos. Both are "He or The One Who Rises Up" and are the sunlight. Khepri is the sunrise on the first occasion on *zp tpj*. Shu is the initial creative act of the first occasion. Together they represent the start and the finish of the creation process of the first occasion. Thus, it is said in the Coffin Texts (CT IV 62m) of Khepri: "I have self-developed in my identity of Khepri." J. P. Allen Genesis in Egypt (1988), 10.

409 See Plate 211. [Piankoff (1954) plate 33] D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 462-463. He too suggests that the figure of the *ḥa*-bird should be read as *ḥa* so that it is the *ḥa* of Osiris.

towed by twelve deities who will likely become the deities over the twelve hours of the day.[410] At the same time, the twelve deities which are in three distinct groups of four may also personify the three seasons coming into being. The trajectory of the barque is clear. It moves past two mounds in the interior of which is the great mystery. (Plates 209, 213) This parallels the action in the first episode of the middle register of the sixth division, but is not identical. The Sun Disk propelled by the scarab beetle, Khepri, emerges from the primeval darkness to pass through the two Mounds of the West and enter the *ḏuat* and *ḏt* time.

"(By the god above the mound in the upper register):

Osiris says to Re:
O come, come, O Re!
The Lord of Life calls out: Come to my *ḅa*,
so that it can walk together with you, O Re!
(He?) says to Re:
O Re with … (destroyed) face on his side -
come, while my *ḅa* is in your retinue!
You lift up the chest (?) which Nut has shaped
and she opens her arms to you.

This is what this god is like.
He [Osiris] leans over the mysterious mound
in the interior of which is the great mystery [his corpse].
This Great God speaks before this god
when he moves past (in) the barque.
His corpse and his form are pleased with his throne.

(By the god above the mound in the lower register):

Re says to this Cavern
when he speaks the Word [of the Creator] to this divine mound.
This is what this god is like.
He leans over the mysterious mound
in the interior of which is the mystery.
This Great God moves past it,
move this God utters the Word [of the Creator] to it.
The *ḅa* of this god [Osiris] moves along (in) the barque.

410 "In the bottom register of the Eleventh Hour of the Book of Gates, the twelve are 'The Deities Who Never Set' [Deities Who Are Fixed], evidently a personification of the circumpolar stars..." E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 177. They can only enter the solar barque when the sun is at its northernmost point along the ecliptic, the time of the summer solstice. This would point to the prime act of creation beginning to unfold in the final scene of the Book of Caverns leading to the first sunrise on *zp tpj* as the one of the summer solstice. The Book of Nut in the Second Transverse Hall informs us that on this day, the heliacal rising of Sothis occurred on I *ꜣḫt* 1 at the time of the New Moon.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

His corpse and his form are pleased with his throne." [411]

Here Osiris, the god of the mysterious mound, speaks to Re asking him to come, so that their two *bas* can walk together and in so doing enter the solar barque. (Plate 209) Osiris' *ba* is now in the the retinue of the sun god Re. But his corpse and form remain within the double mound. (Plate 213) The five column introductory text preceding the final scene of the Book of Caverns provide further insight into the identity of the corpse and the form: (Plate 214)

"O that corpse of mine [this Great God] which is in the mound,
My body and my images!

O that corpse of Atum,
that, his very body, his images, his *ba*!" [412]

The corpse in the double mound is that of the Great God. The Great God is simultaneously Atum, Re and Osiris. These are the same three deities manifested in the solar barque. They are three aspects of one and the same god – 'The Great God'. [413] All are essential for the prime act of creation to unfold, the first sunrise and the birth of the New Moon. They also can be viewed as the two eyes of Horus the Elder that come into existence. The double mound which contains the great mystery, perhaps may also represent the cavern of the god Aker, which was depicted in the third division as the double sphinx. (Plate 183) Inside of it is the great mystery, the revivifying corpse of Osiris and the Solar Disk. Both the Solar Disk and the corpse of Osiris are inside the double mound in the final scene. The solar barque is being pulled out from the interior of the Cavern of Aker as Re utters the 'Word of the Creator' to the double mounds. There is a remarkable scene from the Book of the Earth that depicts this very action.[414] (Plates 361, 365, 366, 368) In the final scene of the Book of Caverns as the solar barque emerges from the double mound, it is dragged into the dark watery abyss. These are the regenerative powers of the Nun, where time does not exist and old becomes new, the great mystery of the transfiguration. At this point the solar barque is pulled back into the body of Nut, re-entering *ḏt* time.

Text in the final scene by the seven worshiping deities in the upper register:

"This is what this god is like.
They pay homage to Re-Horakhti
when he enters the body of Nut. [415]

411 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 270-271.

412 Ibid., 268.

413 Ibid., 270. Hornung identifies them as "three different images of the sun god (among them the *ba* of Osiris, i.e. Re)..."

414 See also J. Roberson, The Books of the Earth (2012), plate 9, 479.

415 As would have been depicted in the bottom register of the last hour of the Book of the Night directly above it. (Plate 387)

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

(Text by the seven falcon-headed worshiping deities in the lower register):

This is what these deities are like.
They pay homage to Re-Horakhti
when he enters the body of Nut.

(Above the towing deities):

This is what these deities are like.
They tow Re, the Lord of the Horizon,
They let him settle down in the Mountain of the East." [416]

Homage is paid to Re-Horakhti, the transfigured sun god by fourteen deities. The seven falcon-headed deities are all manifestations of Horus, including 'Horus With The Great Eye' and 'Horus Of Great Appearance'. They also can be interpreted in a lunar context as can the seven other worshiping deities which include 'The One Of Mysterious Manifestations', 'The One Of Mysterious Form', 'The One With Numerous Issue' and 'The Shining One'. Together, the fourteen deities are an allusion to the fourteen visible phases of the waxing moon from new crescent to full moon. The image created by the narrowing of the V-shaped trajectory suggests that it is the birth canal of Nut into which the solar barque has just entered.

(Text between the gods towing and the ram-headed scarab at the end of the final scene):

We tow Re, we follow this Sole Lord,
Khepri, with his head attached [the Solar Disk].
Praise to you, you with great magic power!
To you belongs the *ba* with living manifestations [the *ba* of Osiris]!
The one who remains in the interior of his Sun Disk, remains.
Re remains in the interior of his Sun Disk!

This Great God enters his Mountain of the East.
The Lord of the Gods, who sees mankind and illuminates his subjects,
and lights up (?) the faces of the ones who are on the Earth!
(Thus) say they, the gods of the shores [eastern akhet] of Re-Horakhti." [417]

It should be noted here that in the center register of the final scene, the number of deities entering the

416 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 271.

417 Ibid., 271-272.

birth canal of Nut can be read as both seventeen and nineteen.[418] (Plate 209) They are the sacred Osirian numbers symbolizing death and renewal, coming into being on the first occasion. The actions described here recounts what one sees from on the Earth during the moments leading to the sunrise on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon, the start of the lunar month. Recall Wells' observation of this event, which he compared to the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius, the start of the Egyptian New Year on the ideal calendar. "In fact, it could be regarded as even more distinctive, if not spectacular. One February while awaiting sunrise at Amarna, the sky at about 5:30 AM appeared quite black with very sharp and clear patterns of stars. By 6:00 AM the sky had brightened to a light blue with only the brightest stars noticeable. The eastern sky took on a dull reddish and greenish glow very close to the horizon. This gradually brightened and changed to a golden color in the area where the sun itself would later appear. By now (roughly 6:30 AM), the sky was completely illuminated and quite bright. The thin, silver curve of the lunar crescent slowly rose just to the right of where the sun was expected to appear and sat momentarily on the eastern horizon... Not long thereafter, the sun appeared as a giant sphere of gold washing out the appearance of the lunar crescent."[419] The washing out of the appearance of the lunar crescent by the brightening sun light was viewed by the ancient Egyptians as the moon entering the solar barque with the sun god Re. This was their explanation for the reason that the moon did not appear in the night sky on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon (new moon).

In the final scene of the Book of Caverns, Re is said to enter his Eastern Mountain, the eastern akhet, and the thighs of Nut from which the newly born sun will rise. In the context of *zp tpj*, it will be the sunrise on the first occasion. At the end of the final scene, (Plate 209) the ram-headed scarab beetle, child and red solar disk are depicted beginning their emergence from the birth canal of Nut, as was foretold in the giant Nut scene in the fifth division. The actual sunrise from the eastern akhet occurs with the first hour of the day.[420]

While the overt focus appears to be that of the first sunrise of the newly created cosmos, which is clearly of paramount importance, the main purpose of the Book of Caverns is more subtle. It was to revivify Osiris so that his *ḥa* could enter the solar barque and travel with Re on the Day of the New Moon. Here, Osiris-Moon would be regenerated and revived after having emerged from the primeval abyss of the Nun by direct contact with the sun god, the creator.[421] Osiris-Moon transfigured could

418 If the ram's head and the scarab beetle's body are counted as a single composite deity and the child whose feet are on the solar disk are as well, then there would be only seventeen deities depicted not nineteen. However, it is most probable that both counts were meant embodying the two halves and thus the complete cycle of death and renewal.

419 R. Wells, "Re and the the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time (1994), 33 n. 39.

420 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 117 and fig. 65 on 118. "... The Book of the Day describes the diurnal, not the nocturnal journey of the the sun, which travels from the vulva of the goddess (fig. 65), to her head, which swallows it again in the evening."

421 K. Eaton, "Monthly Lunar Festivals in the Mortuary Realm" JNES 70:2 (2011), 238. Eaton briefly comments on this concept. "Moreover, the theory that the moon was believed to be renewed by its seeming passage through the sun at the time of the blacked-out moon explains the strong connection between solar imagery and lunar rites." However, it is Depuydt, whom she cities, as the one who developed this idea most fully in "The Hieroglyphic Representations of the Moon's Absence (*Psḏntyw*) in L. Lesko (ed.) Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward (1998), 83. "Osiris is associated here with the moon. The passage seems to imply that the moon is in the sun's morning barque in the beginning of the month."

then be reborn and rise again in the night sky as the new crescent moon. The newly reborn moon appears as Osiris transfigured in his manifestation as Horus-Moon.

In this ritual cycle, the rites for the New Moon, the final unfolding of sunrise on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon is depicted in the Antechamber, specifically on the notional eastern wall above the entrance to the Annex. The continuation of this ritual cycle is the subject of section 4.5. In the next section, the astronomical concepts in the Book of Caverns are discussed.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.4 HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT: ASTRONOMICAL AND CALENDRICAL CONCEPTS IN THE BOOK OF CAVERNS

"Just as verbal and 'visual' puns were felt to reflect an important aspect of reality, the relationship between abstract numbers found in myth and in nature were also seen as meaningful patterns reflecting divine planning and cosmic harmony.... 'Accurate computation is the gateway to knowledge of all things and of dark mysteries' Bremner-Rhind Papyrus." [422] With this in mind and the recognition that "the Egyptians seemed to attach quite some importance to coincidences",[423] I have examined the number symbolism in the Book of Caverns.

There is some very intriguing and highly significant number symbolism embedded in the structure of the Osireion version of the Book of Caverns, which is most revealing and points to the sophistication of the ancient Egyptians' understanding of the solar and lunar cycles and their relationships, a tribute to their observational skills. "'There is perhaps no other country where ordered and movement of the stars are observed with such exactitude as in Egypt, since an incredible number of years, they keep registers where their observations are written down.' Diodor of Sicily (Diodorus Siculus) I. 71... The observation of rising stars which determined the hours of the night, is documented in the Old Kingdom already as being practiced on the temple terraces."[424] Their great interest in the sun and the moon, no doubt, stemmed from the fact that they were considered to be the celestial manifestations of two of their most important gods, Re and Osiris. The reason that this information is embedded in the Underworld Books is because the template for the patterns of the movements of the sun, moon and the stars were established on the first occasion, *zp tpj*, with the creation of the cosmos which is the function of these compositions in the Osireion.[425] The unfolding of cosmos began where the Nun of nonexistence meets the lower *ḏuat*.

There are seventeen scenes in the first half of the Book of Caverns in which Osiris is depicted, frequently in multiple forms. Recall that seventeen is the sacred Osirian number that represents the necessary dismemberment and death of this god before regeneration and rebirth are possible. In a lunar context, which I am also proposing for the Book of Caverns, it symbolizes the waning phase of the moon. The most obvious reason for the number seventeen being associated with the dismemberment and death of Osiris by the ancient Egyptians is from the lunar cycle itself. From *psḏntyw*, the

422 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 126.

423 A. von Bomhard, The Egyptian Calendar A Work For Eternity (1999), 37 n. 23.

424 Ibid., 48, including n. 19.

425 I do not make this claim for all copies of the Underworld Books or the Books of the Sky only those in the Osireion, because there were obviously other important uses for these compositions particularly in the royal funerary sphere.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Blacked-out Moon (New Moon), the start of the Egyptian lunar month, the full moon would occur on the fifteenth day, *smdt*. "It is possible, however, for the day of the full moon to be delayed until the sixteenth day – *mspr sn-nw*, or second arrival day. It will happen whenever the thin lunar crescent that normally appears on day two of the Egyptian lunar month is delayed in appearance until day three – *mspr*, or day of arrival." [426] In either case by the seventeenth day of the lunar month, *sjɜw*, the moon is in its waning phase symbolizing the dismemberment of Osiris-Moon.[427] A more subtle explanation behind the number seventeen being associated with the dismemberment and death of Osiris-Moon is also derived from the lunar cycle. There are fourteen phases of the visible waning half of the lunar month. Combined with up to three days of lunar invisibility, the total number of days to the reappearance of the moon in the night sky with first crescent visibility is seventeen. Interestingly, Eaton has observed that: "Another possible [lunar] day feast, (*ɜbdn*) *sɜḏ* (perhaps day 17), was one of the most frequently omitted feasts." [428] This is not surprising given the negative association of dismemberment and death especially to the uninitiated, who would not appreciate nor even grasp the vital importance of this absolutely essential step to achieve re-memberment and with it rebirth.

The seventeen scenes contain fifty one manifestations of Osiris. This is the same structural format organizing the Litany of Osiris (BD 142) located in the Antechamber, which is also part of this ritual cycle. (Plate 220) Seventeen times three is fifty one, a multiplicity of names of Osiris in each of the lower and middle registers of the litany's three registers. [429]

In the second half of the Book of Caverns, by my count there are a total of nineteen scenes in which Osiris is depicted, but with fewer multiple forms. [430] Nineteen is the sacred Osirian number of regeneration, renewal and rebirth. In a lunar context, it represents the waxing phase of the moon. There are twenty five manifestations of Osiris in the nineteen scenes. At one level and a subtle one at that, they could refer to the relationship that exists between a twenty five civil year period and the lunar cycle. "Underlying this cycle are the facts that 25 Egyptian civil years have 9125 days and that 309 lunar months (divided into 16 years of 12 months and 9 years of 13 months) have 9124.95231 days." [431] As will be seen there are a total of 309 figures in the first half of the Book of Caverns.

It takes twenty five civil years for the same lunar phase to fall again on the same day of the civil

426 R. Wells, "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: an Egyptian 'Stonehenge'?" BSAK 4 (1990), 111-112.

427 "The Egyptians have a legend that the end of Osiris' life came on the seventeenth of the month, on which day it is quite evident that the period of the full moon is over." Plutarch, Moralia V (1936), 103.

428 K. Eaton, "Monthly Lunar Festivals in the Mortuary Realm" JNES 70:2 (2011), 230.

429 See below in 4.5 for a detailed analysis.

430 Including the final scene.

431 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13-15.

month. Based on p.Carlsberg 9 written in or after 144 AD, [432] a reconstructed "completed 25-year lunar cycle table appears to have been a handy counting scheme giving the day of the civil month on which the first day of the lunar month [the new moon] occurred. This written calendar is not an observational scheme – Parker showed that it was accurate only about 72% of the time and off by 1 day for the remaining 28% of the time. It must have been derived from observations like those discussed already. In fact, to quote Parker: 'Now it seems incontrovertible that the cyclic calendar must be a regularization of a lunar calendar depending originally on observations'." [433]

That the relationship of the civil calendar to the lunar monthly cycle was of considerable importance to the ancient Egyptians is already in evidence in the design and decoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple of Satet at Elephantine, built during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. [434] Wells has convincingly demonstrated that the temple was or at least could have been "used to count the same kind of sequence that occurs in the p.Carlsberg 9 table." [435] To best understand his analysis clearly, I quote him extensively here as I have utilized a similar methodology throughout my analysis of the Osireion.

"What evidence other than suitable astronomical conditions exists that might lend support to this possible calendarial use of the 18th Dynasty Satet temple? [436] In the vestry at the back of the temple are five scenes of deities all seated one behind the other with their faces turned outwards. The distribution is as shown in Plate 496. The total, 15, 12, 9, 2 on the lintel, and 9 very interestingly sums to 47!

In making an interpretation of these deities and their numbers, I was guided very strongly by Parker's interpretation of the 59 divinities of the dual Egyptian year – the dual year, of course, being the civil and lunar years running concurrently. These divinities are much later than the period of Hatshepsut, his earliest example being in the 22nd Dynasty. Parker arranged these as 12 groups of 4 for 48 followed

432 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13.

433 R. Wells, "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: an Egyptian 'Stonehenge'?" BSAK 4 (1990), 114. Wells quoting R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 25 and 17. On a side note, coincidentally the sum of the digits in 9125 days is 17 (9 + 1 + 2 + 5) and 17 hieroglyphic signs are required to express the number 9125. As oft stated, the number 17 was sacred to Osiris.

434 Ibid., 106.

435 Ibid., 114.

436 Ibid., 107-109. The suitable astronomical conditions are: "the relation between the summer – winter solstices; the ability of the heliacal rising of Sirius [Sothis] to be seen from within the temple; the presence of 30 portals in the portico surrounding the temple; and one further surprising correlation suggested to me that the temple could have been used to mark the days of the civil year. The further surprising correlation was my discovery that the heliacal rising of Sirius took place exactly five days after the summer solstice only at this period in History! … strictly limited between the reigns of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III [about 105 years]." The significance of the five days period between the summer solstice and the heliacal rising of Sirius accounts for the five days of the Egyptian civil calendar that were said to be above or outside the year of 12 months of fixed 30-day months (360 days). These are known as the five epagomenal days. The five day period following the summer solstice allowed for an easy marker for the priests to know when to look for the heliacal rising of Sothis which opened the Egyptian New Year, heralding the coming of the life restoring Nile inundation and can be quite difficult to observe.

by one group of 11. The 12 groups represented the lunar months within which 4 deities presided over the 4 natural divisions of the lunar month, i.e., the average time between the major lunar phases that we call weeks. He interpreted the group of 11 as representing the 11 intercalary days which must be added to a lunar year of 354 days to make 365 days.

In the case of room F of the Satet temple, I readily saw the seated group of 12 divinities as representing the 12 months of the lunar year and the seated group of 15 as representing the 15 days from the beginning of the lunar month until the day of the full Moon. The grouping of 9-2-9 on the eastern wall, however, was very puzzling until I examined Parker's table of lunar month day names as shown in Plate 165. The flanking relation of 9 on either side of 2 suggested that 2 was pivotal, that is, central. The most significant day of the lunar month was the 15th, *smdt*, the day of the full Moon.... If the scene of 2 deities on the lintel represents the full Moon on *smdt* and *mspr sn-nw*, what flanking relationship is represented by 9 on either side? If we place a 1 at *smdt* in Plate 165 and count up to 9 in opposite directions (recall that the 9 deities face in opposite directions), we arrive at the same word *dnjt* in both instances. The first is the day of the first quarter Moon while the latter is the day of the last quarter Moon!

I have therefore interpreted the [47] deities in room F as divinities of the Egyptian Dual Year, precursors to Parker's later 59 divinities of the lunar/civil year. In his case, the connection between the two types of years was the fact that in his group of 11 intercalary deities, 5 had names of the epagomenal days of the civil year. In the case of the Satet temple, (Plate 496) indicated that the lunar related numbers 15 + 12 + 9 + 2 + 9 = 47, which is also the sum of the civil numbers 30 + 12 + 5....

Thus, it is possible that the 18th Dynasty Satet temple was also a precursor to Parker's lunar cycle scheme of p.Carlsberg 9. [Therefore, the importance of the relationship between the civil 25-year calendar and the monthly lunar cycle continued to at least 144 AD.] The principal conclusion remains as before: The chief function of the 18th Dynasty Satet temple appears to have been to permit priests to relate the dates of feasts in the lunar calendar to dates in the civil calendar by a simple counting scheme based on a daily ritual of offerings that could be regularly checked by observation."[437]

In the Book of Caverns there are a total of 36 scenes with seventy six manifestations of Osiris. Of these seventy six manifestations of Osiris, nineteen wear the *ḥdt*, the white crown, symbol of both Osiris-Moon's luminosity and its regeneration. As we have seen of the thirty six scenes, seventeen are in the first half of the Book of Caverns and nineteen are in the second half. Together, the numbers seventeen and nineteen, which were sacred to Osiris, symbolize the complete cycle of Osiris and of Osiris-Moon, the god's dismemberment, death and rebirth. Their sum is thirty six which could also be interpreted as representing the thirty six decans. They are the stars or star groups used by the ancient Egyptians to mark the thirty six ten-day 'weeks' of their civil year. It is also from the star table in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion that the first direct evidence is found that explicitly links the decanal

437 R. Wells, "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: an Egyptian 'Stonehenge'?" BSAK 4 (1990), 110-112, and 115.

stars to the hours of the night.[438]

The seventy six manifestations of Osiris contained in the thirty six scenes are also linked directly to kingship, the transmission of royal power and dynastic rule. Osiris was the symbol *par excellence* of the ancestor kings. Recall that there are seventy six kings in four groups of nineteen each in the cultic assemblage, the so-called "kings list" in Seti's main temple, the Mansion of Millions of Years. Recall too the Cycle of 76, the annual renewal of Kingship celebrated in Luxor and Abydos, which was also segmented into four groups of nineteen days each.[439] We will also shortly see that there is an important cycle of four nineteen year periods forming a seventy six year cycle, known today as the Callippic cycle. These seventy six manifestations of Osiris may also be an expression of this cycle.

Embedded in the structure of the Osireion version of the first half of the Book of Caverns are the depiction of 254 deities including the two of the king at the beginning of the composition, which is not present in the other surviving copies.[440] As will become apparent, the insertion of the figure of the king often completes or better still creates the number symbolism desired to be expressed. In total there are by my count 309 figures. Both of these numbers embody numerical relationships that exist which express aspects of the longer term cyclical interaction between the celestial movement of the sun and the moon that define *nḥḥ* time and arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion. Yet they are not evident from the daily or monthly movements of the moon and the sun. However, this does not mean that they do not exist, because they do, it means only that they are not readily apparent from the perspective of shorter term observations. I believe that the ancient Egyptians applied this same principle in the structuring of their compositions. These hieroglyphic inscriptions and accompanying vignettes are literally the 'words of the gods' and were organized in the same fashion as the gods' own actions and they mirror the nature of the divine cycles themselves. Because the longer cycles defining the movements of Osiris-Moon and the sun god Re are not visible to an observer on a daily, monthly, or perhaps even a yearly basis, in a sense they appear to be hidden, *jmn*, and mysterious, *štꜣ*, secret and inaccessible which was precisely how the ancient Egyptians utilized them in their compositions. But they are nevertheless present, hidden in plain sight so to speak. To the keen observer, however, they reveal the precise nature of the cycles. That is to say, the interactions of the gods, Osiris-Moon and Re-Sun in the case of the Book of Caverns. They become "visible" and thus known by counting the number of figures and deities contained within, which form the structure of the composition. The texts interact to further define the meaning being expressed. For example, the first half of the Book of Caverns consists of a total of 309 figures. An address by the Great God provides a valuable clue to

438 S. Symons, "A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 18-19.

439 See above 1.4.

440 D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 2-3. He does point out that in the non-royal tomb of Pedamenopet (TT 33), Pedamenopet is depicted entering into the first cavern behind the ram-headed sun god. Unfortunately, not enough remains to determined if he also depicted himself receiving the sun god as well.

understanding the underlying meaning.[441] Note the central location of this scene to which the text refers. It is located in the middle register of the first division, indicative of its importance. (Plate 176)

"O Osiris, Lord of the *ḏuat* – I am Re!
Give me your hand!
I am he, the *ḥa*-Lord,
the Most Mighty of the beginning of the World..." [442]

The address continues by the ram-headed *ḥa* of the sun god at the beginning of creation on the first occasion who is, of course, Atum.

"O Ennead of Osiris
who sits in judgment in the *ḏuat*!
O Osiris, Lord of the West,
and you who are in his retinue...
O deities, give me your hand!
Ennead, in whom Osiris is, lead me
to the paths of the *ḏuat*, to the mysterious Caverns!" [443]

Ennead, in whom Osiris is, could be interpreted as the nine additional lunations that occur in the 300 month cycle of twenty five civil years and mark the period when the same phase of the moon will return to the same day of the civil month as they were at their creation on *zp tpj*. The full moon of each of these nine lunations stand apart from the other 300, as they are outside of the normal cycle. They are the second full moon that occur in an Egyptian 30-day civil month and the full moons that fall during the five epagomenal days outside of the year. [444]

Furthermore, the Ennead in whom Osiris is who sits in judgment in the *ḏuat* brings to mind the famous Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (scene 33) depicted on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage. Recall that it too defined and marked off an aspect of the interrelationship between the cycles of the sun and the moon. There are 354 figures depicted that precede the Judgment Hall of Osiris. On one level they can be equated to the 354 days of the twelve month lunar year, which is eleven days short of the 365 day solar year. In the Hall there are ten deities who are with Osiris. (Plate 88) Together these eleven complete and in the context of the first occasion create the 365 day solar year. In a certain sense, Osiris like the nightly union with Re, is the regenerative power that creates

441 That is at least on one level.

442 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 192.

443 Ibid., 193.

444 L. Depuydt, Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt (1997), 202.

and renews the annual solar cycle.

To be sure, this is not the only meanings that these scenes convey, but it is one that reveals an aspect of the underlying structural and interaction of the movement of the sun god and the moon god. This movement is both the means for the measurement of time and importantly the creation of time itself on the first occasion. That is to say, it is the prototype for the interaction between the movements of the sun and the moon created in *ḏt* time and serves as the template for the eternal repetition of this cycle in *nḥḥ* time.

Recall that the central scene in the middle register of the second division which is the exact center of the first half of the composition contains a total of nineteen deities around the Chest of Osiris, two in front and seventeen behind. (Plate 179) The chest is where his body is hidden after its dismemberment representing the end of the waning phase of the lunar cycle. In the Osireion version of the composition, it is adorned with a solar disk, perhaps alluding to the union of Re with Osiris and the start of their mutual regeneration. (Plate 181) These nineteen deities plus the remaining 235 express an important relationship that exists between the solar and lunar cycles. That is to say between the movements of the sun god Re by day and the moon god Osiris by night.

"Meton of Athens (ca. 440 BC) noticed that 235 lunar [synodic] months made up almost exactly 19 solar years. Using modern measurements;

19 years = 19 x 365.2425 days/per year or 6939.6075 days
= 234.997 lunar months x 29.53059 days/per lunar month or 6939.6000 days

The near commensurabilty of the two periods follows from the fact that 235/19 is the 6th convergent [summation operator] of the ratio of the lunar month and the solar year periods (365.2425/29.53059). This nineteen year lunar cycle became known as the Metonic cycle, and was the basis for the Greek calendar until the Julian Calendar was introduced in 46 BC." [445] To the ancient Egyptians as we have seen, the number nineteen was sacred to Osiris, the god of regeneration, renewal and in this case rebirth of the cycles. Furthermore, 235 synodic months of 29.53 days (lunar phase to the same lunar phase) is equal to 235 +19 or 254 sidereal months of 27.32 days (lunar orbits, the period it takes for the moon to complete a revolution relative to the fixed stars),[446] which is equal to nineteen solar years. It also suggests that the ancient Egyptians like the noted Babylonian astronomers measured the moon's motion against the stars. These important relationships are not thought to have been recognized by the Egyptians until they were introduced by the Greeks. In no case were these relationships even suspected to have been known at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty (ca. 1300 BC) when the Book of Caverns first appeared.

445 Metonic Cycle – from E. Weisstein's World of Astronomy at: scienceworld.wolfram.com

446 Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, Metonic Cycle at: https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/12389

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

While Sothis was clearly important to the ancient Egyptians because her heliacal rising marked the opening of their New Year, [447] It is more probable Sirius' companion, the constellation Orion (*sꜣḥ*), that would have been closely watched and used to measure the moon's motion since like the moon Orion in their myths was identified with Osiris or his vindicated form as Horus. [448] Conman has correctly pointed out that Plutarch had identified Orion as the soul (*ḥa*) of Horus in two different passages of Moralia Vol. V: Isis and Osiris (Chapters 21 and 22), so that it is unlikely to have been an error. [449] She concludes from this that *sꜣḥ*, who is closely linked and consistently with Osiris from the time of the Pyramid Texts and traditionally associated with Orion by Egyptologists, cannot possibly be Orion. [450] Using the Onomasticon of Amenope as the basis, she was able to determine the identity of *sꜣḥ*. It is in fact the name for the physical form of the planet Jupiter, analogous to Iah and Aten for the physical moon and the sun. [451] The fact that Horus was also identified with the planet Jupiter supports this conclusion. [452] What Conman fails to grasp, however, is the dual nature of the deity of Egyptian kingship who is at the same time Horus *and* Osiris, one god in two forms. [453] When Horus-Orion entered the *ḏuat*, just as was the case with every king of Egypt, the living Horus had died. Ritually transfigured he becomes Osiris. That is to say Horus-Orion has become Osiris and Osiris is therefore equated to *sꜣḥ*. Conceptually Horus and Osiris cannot be separated as they constitute one god, representing divine kingship both in the cycle of life and the afterlife. Put in other words, it is two sides of the same coin. We have already encountered this concept a number of times in the Osireion. [454] A like situation exists for the moon, which the ancient Egyptians considered it to be both Horus and Osiris. [455] Horus is conceived on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon and born on the second day, the day of first crescent visibility as the new crescent moon. The tutelary deity of the second day of the lunar month is Horus, protector of his father. From the texts cited above Osiris is explicitly stated to be the

447 "It would seem highly likely that the Egyptians attached great importance to the first visibility of Sirius [Sothis], which for them must have been a very spectacular phenomenon: otherwise the following inscription on the ceiling of the Ramesseum: 'Thou [Ramesses II] risest like Isis-Sothis in the sky on the morning of '*wp rnpt*' [New Year's Day], would hardly have been any sort of eulogy to Ramesses II." D. Mackey, Sothic Dating Examined: The Sothic Star Theory of the Egyptian Calendar (1995), 28. See http://www.specialityinterests.net/sothic_star3.html. The translation of the Ramesseum text is by R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 33.

448 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 25. "*sꜣḥ*-Orion was associated with Osiris as early as the Old Kingdom.... According to Ptolemaic sources *sꜣḥ*-Orion was regarded as the *ḥa* of Osiris, just as Sothis was the *ḥa* of Isis (cf. 3.2.2.2.)."

449 J. Conman, Ancient Egyptian Star Lore Rethinking the Conventional Wisdom (2013), 54-55.

450 Ibid., 57-58. See above 4.3, where Osiris is explicitly identified as Orion in the Book of Caverns: "Osiris, Lord of the *ḏuat*, unique god Orion of the West, protect your son [Horus] and affix his eye!" So too in the Litany of Osiris (BD 142) in the Antechamber where the seventh manifestation of Osiris in the middle register is *wsjr-sꜣḥ* determined by a star – indisputable evidence that Orion is Osiris!

451 Ibid., 36-41.

452 Ibid., 56. See also O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III (1969), 177.

453 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus" JEOL 26 (1979-1980), 20-22.

454 For example in the invocation of Atum by the king in 3.1 and at the beginning of the Book of Caverns in 4.3.

455 Along with others such as Thoth, Khonsu and Iah.

moon. "See it is you [Osiris] who are the Moon which is in the sky."[456] In the Litany of Osiris, besides listing one of his manifestations explicitly as *wsjr-sꜣḥ*, Osiris-Orion, he is also *wsjr-dnjt*, where *dnjt* is the name of the day of the lunar month for both the first and last quarter moon.[457] Further on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon, when the moon is not visible in the night sky, it is because the *ḥa* of Osiris is traveling with Re in the solar barque as we learned from the Book of Caverns.[458] It is also the day when Horus is conceived. So here it is quite clear that Horus and Osiris are at the same time equated with both the visible phases and the invisible phase of the moon. One god, the god of divine kingship, expressed in its lunar context here is both Horus and Osiris.

On Sirius' companion, the constellation Orion, the ancient Egyptians most likely especially focused on Rigel, 'the toe star' from which the constellation *sꜣḥ* is thought to have derived its name.[459] It will be shown that Rigel played a role of considerable importance, accounting for the alignment of the Osireion's Entrance Passage as well as the the transverse axis of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years to which the Osiris Complex in that temple is aligned.[460] Rigel not only marked the point on the horizon where the heliacal rising of Sothis would occur, heralding the opening of the New Year and with it the Nile inundation, the life blood of ancient Egypt, it as 'the toe star' of Osiris-Orion was also the source of the inundation, the efflux of Osiris that flowed from Osiris' leg.[461] Furthermore, the use of the stars of the constellation Orion, *sꜣḥ*, to mark the heliacal rising of Sirius suggests additional support for identifying Orion with Osiris, contra Conman.

While the heliacal rising of Sothis also wandered through the Egyptian civil year, the movement of the star goddess was in all probability still carefully watched because her return to the night sky after seventy days of absence opened the New Year and signaled the pending arrival of the all important inundation. Returning to the Metonic cycle, the number nineteen connected the cycles of the sun, Re with the cycles of the moon. Nineteen "Sothic" years, consisting of 235 synodic months or 254 sidereal months marked the maximum period of time required for the movement of the moon from its

456 See above 4.3.

457 See below 4.6.

458 See above 4.3.

459 AEB 68.0036 @ 2001 Editors of the AEB. "Since, however, sAH means 'toe', it may be that the star Rigel (arab. Rigl = foot) from the constellation Orion was meant.... in Egypt in c. 3000 BC Rigel rose on the same spot in the horizon 1 ½ hours before Sirius, which explains the connection between these stars in the Pyr. Texts. Therefore sAH will have been Rigel." Review of R. Anthes, "Fuss und Zehe", in Festschrift Schott (1968),1-6.

460 See below chapter 6.

461 A. Winkler, "The Efflux That Issued From Osiris" GM 211 (2006), 133.

northern extreme setting to its southern extreme and back.[462] From the vignette of the goddess Nut in the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars in the Second Transverse Hall, we learn that on I *ꜣḫt* 1 with the going forth of Sothis on the summer solstice marked the start of the New Year and that this occurred on the day of the New Moon, the start of the lunar month.[463] This also marked the start of the nineteen year lunar cycle at its northern extreme to which the Entrance Archway of the Osireion is oriented.

That the ancient Egyptians intended to encode this nineteen year cycle in the first half of the Book of Caverns, a lunar-Osirian treatise used in the rites for the Blacked-out Moon/new moon, can be discerned by their choice of the 254 deities representing the 254 sidereal months of the nineteen year cycle. Among them, there are exactly nineteen solar disks equating to the nineteen solar years. Of the remaining 235 deities, nineteen wear the white crown of Upper Egypt, *ḥdt*, a symbol of the luminosity of the moon. These 235 deities represent the 235 synodic months of the nineteen year Metonic cycle. As a group they equate to the same nineteen year time period expressed in terms of the shorter sidereal months. Their importance is that these 254 deities represent the totality of Osiris-Moon.[464] That is to

462 In the Nineteenth Dynasty, when the Book of Caverns was composed, the ancient Egyptians did not use a "Sothic" year *per se.* By that time the civil calendar reigned supreme for all but the lunar festivals that were tied to the phases of the moon.

Interestingly, of the various means of measuring the length of a year, the tropical year, the sidereal solar year, it is the "Sothic" year, that is to say the time period between one heliacal rising and the next, that is the most precisely matched with the amount of time required for the passing of 254 sidereal lunar months:

!9 tropical years	=	6939.602	days	of 365.24219	days/year
19 sidereal years	=	6939.871	days	of 365.25636	days/ year
19 "Sothic" years	=	6939.75	days	of 365.2500	days/ year
254 sidereal months	=	6939.70	days	of 27.32166	days/ month
235 synodic months	=	6939.69	days	of 29.53059	days/ month

Sources: "What astronomical events form the basis of calendars?" at www.tondering.dk/claus/cal/astronomy.php ; M. Grofe, "Measuring deep Time: the Sidereal Year and the Tropical Year in Maya inscriptions" in C. Ruggles (ed.), "Oxford IX" International Symposium on Archaeoastronomy (2011), 214-217. A. von Bomhard, The Egyptian Calendar A Work For Eternity (1999), 28-30.

463 See below 5.7.

464 The length of the lunar cycle measured by the major standstills averages 18.6 years but at its extreme limit, the totality of the Osiris-Moon cycle is 19 years according to J. Frank, "19-year Lunar Cycles", https://cassiopaea.org/forum/index.php?topic=2890.0 "... every 18.6 years, the rising or setting Moon reaches a northern extreme in rising and setting azimuth at summer solstice, and a southern extreme at winter solstice. Theses are called major standstills. While such standstills can in principle be determined using horizon observations, as with the summer solstice Sun the Moon's year-to-year angular displacement along the horizon at summer solstice is very small near standstill. It should be noted that 18.6 years is measured from the point of view of the lunar orbit. Observationally, from the Earth's surface, the length of time between two major standstills is *not* 18.6 years: it switches back and forth between 18.5 years and 19 years, and 18.6 years is an observational average." In their creation texts, the ancient Egyptians presumably felt compelled to account for all possible outcomes which has its own certain logic inherent to a creation text. This type of thinking is analogous to the way the ancient Egyptians expressed the monthly lunar cycle, for example, in its representation in the tenth cavern of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168). In the scene, there are fourteen double figures lying on their biers plus one at the start which is trebled totaling thirty one. (Plate 245) They are labeled the 'limbs of Osiris' i.e. phases of the monthly lunar cycle. But in any single monthly cycle there are only 29 or 30 days. What the thirty one represent are all possible combinations of a single monthly lunar cycle. In modern times we tend to focus more on the statistical average rather than the maximum. The Egyptians, at least in their creation compositions focused on the totality of a cycle. This would also help to explain why their civil calendar was permitted to wander through the course of the seasons instead of adjusting it by inserting a 'leap year'. To them it must have been more important to track the greater 1461 Egyptian civil years of the Sothic period or cycle than to keep the seasons in their 'proper' places within the year.

say, the maximum length of the full lunar cycle from its major northern extreme to its southern extreme and its return. And it is the creation of the lunar cycle on the first occasion that is being expressed here. It would seem reasonable to conclude that this nineteen year cycle reconciling the movements of the sun with the moon was a major reason that the number nineteen was held sacred to Osiris. For without Osiris, Re could not exist, i.e. regenerate and vice versa.

As I have demonstrated, the ancient Egyptians took care to express this relationship in both lunar and solar terms. The lunar cycle is highlighted in this scene by the Chest of Osiris adorned with the solar disk and surrounded by nineteen deities in the Osireion version of the Book of Caverns.[465] It is at the very heart of the first half of this composition in the middle register of the second division immediately following the scene of Atum and the five worshiping deities, who symbolize the creation of the *duat* on the first occasion.[466] (Plate 179) Its key location lends support to my hypothesis that the Book of Caverns is in its essence, a Lunar Treatise. The depiction of exactly nineteen solar disks in the first half expresses the solar aspect of the nineteen year cycle that reconciles the great lunar cycle with the movements of the sun god Re. These nineteen solar disks represent nineteen solar years marked by successive heliacal risings of Sothis where the goddess joins with her father Atum-Re as she enters the solar barque for the first time at sunrise on *zp tpj* to initiate this cycle where sun, moon and stars all move in harmony ever repeating this endless recurring cycle expressed through the number nineteen, the number sacred to Osiris, symbol of regeneration, cyclical renewal and rebirth in *nḥḥ* time.

But how could this have possibly been known in the early Nineteenth Dynasty and embedded in this lunar treatise when it was thought not to have been known by the ancient Egyptians until some thousand years later? The answer to this question is surprisingly simple. It was through careful observation over long periods of time. It is in a fashion similar to their observation which led to the recognition that the same phase of the moon would fall on the same day of the month every twenty five civil years. Or the six pieces of the Udjat-eye, the restored left lunar Eye of Horus, which represented the monthly lunar cycle and their sum (63/64 x 30 days) yielded an extremely close approximation of the length of the synodic month.[467] So too can the realization of the existence of the nineteen year "Metonic cycle" be achievable through the same careful long term observation. The ancient Egyptians likely used the relative positions of the two celestial manifestations of the resurrected Osiris, the constellation Orion *sꜣḥ* and the full moon nearest the winter solstice, to tie it to the annual solar cycle, and to mark the start of this nineteen year lunar cycle. It may have also been tied to the moon at its northern extreme as the alignment of the Entrance Archway of the Osireion would seem to suggest. The full moon nearest the winter solstice was the first full moon and manifestation of the revivified Osiris of the monthly lunar cycle that followed the conclusion of the Osiris Mysteries and the start of

465 This scene has been altered for its use in the tomb of Ramesses VI, where the solar disk that adorned the Chest of Osiris in the Osireion has been moved to the front of the first ram-headed post maintaining the solar disk count in the scene. Two additional deities with arms raised in praise have been added before the sacred chest, thereby changing the count and with it the number symbolism being expressed in a royal funerary context. See Appendix A.

466 See above 4.3.

467 See above 3.2.

the planting season in the first month of *prt*.[468] At this full moon, the moon is also at its highest declination. To the ancient Egyptians, the completely revivified Osiris-Moon as the full moon seen directly above the upright standing Osiris-Orion at midnight would have been a potent visible celestial symbol of the full regenerative power of the god Osiris, his *ba*, the full moon and the upright standing constellation Orion. (Plate 168 and Appendix B, first figure) These combined powers were marshaled for the enormous task of reinvigorating the sun god Re at the completion of his nineteen year cycle on the winter solstice. To the initiated the invisible new moon nearest the winter solstice embodied the invisible regenerative powers of Osiris much like the power that causes seeds to germinate with the new moon on II *prt* 1.

This exact same alignment of Orion and the full moon will reoccur only once every nineteen years. (Plate 168) Implicit in this alignment is also the overlaying solar cycle of renewal for the sun god Re. It was the charge of the hour watchers, *jmj-wnw*t, astronomer-priests who were no doubt responsible for identifying this cycle, to watch for and announce its return. How the Metonic cycle reveals itself without the use of sophisticated mathematics, but through simple observation and the counting of the lunar cycles of twelve and thirteen month lunar years to keep the lunar cycle in sync with the solar year by aligning them to the winter solstice is demonstrated in Appendix B.[469] There are twelve twelve-month lunar years and seven thirteen-month lunar years. In the middle register of the fifth, sixth divisions and the final scene of the Book of Caverns, there are nineteen deities depicted and each can be broken into groups of twelve and seven perhaps an allusion to the nineteen lunar cycles in each Metonic cycle.[470] (Plates 194, 203, 209) It also should be noted that the final scene can be read as both seventeen and nineteen deities. The sacred Osirian numbers symbolizing the coming into being i.e. with the created cosmos of the complete lunar cycle reconciled with the nineteen year solar cycle.[471]

Returning to the seventy six manifestations of Osiris-Moon found in the thirty six scenes of the Book of Caverns, one can make an important connection to the so-called Callippic cycle of seventy six years. "Callippus made accurate determinations of the lengths of the seasons and constructed a 76 year

468 At the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the civil calendar was again in sync with the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius.

469 Appendix B reproduces the informative on-line article "The Metonic Cycle: The 19-Year Cycle of the Moon" at: www.mysticalireland.com/astronomy/metonic-cycle-the-19-year-cycle-of-the-moon/

This same site presents evidence that suggests that this knowledge was recorded by Neolithic "astronomers" in Ireland in circa 3000 BC. See "Knowth: Archaeological & Astronomical Legacy" and "Ancient lunar calculations made at Knowth".

470 Note that the sixth division has a total of twenty four deities but twelve are in sarcophagi or mounds and seven are solar deities, five disks and two scarab beetles. (Plate 203)

471 Also interesting in the final scene is the possible allusion to the three seasons of the twelve month solar and lunar year symbolized by the twelve deities of three distinct groups of four that tow the solar barque into the Eastern Mountain and the first sunrise. Recall that at the beginning of the first division in the top two registers, the year was organized differently. There are thirty six decans and five epagominal days of the civil calendar are aligned to the movement of the sun god from solstice to solstice and dividing the year into two halves.

cycle comprising 940 [synodic] months to harmonize the solar and lunar years which was adopted in 330 BC and used by all later astronomers... The Callippic period is based on the Metonic period devised by Meton (born about 460 BC). Meton's observations were made in Athens in 432 BC but he gave the length for the year which was 1/76 of a day too long. The relation between Callippus' period and that of Meton are explained in ['Calendar', Encyclopedia Britannica on line] as follows:

> 'Callippus of Cyzicus (c. 370-300 BC) was perhaps the foremost astronomer of his day. He formed what has been called the Callippic period, essentially a cycle of four Metonic periods. It was more accurate than the original Metonic cycle and made use of the fact that 365.25 days is a more precise value for the tropical year than 365 days. The Callippic period consisted of 4 x 235, or 940 lunar months, but its distribution of hollow and full months was different from Meton's. Instead of having totals of 440 hollow and 500 full months, Callippus adopted 441 hollow and 499 full, thus reducing the length of four Metonic cycles by one day. The total days involved therefore became (441 x 29) + (499 x 30), or 27,759 and 27,759 divided by (19 x 4) gives 365.25 days exactly. Thus the Callippic cycle fitted 940 lunar [synodic] months precisely to 76 tropical years of 365.25 days.'" [472]

It also closely approximates the period of time in antiquity between successive heliacal risings of Sothis/Sirius. [473]

"... year 1 of the First Callippic Cycle began on the summer solstice of 330 [BC], which was a new moon. This is confirmed by two of Hipparchus' equinoctial observations that are dated to both year 32 [BC] of the Third Callippic Cycle and year 178 [BC] from the death of Alexander. Dates within a Callippic cycle are either given in an astronomical Athenian calendar, which are then converted to their Egyptian equivalents, or directly as Egyptian dates, apparently according to the convention used by Ptolemy's source." [474] The fact that the First Callippic Cycle began on the summer solstice which was a new moon and the Callippic cycles were measured by Egyptian dates of their civil calendar, which apparently was Ptolemy's source, provides important clues to an earlier source for the so-called Callippic cycle.

From the Nut vignette in the Second Transverse Hall, we learn that the beginning of the Egyptian civil year was also on the summer solstice at the time of the new moon on *zp tpj*, as well as specifying that the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius occurred on this day of I *ꜣḫt* 1. [475] The fact that both of these cycles, the Egyptian civil year and the Callippic cycle began on a summer solstice at the the time of a new moon, which is an infrequent event, is unlikely to be coincidental. Furthermore, the use of the

472 www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.ukPrintonly/Callippus.html : article by J. O'Connor, E. Robertson.

473 L. Depuydt, "Calendars and Years in Ancient Egypt" in J. Steele (ed.) Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 78, n. 89.

474 C. Bennett "Egyptian Dates" at: www.reocities.com/christopher/bennett/ptolemies/chron/egyptian/chron_eg_cal.htm

475 See below 5.7. The thin crescent moon is depicted on = inside the body of the goddess Nut and is therefore not visible in the night sky i.e. the new moon.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Egyptian civil calendar for the measurement of the Callippic cycle forms a direct link to the civil year and attests to its astronomical significance. "Once the Egyptian wandering year was abandoned in daily life, at the latest probably by the fourth century AD, it lived on in astronomy. The 365-day calendar was known and understood down to modern times without interruption because Ptolemy used it in his Almagest (second century AD), antiquity's greatest work of astronomy. There is a continuous line of transmission and study of the Almagest from when it was first written down to the present time." [476]

The function of the Callippic cycle served to harmonize the movements of the moon (Osiris) and the sun (Re) through a seventy-six year cycle consisting of 940 synodic months comprising a total of 27,759 days. Importantly, "the Callippic cycle fitted 940 lunar months precisely to 76 tropical years of 365.25 days exactly." [477] This is also the same amount of time between successive heliacal risings of Sothis, the marker of the Egyptians' New Year's Day.

The so-called Callippic cycle is actually encoded in the timing for a very important Egyptian festival on a fixed date in the civil calendar. It is I *ꜣḫt* 19 and was in celebration of *ḏḥwty*. Thoth's association with the moon and the measurement of time are well known. "It is the sun that marks off day from night, but it is the moon that determines months, and seasons, and years." [478] That is to say the cycles of time of which the Callippic cycle is one with 940 lunations. Recall that Spalinger connected the festival of Thoth on I akhet 19 with the reconciliation of the twelve and thirteen-month lunar years through the number nineteen. He also concluded that "the Thoth feast on day 19 of the first month [of *ꜣḫt*] is associated with inception of the civil calendar." [479] As we have seen the heliacal rising of Sothis on the summer solstice at the time of the new moon marked the start of the civil year on I *ꜣḫt* 1 and the inception of the civil calendar on the first occasion. "The rising [of Sothis] moves slowly forward in the Egyptian [civil] calendar at a pace of either about or exactly one day in four years, that is 10 days in 40 years." [480] Now the Callippic cycle is 940 lunations in 76 tropical years of 365.25 days. It too began on the summer solstice at the new moon. Said another way, the length of the Callippic cycle is measured by 76 successive Sothic risings each also of 365.25 days. With the slow forward movement of the Sothic rising in the civil calendar, from her very first rising on I *ꜣḫt* 1, the culmination of the so-called Callippic cycle of 76 years falls on I *ꜣḫt* 19! That is to say the fixed civil date of the festival of Thoth, the Lord of time. [481] Furthermore, nineteen is also the number of years in the so-called Metonic

476 L. Depuydt, "Calendars and Years in Ancient Egypt" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 46.

477 See: www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Printonly/Callippus.html

478 P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922, reprinted 1987), 83-84.

479 See above 3.3 and A. Spalinger's discussion in "Thoth and the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time (1994), 52-54.

480 L. Depuydt, "From Twice Helix to Double Helix" in JEH Vol. 2, Nos. 1-2 (2009), 143.

481 One day for each four years from I *ꜣḫt* 1 x 76 years = I *ꜣḫt* 19. For the Lord of time see P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922), 84.

cycle. It too no doubt would have been celebrated on I *ꜣḫt* 19. Thus, it would seem that at the festival for *ḏḥwty*, the reconciliation of the cycles of Osiris-Moon, the sun god Re and their relationship to the civil calendar and its inception on the summer solstice at the time of the new moon would have made this festival a very important one indeed. It also demonstrates how knowledge of "meaningful patterns reflecting divine planning and cosmic harmony", hidden in plain sight, can be revealed through abstract numbers. [482]

It is interesting to note the start of the next seventy six year cycle begins on I *ꜣḫt* 20, with the seventy-seventh successive heliacal rising of Sothis. "In the civil calendar the first month of *ꜣḫt* [akhet] witnessed a third important religious event on day 20. This was the *tḫy* feast. From the scant Middle Kingdom material it is evident that by Dynasty 12 *tḫy* was already set within a civil context on I *ꜣḫt* 20. A late piece of information from Dendera provides the evidence for a fifteen day celebration of the event.... Additional sources such as the festival calendars of Dendera and Edfu provide useful yet tantalizing traces of information concerning this lengthy ritual: *tḫy* is connected to the inebriation of Hathor of Dendera." [483]

"It has, however been suggested that the feast [of Thoth on I *ꜣḫt* 19] may have formed a festival cycle with the Feast of *tḫy* on I *ꜣḫt* 20. If the Feast of Thoth and the Feast of *tḫy* were, indeed, part of the same festival cycle, this might explain why, by the New Kingdom, the Feast of Thoth had replaced *tḫy* as the eponymous feast of the month of I *ꜣḫt*." [484] The culmination of the first cycle of seventy six successive heliacal risings of Sothis and the beginning of the second would seem to support that the Feast of Thoth and the Feast of *tḫy* were part of the same festival cycle. [485] The connection of two significant festivals tied to successive fixed dates in the civil calendar (I *ꜣḫt* 19 and 20) hint at the importance the ancient Egyptians had wanted to have placed on this reconciling cycle of seventy six tropical years of exactly 365.25 days and the seventy six successive heliacal risings of Sothis of 365.25 days that are contained within this lunar cycle of exactly 940 synodic months. It captures the harmonic movements of the moon, the sun, and the stars. Said another way, it reveals the harmony of the movements of the celestial manifestations of the gods: Osiris-Moon; Atum-Re, the sun god and creator; and the star goddess Sothis, a manifestation of Isis, who opens the New Year as she leads the procession of the thirty six decanal gods through the course of each year. (Plate 146)

The key to understanding the significance of this cycle is that it is contained within and therefore defined by the cycle of seventy six lunar years of exactly 940 synodic months as measured by the

482 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 126.

483 A. Spalinger, "Thoth and the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics (1994), 54.

484 H. Jauhiainen, "Do Not Celebrate Your Feast Without Your Neighbours" A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina (2009), 88. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/19196

485 Prior to the introduction of this new additional possible piece of evidence linking the two festivals, Spalinger earlier had suggested that they appeared to be independent. See A. Spalinger, "Thoth and the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time (1994), 54.

celestial revolutions of Osiris-Moon. This, I believe, is to what the seventy six manifestations of Osiris depicted in the Book of Caverns refers. Recall also that Osiris was the prototype and ancestor king par excellence. This may be why there are exactly seventy six ancestor kings in the cultic assemblage known as the "Kings List" in the main temple of Seti at Abydos, the sacred precinct of Osiris. This may also account for why there are exactly seventy six days (19 x 4) in the cycle of the annual renewal of kingship that started with the opening of the Opet festival in Thebes on II *ꜣḫt* 15 and concluded on IIII *ꜣḫt* 30 (30 Khoiak), the final day and culmination of the Osiris Mysteries at Abydos with the raising of the Djed-pillar, symbolizing the successful revivification of Osiris now as king and Ruler of the West. The cycle of kingship in ancient Egypt embodied the complete cycle of both the living Horus on the earth as Ruler of the Two Lands and in the afterlife as Osiris, Ruler of the West.

Each is revealed and connected by this basic pattern of the cycle of seventy six. All are in harmony or better still in *mꜣꜥt*. All are related and intertwined through Osiris and the number seventy six. The basic structure underlying this cycle of seventy six be it tropical years, Sothic risings, the number of reigns of the ancestor kings or the days in the annual cycle of the renewal of kingship is four cycles of nineteen. Four symbolizes the concepts of totality, completeness and universality within in the created cosmos.[486] As we have seen, the number nineteen representing the nineteen year cycle reconciling the movements of the moon with the sun was a major if not the most important reason that the number nineteen was held sacred to Osiris. For without Osiris, Re could not exist, i.e. regenerate and visa versa.

The deity and figure count in the second half of the Book of Caverns are also informative, but decidedly more obscure. There are 147 deities in divisions four, five and six.[487] If they are taken to represent 147 sidereal months, which equates to 136 synodic months, then they identify what is known today as the 11-year interval of the Metonic cycle. Exactly why the ancient Egyptians apparently chose to highlight this particular period is not at all clear. But it should be noted that in 136 synodic months, the full moon nearest the winter solstice returns back to a position above Orion's head, which in itself might have held significance to the ancient Egyptians.[488] (Plate 168 compare Plate 169) This occurs one day short of eleven tropical years,[489] perhaps having some predicative value for them. The ratio of the prime numbers 19:11 is of significance. The harmonic interval 19:11 is important as well.[490]

In the second half of the Book of Caverns, by my count there are a total of 223 figures depicted. Interpreted here as representing synodic months, they may at one level allude to the Saros, a cycle of

486 R. Wilkinson, Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 144.

487 Note that the final scene contains an additional thirty seven divinities.

488 See Appendix B for the Orion example.

489 Ibid.

490 To listen to the "sound of the Caverns" expressed by the harmonic interval 19:11, go to www.youtube.com/user/stylesjkaufman

223 synodic months. The Saros cycle was known by the Chaldeans as an interval when lunar eclipses repeat.[491] "The most useful of these periods, however, is 223 synodic months, which is very close to 242 dracontic months. This period is useful because it is also very close to 239 anomalistic months,[492] which means that recurring eclipses will have similar magnitudes and durations. This period, which is equal to about 6585 1/3 days or slightly more than 18 years, has become known as the 'Saros'.[493] Its excellence in predicting eclipses is illustrated by Table I on Plate 164 which lists, for three groups of eclipses, the magnitudes and local times of first contact for Babylon and the differences between the circumstance of each eclipse and its predecessor one Saros before.... The average interval between eclipse possibilities in the Saros is 5; 52, 6, 18, quite close to the the theoretical value of 5; 52, 7, 44."[494]

It is noteworthy to point out that all three of these numbers (223, 242 and 239) appear to be embedded in the deity and figure counts of the second half of the Book of Caverns. To the 223 figures depicted in divisions four, five and six may be added the nineteen deities in the adjacent and equally important middle register of the final scene, this would bring the total to 242. At one level, they could be interpreted as the 242 dracontic months associated with the Saros. Contained within the 223 figures symbolizing the synodic months of the Saros cycle are a total of 239 figures, when the dismembered enemies of the sun god Re and the moon god Osiris are counted as each separate body part depicted is its own "figure". The number 239 could relate to and be a subtle allusion to 239 anomalistic months. The state of dismemberment itself can be viewed as an anomaly, as it represents a deviation or departure from the normal order i.e. wholeness. In this case, it would refer to the disruption of the normal solar or lunar cycle by an ominous eclipse event.

As Dr. Steele explained to me about the Saros cycle of 223.[495] "While it is true that 223 synodic months = 239 anomalistic months, this is a far from trivial relationship. The Saros cycle itself can be identified observationally as an eclipse cycle if one has enough past records of observed eclipses and a willingness to accept that you will not see every eclipse – on average one of every 2 lunar eclipse is separated by a Saros will not be visible – and one sticks to lunar eclipses. But the realization that this also equals 239 anomalistic months requires much more astronomical knowledge: the anomalistic motion of the moon – which refers to its cycle of velocity – is not something that is easily apparent without careful observation. Linking it to the Saros cycle requires a fairly good theoretical understanding of what is going on. The anomalistic month is also not something that can be easily measured because all of its effects are only visible in things which are also affected by solar anomaly

491 NASA, Periodicity of Solar Eclipses 1.4 Saros at http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsaros/SEperiodicity.html

492 "Because the moon's orbit is not exactly circular its distance from the Earth varies. The average interval between successive closest approaches to the Earth is known as an anomalistic month and is equal to 27.5545 days." J. Steele, "Eclipse Prediction in Mesopotamia" Arch. Hist. Exact Sci. 54 (2000), 424 n.10.

493 "... the term 'Saros' is modern. To the Babylonians this period was simply called 18.MU.MES '18 years'. Ibid., 424 n. 11.

494 Ibid., 424-425.

495 I want to thank Dr. Steele for all his help, time and patience in explaining the complexities of astronomical cycles and also for his open mindedness.

(the changing velocity of the sun), and in most cases solar anomaly has a bigger effect. Thus, the anomalistic month can only be deduced by combining a complicated set of observations when you understand what is going on theoretically. Furthermore, the anomalistic month is not related to eclipses (unless you get into predictions of the duration of the eclipse, and its precise time), so the 239 anomalistic months is not something that would be stumbled upon along with the Saros." [496] This point is well taken and as he correctly has pointed out to me, compelling evidence outside of numerical similarities will be necessary for this proposal to gain acceptance. [497]

But yet, the Babylonians appear to have been able to overcome many of these obstacles as the wealth of records that have survived including observations going back to 750 BC seem to indicate. [498] The methods that they used were "empirical schemes since they are based upon observed period relations rather than any mathematical theory [and they] continued being used despite the development of mathematical astronomy in the Achaemenid period." [499]

In proving that the ancient Egyptians like the Babylonians also understood the interrelationships of the movements of the sun and the moon so as to result in an observational scheme to accurately predict the timing of eclipses is problematic for a number of reasons. Secondary sources on the ancient Egyptians' observational skills are well known. "It is pertinent to note that Greek writers, without exception, gave priority to Egypt in astronomical knowledge... [and] that the Egyptians possessed accurate knowledge of eclipses is evident from external sources. Diodorus Siculus stated categorically that the ancient Egyptian astronomers possessed the ability to predict eclipses." [500] "'The Thebans assert that they were the first to discover philosophy and scientific astrology since they have a very clear observation of the risings and settings of the stars. They also studied the eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, and make predictions concerning them – infallibly foretelling every particular.' [Diodorus Siculus, 1st century BC]." [501] Recall too that he stated "there is perhaps no other country where ordered and movement of the stars are observed with such exactitude as in Egypt, since an incredible number of years, they keep registers where their observations are written down." [502] This could be exactly the type of records that would be needed to develop an observational scheme to accurately predict eclipses.

496 J. Steele private communication on 6/29/2013.

497 Ibid.

498 For a detailed analysis of this fascinating topic and the accomplishments of the Mesopotamian astronomers see: J. Steele, "Eclipse Prediction in Mesopotamia" Arch. Hist. Exact Sci. 54 (2000), 421-454;J. Steele, F. Stephenson, "The Accuracy of Eclipse Times Measured by the Babylonians" JHA 28 (1997), 337-345;L. Breck-Bernsen, J. Steele, "Eclipse Prediction and the Length of Saros in Babylonian Astronomy" Centaurus 47 (2005), 181-206; J. Steele, "A Simple Function for the Length of the Saros in Babylonian Astronomy" in J. Steele, A. Imhausen (eds.), Under One Sky (2002), 405-420 and references cited.

499 J. Steele, "Eclipse Prediction in Mesopotamia", Arch. Hist. Exact Sci. 54 (2000), 451-452.

500 C. Finch, "Solar Eclipses in the Ancient Nile Valley": education.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/pages/traditions_moreegypt.htm#moreegypt.

501 R. Park, "The recorded Solar Eclipse of Nectanebo I": www.academia.edu/1863522/The_recorded_Solar_Eclipse_of_Nectanebo_I

502 See above 4.4.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Furthermore, we have already seen that the Egyptians were observing the movements of the stars and presumably the moon and the sun since the Old Kingdom. By 1500 BC, the Egyptians were already attempting to measure the different lengths of the night over the course of a year. This is evident from Amenemhet's water clock dedicated to Amenhotep I.[503] It too is necessary to know in order to more accurately predict the timing of an eclipse as did the Babylonians.[504]

Clement of Alexandria (2nd century AD) "described the 49 books of Thoth preserved by the priests of ancient Egypt, at least four of them treating astronomical subjects. One book dealt with the 'constitution of the Sun and Moon' and another 'the conjunctions and variations of the light of the Sun and Moon'. That the ancient astronomer-priests of Egypt could and did predict eclipses was considered axiomatic."[505] Yet despite this acclaim, precious little in actual Egyptian texts have come down to us today. With respect to eclipses "the earliest references to eclipses found in Egyptian material are on papyri dating from the Roman period, most of which relates to time-keeping and the calendar. One notable exception is the Vienna Demotic Papyrus, which records solar and lunar omina. Parker regards this as a copy probably made in the later second century A.D. by a skillful scribe, of two separate books of earlier Babylonian material dating from the sixth century B.C. Later work by Parker and others confirms the likely dating of the original material."[506]

Other albeit more subtle references to solar eclipses are found. One of the seventy six manifestations of the sun god in the Litany of Re, "'the dark-faced one' is the Sun-god with veiled head (Litany of Re, 62nd form of address), portrayed without form: he is the one 'who ordains his eclipse (72nd address)."[507] Hornung has also suggested that the vignette for Chapter 135 of the Book of the Dead in Sennedjem's tomb (TT 1 – early Dynasty 19) concerns an eclipse of the sun disk by the new moon which, of course, is the only time when solar eclipses can occur.[508] (Plate 163) "The spell deals mainly with expelling clouds from the heavens. Interpretations of the spell suggest, however, that it is

503 M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science II, Calendars, Clocks, and Astronomy (1995), 457-462.

504 According to Steele, the foreknowledge of an upcoming eclipse was deemed important so that preparations could be made for the eclipse rituals and may have been one of the earliest motivations for eclipse prediction. "A number of rituals to be performed during an eclipse are known from Neo-Assyrian, Archaemenid and Hellenistic periods." See J. Steele, "Eclipse Prediction in Mesopotamia" Arch. Hist. Exact Sci. 54 (2000), 422. Yet no such ancient Egyptian rituals are known or at least recognized as such. This is quite surprising given the vast amount of ritual material that has survived. Certainly solar eclipses would be the doings of Apophis or his agents of chaos and Seth in the case of lunar eclipses. The rituals and spells for warding off Apophis would be a logical place to look for rituals which could also be used during solar eclipses.

505 C. Finch, "Solar Eclipses in the Ancient Nile Valley". See above n. 500 for the NASA website.

506 D. Smith, "'Blindness' in Ancient Egypt – A New Interpretation of Some New Kingdom Texts" (2004), 9. www.egiptomania.com/EEF/Blindness.pdf

507 E. Hornung, "Black Holes Viewed from Within: Hell in Ancient Egyptian Thought" Diogenes 165 (1994), 151; also J. Sellers, The Death of Gods in Ancient Egypt (1992), 251 and 234 in her revised edition (2007).

508 E. Hornung, Das Totenbuch der Agypter (1990), 497.

also concerned with fending off the menace of a solar eclipse associated with a new moon...." [509]

In the earlier Coffin Texts it is stated:

> "I have become greatest of the great [elders],
> I have come into being among beings
> who clear the vision of his sole Eye.
> I have opened and built up the injured Eye,
> for I am one of them." [510]

According to Eaton, "The sole Eye is the eye of the sun god, which has become bleary. Bleariness of the sun god's eye was associated with the eclipsed sun. The injured Eye is the Moon." [511] It is apparent from this text that there were a group of deities, no doubt including Thoth, who were responsible for clearing the vision of the sun god i.e. ending the eclipse as well as opening and rebuilding the lunar eye – the waxing moon and perhaps the lunar eclipse. She further points out that to 'clear the vision' literally means to 'uncover the face' (*wn-ḥr*). "This was the title of the Daily Ritual. Thus, the daily uncovering of the face of the god was associated with periodically healing the solar and lunar eyes." [512] In other words, apparently the Daily Ritual could be used at times to remove the face of the god from the menacing grip of the enemies of the sun god Re or Osiris-Moon. [513]

The extensive records of astronomical observations of which Diodorus Siculus spoke were probably assembled by the Ptolemaic pharaohs at the renowned Royal Library of Alexandria to facilitate their study. If this was the case, then the destruction of the library could account for the near complete lack of surviving evidence. It is also true that the papyri on which the Egyptians kept their records were far more fragile than the clay tablets used by the Babylonians, which have survived to us today. But there may well have been another very important and perhaps overriding reason. The knowledge of the interrelationships of the movements of their gods, that is their manifestations as sun, moon and stars, although visible to all, was in all probability treated as highly sacred and therefore restricted information. The knowledge of these relationships of 223, 242 and 239 have surfaced not in records of astronomical observations but rather are found embedded in the structure of a creation text which itself was quite literally hidden in the depths of the earth in the subterranean Osireion, a structure

509 S. Hodel-Hoenes, Life and Death in Ancient Egypt (2000), 259-260.

510 K. Eaton, "Monthly Lunar Festivals in the Mortuary Realm" JNES 70 (2011), 240; where she quotes and translates de Buck, CT II, 268e-270c.

511 Ibid., 240.

512 Ibid., 240 n. 140.

513 See J. Sellers, The Death of Gods in Ancient Egypt (Revised 2007), 234-235 for the enemies of Re (and Osiris) in the Book of Caverns as "unseen and enigmatic powers that impeded the movement of celestial beings on their journey.... These enemies would be the unknown powers that darkened the face of the sun during eclipses."

dedicated to the Osiris Mysteries and the renewal and transfer of royal power. As such, it would have to have been considered highly restricted knowledge by the ancient Egyptians. This information only surfaced because it had to be included for the restoration of maat by the recreation of the first occasion as a necessary part of Seti's state sanctioned program of *wḥm mswt* for the "re-formation of the universal order" after the great Amarna heresy.[514]

As with other key numbers symbolizing the cosmic and calendric cycles of *nḥḥ* time which arose out of *ḏt* time,[515] such as 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 25, 30, 31, 36, 41, 47, 51, 76, 136, 147, 235, 254 and 309, they are also found in the deity and figure counts of the Book of Caverns. Even if considered dangerous like Apophis, Seth and their confederates, who are the enemies of Re and Osiris, they are still found in the creation texts because of their necessity for the functioning of the created cosmos. To them should be added the numbers symbolic of the eclipse cycles 223, 242 and 239. However, until evidence of a concrete nature is uncovered, these sacred symbols of the functioning of the created cosmos that arose out of *zp tpj*, which were known to the ancient Egyptians at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, circa 1300 BC, will remain safely hidden in plain sight to all but the few.

Another observation on the subtle ways that the ancient Egyptians may have encoded knowledge of the celestial cycles in the Book of Caverns is the unusual scene at the end of the sixth division in the lower register in which Osiris is depicted with his legs invisible as he emerges from the Place of Destruction.[516] (Plate 203)

> "Re says to this Cavern:
> O Osiris, whom the 'Great Serpent' encircles...
> I give you the order which is in my mouth (the word of the Creator),
> I let you breathe through that which comes forth from me (the breathe of life).
> Praise to you, Osiris, (for) your *ɓa* lives!
> This is what this God is like.
> His torso has come forth from the Place of Destruction...."[517]

The breathe of life from Atum revives the *ɓa* of Osiris which now lives to reunite with Re and will be reborn again with first crescent visibility, a clear reference to the monthly lunar cycle. At another level it could also express the lunar disk emerging from an eclipse. Support for this interpretation again comes from the deity count. There are forty seven deities in the sixth division that are depicted along with the *ɓa* of Osiris.[518] (Plate 203) In the next scene, the final scene of the composition, the *ɓa* of

514 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte" BSFE 136 (1996), 7. For the importance of this state sponsored program to Seti I, see above 1.2.

515 Clearly these numbers have multiple symbolic meanings as well.

516 See above 4.3.

517 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 266-267.

518 We have already encountered the number forty seven and its connection to the dual year in the temple of Satet. See above 4.4.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Osiris is depicted in the solar barque in the middle register. It brings the total number of deities in this scene to the symbolically important number nineteen. (Plate 209) These two numbers are instrumental in expressing an important lunar eclipse cycle. Interestingly, a current theory is that this cycle apparently was known to the ancient builders of Stonehenge where "the actual motions of the Sun and the Moon are reflected in the structure of Stonehenge.... Stonehenge builders could have kept track of lunar eclipses by moving rocks around the monuments inner curve of 19 columns called the Bluestone Horseshoe. Placing a rock on top of one of the horseshoe's outermost columns during an eclipse and moving it over one column every full moon, the marker [stone] would stand atop the center column during a full moon 47 months later, a moon that would be eclipsed. (Plate 162) The trick that complicates this explanation, however, is that more than one lunar eclipse would have been visible from Stonehenge every 47 months. The keepers of the stones could have had more than one rock traveling around the Bluestone Horseshoe at once. In fact, there may have been as many as six, depending on the frequency of eclipses. No matter how often eclipses are seen within a 47-month cycle, the eclipses that are separated by 47 months are all related to each other and form a family. A family begins as a partial, or penumbral eclipse and it recurs every 47 months. Each time it would be a little closer to a total eclipse. There might be a dozen or so total eclipses in the family, and then the eclipses would grow more partial, eclipsing a smaller part of the moon every 47 months until the eclipse failed to appear. That family would then be finished, and the stone that marked it could be retired." [519]

The forty seven deities in the sixth division from which the *ba* of Osiris emerges could be interpreted as the forty seven synodic months of the lunar eclipse cycle. The nineteen columns of the Bluestone Horseshoe used to track the successive cycles of the moon equate to the nineteen deities in the important final scene of the Book of Caverns in which the regenerated *ba* of Osiris travels. Recall that the number nineteen was sacred to Osiris symbolizing his successful renewal. (Plate 209) Could not the solar barque containing the invisible moon (the *ba* of Osiris) shown moving between the two mysterious mounds in the final scene mark the start of the cycle of forty seven synodic months which results in another lunar eclipse from which Osiris-Moon successfully emerges?

Let us also not forget Wells' earlier remarks on the Satet temple, which allows for the abstract number forty seven to be interpreted as another aspect of the lunar cycle. [520] He demonstrated that the forty seven deities in Room F of that temple equates to the sacred number that reconciles the lunar year with the Egyptian civil year. That is to say the Egyptian dual year. (Plate 164)

As discussed in the previous section, the final scene in the Book of Caverns provides the key as to when this ritual cycle was to be performed. It was the last day of the lunar month, the night of last crescent visibility as the final scene shows. Here, the *ba* of Osiris has entered the solar barque to travel

519 National University of Singapore, "Predicting Eclipses with the Stonehenge" www.math.nus.edu.sg/aslaksen/gem-projects/hm/0102-1-stonehenge/eclipses.htm

520 See above in 4.4.

with Re as it is clearly identified in the scene in the tomb of Ramesses VI. (Plate 211) This seems to have been the ancient Egyptians' explanation for why the moon was not visible in the sky on the following night of the Blacked-out Moon (New Moon). At conjunction the *ɓa* of Osiris-Moon was traveling together with the *ɓa* of Re through the *ɗuat.*[521]

There is another intriguing but subtle way in which the ancient Egyptians represented the close connection of Atum and Horus in the Book of Caverns. There are a total of seventeen ram-headed solar deities who on one level can signify the aging sun god. Here the number seventeen symbolizes the nightly death of this Great God, who at his death unites with and becomes his corpse Osiris. This mysterious union triggers the regeneration and renewal of both Re and Osiris. The deity who manifests as a result of this sacred union is Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. He is depicted in the Central Hall of the Osireion in both his forms as ram-headed and as falcon-headed. (Plates 313, 317) In the Book of Caverns there are nineteen representations of the falcon-headed god Horus. The number nineteen signifies the successful regeneration and rebirth of this deity. That is to say in his manifestation as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons and directly relates to the Heliopolitan creation process. The ram-headed *ɓa* of Re depicted in the Book of Caverns can also be interpreted as the Great Elder, the creator god Atum who because of his great age is depicted stooped over.[522] The fruition of this creation process initiated by Atum is Horus, falcon-headed and upright standing as a symbol of his renewal and the start of a new cycle – dynastic rule in Egypt. Together the seventeen ram-headed and nineteen falcon-headed solar manifestations number thirty six and can be equated to the thirty six ten-day periods of the Egyptian civil year which mark the beginning of cyclical *nḥḥ* time that arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion that Atum initiated and Horus oversees as the Ruler of the Two Lands.

521 See above 4.3, The Mysterious Book of Caverns A Treatise on the Lunar Osirian Transformation.

522 Recall that in the opening invocation of Atum by the living Horus, the king, in a hymn addressed to Re-Horus of the Two horizons in the first ritual cycle, the Great Elder is depicted falcon-headed and stooped over. See above 3.1.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.5 THE CONCLUDING SEQUENCE FOR THE FIRST NIGHT OF THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON, THE NIGHT OF LAST CRESCENT VISIBILITY

As the sun god and the *ba* of Osiris, which is to say his revivified potency, emerge from the sixth division of the Book of Caverns, the final scene informs us that the gods are entering his Eastern Mountain.[523] This is the eastern akhet and is represented in the Osireion by the Antechamber. A gate must be passed through to enter this place, signaling that a new transitional zone is being entered in this ritual cycle. (Plate 30) The text and depiction of the guardian of the gate, Nery, are on the same side as the final scene of the Book of Caverns. It is the first gate of the Nineteenth Dynasty version of Chapter 145 of the Book of the Dead. The text is written retrograde leading the ritualist, here as Osiris, the king true of voice, into the Antechamber. (Plate 215) The king cries out at the gate to its guardian:

> "...[Make way for] me, for I have come.
> Says this guardian of the gate:
> What says Osiris king...
> Are you pure? Yes I am pure.
> With what water?
> [By] these waters in which Re purified himself
> when the east of the sky was cleared for him...
> You may pass by!"[524]

The final statement "You may pass by!" emphasizes the ritual action underway here. Whereas, in general, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty versions of Chapters 145 and 146 of the Book of the Dead, it is rarely included.[525] Naville had designated the redaction of the text used in the Osireion as a separate version of BD 145. He concluded that this text was a new version of BD 145 in the form of a dialogue, which he numbered BD 145B.[526] Gestermann further points out the rarity of this textual variant. It is only found in two other cases other than the Osireion. Both are later, making the Osireion the site of the earliest rendition of the new version.[527] This fact raises the distinct possibility that BD 145B, modified by adding dialogue which is indicative of ritual use, like the Book of Caverns

523 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 271-272.

524 Translation in part based on M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 20; Z. Fabian, "Did They Say 'Yes' in the 19th Dynasty Version of Book of the Dead 145?" Specimina Nova Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis XV 1999 (2000), 13-25.

525 See: T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 123, 125-126, 134; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11.

526 L. Gestermann, "Einige Anmerkungen zum Dekorationprogramm im Osireion von Abydos" in W. Waitkus (ed.), Diener des Horus Festschrift fur Dieter Kurth (2008), 118-119 citing E. Naville, Das aegyptische Totenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie Bd. I (1886), plate 159 and E. Naville, Todenbuch, Einleitung (1886), 104 and 174.

527 Ibid., 119.

immediately preceding it, may both have been designed specifically for ritual use in the Osireion.

Furthermore, to *sbḥ* 'cry out' in the Land of Silence was taboo and strictly forbidden in the Realm of Osiris. [528] For the king, given his divine nature, it is a show of his strength to the guardian of the gate, signifying his great magical powers necessary for the completion of this crucial mission. For if the moon does not return to the night sky at its proper time or the sun does not rise again from the eastern akhet, the created cosmos may not be sustained. [529]

"The list of the gates and of their guardians is followed by the final addition of a declaration of Horus, alias the deceased [here the king as chief ritualist], who requests his passage through the gates of the netherworld. This final section, which is indicated in Allen's BD as section w, does not occur in earlier papyri but is attested only since the 21st Dynasty. It is perhaps no coincidence that the passage opening this final addition of the chapter is already attested as part of one of the CT spells composing the Book of the Two Ways, namely CT [1079] VII, 348f-349d." [530]

On the opposite notional eastern wall of the Antechamber above the door to the Annex is the concluding scene of this ritual cycle, that of the sunrise on the first occasion on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon. The text is from Chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead, which also was known in the Coffin Texts as CT 1029 and the opening text of the Book of the Two Ways. Thus the start and finish of the rites in the eastern akhet (Antechamber) are thematically linked through their connection with the Book of the Two Ways.

"The meaning of these texts [Chapters 145 and 146 of the Book of the Dead] is not to be found in their unclear topographical framework nor in the number of the names [of the gates and their guardians] they list, but in the magical function of the 'secret knowledge' these names represent. As already seen in the case of Ch. 141-142, this knowledge functioned as a kind of passport for the deceased [here the living king] having to traverse a great number of dangerous places." [531]

While the decoration on the notional north wall of the Antechamber is completely destroyed, a reconstruction can be made based on the arrangement on the rear wall of Hall E in the tomb of Ramesses VI which although abbreviated corresponds to the decoration program of the Antechamber. [532] (Plates 228, 229) There the standing king is depicted twice making offerings and burning incense to back to back shrines of an enthroned Osiris. The shrine on the right corresponds to the notional southern wall in the Antechamber which is in tact. (Plates 216, 217, 224) In a like fashion the standing

528 For example see J. Assmann, Death and Salvation (2005), 190.

529 The cosmogonic function for BD 145B in the ritual context of the Osireion's function to recreate *zp tpj* in order to restore *mɜʿt* may account for its infrequent use. Moreover, a mere mortal would be unlikely to violate this taboo in the Land of Silence unless he/she were *wrt ḥkɜw*, great of magic.

530 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 160-161.

531 Ibid., 160. Also see below 4.6 for the discussion in of the important Chapters 141-142 of the Book of the Dead.

532 See Appendix A.

king is burning incense and making offerings to an enthroned Osiris, who is likewise designated Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners. My reconstruction for the destroyed notional north wall expresses the same concept as the left scene in Hall E, (Plate 228) but is modified to conform to the ritual cycles depicted in the Osireion. On the first half of the wall would have been depicted the standing figure of the king again burning incense before the shrine of Osiris but wearing the blue crown and carrying the Heb Sed symbol as he is depicted in the tomb of Ramesses VI. (Plate 229) The entrance doorway to the Sloping Passage leading to the Central Hall, (Plate 30) where the enthroned Osiris statue was located corresponds to the door of the second Osiris shrine in Hall E. The design of this door could well have mimicked the false doors at the rear of the seven main chapels in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. (Plate 230) Recall that the false door and the concept behind it, the place of offerings to the gods and to the deceased was also abolished by the heretic Akhenaten and is here restored by Seti.

On the far side of this door on the notional north wall of the Antechamber, in all probability, Chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead had been inscribed. (Plate 30) There are several important reasons supporting this reconstruction. "Whenever this spell [BD 18] is found, BD 17 precedes as a rule."[533] Milde cites the early Nineteenth Dynasty Papyrus of Ani as the major exception where gates separate BD 17 from BD 18.[534] (Plate 231) However, exactly this pattern follows that for the third ritual cycle in the Osireion, where the door/gate opening into the eastern akhet, separates BD 17 in the Sloping Passage from BD 18 in the Antechamber. Furthermore, "... there is another opening sequence of texts which is widely attested on surviving manuscripts [of the Book of the Dead]. This too is characterized by its length and its clear thematic organization... These opening sequences are distinguished by the fact that they begin with chapter 1, whereas the sequences found on the papyrus of Nu starts with chapters 17 and 18, which are then generally followed [after] chapter 1."[534] This is also the case for the third ritual cycle in the Osireion. Returning out from the lower half of the *duat* ascending up the Sloping Passage toward the new sunrise, the sequence begins with the speech of Thoth, an excerpt from BD 1, followed by the speech of the creator in BD 17, which ends at the top end of the Sloping Passage. (Plate 31) Then there is the gate/doorway to Antechamber followed by BD 18.[535] (Plate 30)

Further evidence supporting the restoration of BD 18 on the notional north wall of the Antechamber comes from the early Ramesside tomb of Saroy (TT 233) dated to the reign of Ramesses II. "The upper register of the southern half of the west wall of the Broad Hall does not show the tomb owner at the gates of the netherworld but reproduces Chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead. In the middle register of this wall there is also a panel depicting Saroy before Osiris accompanied by the text of a prayer.... In the bottom register there is a copy of the 'Litany of the Names of Osiris' from BD 142...."[536] The pairing of BD 18 with BD 142 and a depiction of Osiris on the same wall is significant. It closely resembles and almost mirrors the decoration of the Antechamber where BD 142 and the

533 H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1991), 21.

534 G. Lapp, The Papyrus of Nu (1997), 44-45.

535 See below 5.3, Toward the Sunrise on the First Occasion.

536 B. Ockinga, "Theban Tomb 233 – Saroy regains an identity" BACE 11 (2000), 103-113.

enthroned Osiris are directly opposite the restored BD 18. (Plate 30) Interestingly, the other texts in the Broad Hall of Saroy, one of whose titles is the 'Leader of the Festival', according to Ockinga includes BD 1, BD 17, and BD 125 which are all found in the adjoining Sloping Passage of the Osireion. (Plate 31)

It should be noted that the timing of the performance of both the second and third ritual cycles in the Osireion is the same. "In the Book of the Dead, Chapter 18, the vindication of the deceased [and here of Osiris] against his enemies took place 'on the night of erecting the Djed-pillar'..." [537] According to the Medinet Habu festival calendar, this occurred on 30 Khoiak (IIII *ꜣḫt* 30) with the culmination of the annual Osiris Mysteries, [538] the subject of the first night of the third ritual cycle in the Osireion. On the ideal calendar, this is the last day of the lunar month, which is the day of last crescent visibility when the performance of the rites for the New Moon began in the second ritual cycle in the Osireion.

The text of BD 18 concerns Thoth's role in the vindication of Osiris before the ten Great Councils which are with both Re and Osiris, important for the rebirth of the sun god, the *ḥa* of Osiris, and Osiris as the moon. Thoth plays a vital role at key turning points especially in the third ritual cycle in the Osireion. He is found at the entrance to the Central Hall in BD 183. His speech from BD 1 appears at the bottom of the Sloping Passage initiating the ascent out from the lower *duat*. Here at the (re)entry point into the eastern akhet (literally the place of becoming *aḫ*), which would be the third instance, Thoth in BD 18 initiates the final sequence of both the second and third ritual cycles. The knowledge contained in BD 18, necessary for knowing the gods in the underworld, would facilitate the movement out from the eastern akhet to successfully complete sunrise on the first occasion and with it the successful rejuvenation of the *ḥa* of Osiris. However, to travel in the solar barque with Re, a major goal in the Book of the Two Ways, [539] one has to become effective (*ꜣḫ*) where one of the key requisites is to be "true of voice", *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, that is to say vindicated, which is the function of BD 18.

BD 19, a Persian-Ptolemaic Period derivation of BD 18 reveals the truly royal nature of this spell.

> To be said by the chief ritualist, the king
> [speaking of his mythic prototype Horus]:
>
> "Your Father Atum binds for you
> this beautiful wreath of vindication on your brow.
> Live, beloved of the Gods;
> may you live forever.
> Osiris presiding over the Westerners
> has vindicated you against your enemies.

537 J. Wilson, "The Theban Tomb (No. 409) of Si-Mut, Called Kiki" JNES 29 (1970), 189.

538 Ibid., 189; and it immediately preceded the heb-sed jubilee on I *prt* 1, A. Spalinger, "Night into Day", ZAS 119 (1992), 147.

539 F. Hermsen, Die zwei Wege des Jenseits. Das altagyptische Zweiwegebuch (1991).

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Your Father Geb assigns to you his whole inheritance.
Come!
Praise be to you as one vindicated
(O) Horus, son of Isis and son of Osiris,
on the throne of your Father (Osiris),
overthrowing your enemies.
He definitely assigns to you the whole of the Two Lands.
Atum has assigned and the Ennead has confirmed
the two regions of beauty to the vindicated one,
Horus the son of Isis and son of Osiris, forever and ever,
(even to) Osiris N [the chief ritualist, the king].
Osiris presiding over the Westerners
[as Osiris is so-named and depicted on the wall directly opposite this text. (Plate 225)]
the two sanctuaries of the Gods together,
and every God and every Goddess
who is in the sky and in the earth
are vindicating Horus the son of Isis and son of Osiris
against his enemies before Osiris presiding over the westerners,
[Exactly as Osiris is depicted on the notional south wall directly opposite
this text and as is stated in Horus' speech before his father BD 173.]
Wennefer, the son of Nut,
on this day of his vindication against Seth and his confederates." [540]
[Then follow the ten Great Councils who are with Re and with Osiris.]

Remarkably, this variant of BD 18 captures and embodies the essence of the third ritual cycle. [541] Were there an earlier existent version of BD 19 prior to the Persian-Ptolemaic Period, one would be tempted to argue that this version was the variant of BD 18 inscribed in the Osireion.

In the Papyrus of Ani (early Nineteenth Dynasty) BD 18 is repeated twice, pointing to the chapter's significance. In the second rendition in p.Ani, which Goelet considers the core document, it begins with a depiction of a door. (Plate 231) Interestingly, the door is not mentioned in either the introduction or the text. [542] It nicely corresponds to the "false door" immediately preceding it on the notional north wall of the Antechamber. (Plate 30) Finally the gods of the ten Great Councils, a number sacred to Horus and kingship on the earth, would balance the Litany of Osiris, the Ruler of the West, on the opposite notional southern wall, maintaining the symmetry of the decoration program in the Antechamber, the place of becoming *ꜣḫ*.

540 Translation is based on T. G. Allen, The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum (1960), 105-106; T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day (1974), 34-35.

541 See below Chapter 5.

542 It should be noted that there are important differences. The core version lacks the introduction and its vignette has the door with 32 deities versus 42 deities. Compare plates 23-4 with 12-14 in R. Faulkner, O. Goelet, "The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 161.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Returning now to the performance of the second ritual cycle, the rites for the Blacked-out Moon, Re, the *ḥa* of Osiris and the king pass through the first gate of BD 145B on the left side into the place of becoming *ꜣḫ*, the Antechamber, *ꜣḫt*. (Plate 30) There the king was depicted standing burning incense and making offerings before the "false door" which separates the lower *ḏuat* from the Antechamber.[543]

After the burning of incense to invoke the gods and the making of offerings to Atum and the thirty one gods of the ten Great Councils depicted along the top of the wall, the king as ritualist reciting BD 18, calls upon Thoth to bring him into the presence of each of the ten Great Councils.

> "O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris[Moon] against his enemies,
> vindicate the Osiris Ani [here the king as the living Horus], the vindicated,
> against his enemies
> in the presence of the council which is with Re and Osiris,
> and which is in Heliopolis..."[544]

The first Great Council in Heliopolis who are Atum, Shu and Tefnut who together symbolize the initiation of the creation of the cosmos on *zp tpj* and with it "the destruction of the gang of Seth when he repeated his offenses."[545] That is to say the dismemberment of Osiris-Moon into fourteen pieces and likewise the Udjat-eye, the Eye of Horus, into six parts. Repeating his offenses refers to the monthly waning phase of the lunar cycle. The thirty one gods of the ten Great Councils which were spawned by Atum, the creator, represent all combinations of phases possible for any twenty-nine or thirty-day lunar month.[546]

The second is the Great Council in Busiris who are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, Avenger/Protector of his Father on that night of erecting the Djed-pillar (*ḏd*) in Busiris (*ḏdw*).[547] These are the deities who revivify Osiris on the night of 30 Khoiak (IIII *ꜣḫt* 30) at the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries. The erecting of the Djed-pillar symbolizes the successful rejuvenation of the *ḥa* of Osiris that was done on that night.

The third Great Council in Letopolis is Horus with no eyes in his forehead and Thoth who is with the Council of Naref.[548] Horus with no eyes signifies the periods when the moon and the sun are not visible, which are the nights of last crescent visibility and the Blacked-out Moon (New Moon), when

543 The lower *ḏuat* which starts with the Sloping Passage consists of the two Transverse Halls and the Central Hall. (Plates 31, 40)

544 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 23.

545 Ibid., plate 23.

546 See below 4.6.

547 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 23.

548 Ibid., plate 23.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

the rites for the New Moon were performed. Thoth, who restored the injured eye of Horus with his own fingers making it sound, i.e. the Udjat-eye, is in Naref which literally means “he cannot be evicted” [549] This suggests that Thoth cannot be stopped from repairing the Eye of Horus to make it sound again which represents the restoring waxing phase of the lunar cycle leading to the full moon. “As to the night of the evening meal in Letopolis, it is the dawn at the burial of Osiris.” [550] Presumably this refers to the dawn of the Day of the Blacked-out Moon.

The fourth Great Council in Pe and Dep is Horus, Isis, Imsety and Hapi on the night of erecting the Shrine of Horus which was erected for him as an inheritance from the property of his father. This was erected by order of Seth to his confederates. [551] Fittingly, it is before the Great Council of the revered ancestors in Pe and Dep that Horus and Osiris have been vindicated. With this, the pattern for the transfer of royal power from father to son has been established on *zp tpj* for all time. The legitimacy of this pattern is acknowledged by Seth, the contender for the throne of Egypt, who orders a shrine to be erected for Horus, in his recognition of Horus' rightful role as the Lord of the Two Lands. That it is the fourth Great Council holds its own significance. Four is the sacred number symbolizing completeness and totality. [552] It also has a powerful magical function in its connection with the four cardinal directions. This importance is highlighted in the directions for the performance of this ritual at the end of the later variant of BD 18, known as BD 19.

> “Horus has repeated praise 4 times,
> for his enemies have fallen, overthrown and slain;
> and Osiris N. [here the king] has repeated praise 4 times
> for all his enemies [dead or alive] are fallen, overthrown and slain.
> Horus the son of Isis and son of Osiris
> has repeated millions of jubilees,
> for all his enemies are fallen, overthrown and slain.
> They have been transported to the place of execution,
> the slaughtering-block of the easterners.
> They have been decapitated,
> They have been strangled, their arms have been cut off,
> their breasts have been removed.
> They have been given (to the Great) Annihilator in the valley;
> [where] they shall never escape from the custody of Geb.” [553]

549 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 35 n. 56.

550 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 23.

551 Ibid., plate 23.

552 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 144.

553 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 35.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Not only is this spell to be repeated four times by the king's prototype Horus in the mythical realm, it is also to be repeated four more times by the king as the living Horus and chief ritualist. The number four is also used for the complete containment and destruction of all their enemies, who are now in the custody of Geb, the earth god, from which there is no possibility for escape. In the Book of Caverns as we have already seen,[554] the king, as he in effect reiterates again in BD 18 proclaims:

> "Oh beheaded ones, without their heads,
> foremost of the place of destruction!
> Oh fallen ones, without their *ḥas*
> foremost of the place of destruction!
> Oh overturned ones, fettered ones
> foremost of the place of destruction!
> Oh enemies of the ruler of the underworld, Osiris Foremost of the West,
> behold I have commanded you to destruction!
> I have assigned you to non-existence!

The accompanying illustration[s] in the tomb of Ramses VI [and in the earliest version found in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion] corresponds exactly to this description, showing decapitated bodies and severed heads as well as enemies falling and upside down – all in sets of four, paralleling the four limestone figures in the second Mirgissa deposit [a state sanctioned execration ritual].... Common to both is the human corpse, condemned in the netherworld by Horus, and in Mirgissa by Horus' earthly incarnation, the pharaoh. The implications of this similarity are clear: the ritual destruction envisioned in the text of Amduat [and the Book of Caverns cited above] must derive from genuine earthly ceremonies similar, if not identical, to the execration ritual. The royal funerary texts thus are in reality neither exclusively royal nor funerary, but derive – at least in part – from state rituals performed by the priesthood in public for earthly benefit."[555] In the context of the Osireion rites, the visible "earthly benefit" will be the first sunrise of the created cosmos on *zp tpj* as well as the prototype for the monthly reappearance of the moon to the night sky with its first crescent visibility. Just as important to the ancient Egyptians, the pattern is established on the first occasion for the legitimate transmission of royal power from father Osiris to son Horus. These are the goals of the second and third ritual cycles depicted in the Osireion which have been encoded in the first four of the Great Councils. The other six Great Councils all relate to these events, but in a more obscure manner. Perhaps their real significance was to bring the total of Great Councils to number ten, thereby embodying the concept of kingship and the means for the transmission of royal power encoded in this sacred number to Horus. That the gods of the ten Great Councils who emerged from the creator Atum number thirty one directly links kingship to the lunar cycle through the number symbolism. Recall Parker's remarks. "It is my belief that the whole character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to

554 See above 4.3 and Plates 176, 177, 182, 189, 194, 203 .

555 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 168-170.

have, ultimately, a lunar explanation. The dying Horus is the waning moon. Horus dead becomes Osiris, and the moon is invisible. The new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as the king of the dead and of his son and successor Horus as king of the living. The ceremony of the Sed is also understandable on a lunar basis. The King normally celebrated it for the first time in his 30th year. The 29 years he has reigned may be compared to the 29 days of the lunar month from the day of the new crescent, the second day, to day 30 [the day of last crescent visibility when the rites for the New Moon began in the Osireion]. Like the moon, the king, Horus of the Living, has run his course. In his 30th year, *psḏntyw*, he dies and is reborn as the youthful Horus, the crescent moon, strong and vigorous."[556]

Having completed the recitation of BD 18, the king here identified clearly as Men-maat-Re *mꜣʿ-hrw* (Seti I),[557] makes the final preparations for his departure with Re and the *ḥa* of Osiris from the eastern akhet. Here he must now complete his transfiguration into an effective *aḫ* (*ꜣḫ*) started in BD 18 which is necessary for his entering the solar barque. The spell to achieve this final stage of transformation is known as BD 42, the so-called Gliedervergottung. It follows BD 18 and is on the left side of the doorway to the Annex, whose door would remain closed at this point of the ritual cycle. (Plate 30) The text is written retrograde and is abbreviated here, moving this first night of the ritual cycle closer to its conclusion. Starting in the far column on the left the text reads: (Plate 232)

"[Spell] for warding off the slaughtering (*ḫsf šʿd*)
which is made in Heracleopolis
by king *mn-mꜣʿt-rʿ mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, true of voice, [and therefore vindicated].

Strong One of the White crown, Image of the gods
I am the Child! [I am the rising sun!] (four times)
O [kid of the Eldest (Atum)
you say on this] day
The slaughterhouse is equipped with what you know
and you have come to it.
O great tamarisk-tree
I am Re! Enduring in praises,
I am the great god within the tamarisk-tree
[Osiris is the great one of the *jšd*-tree]
How good it is the disk upon/with him (?)
I am Re! Enduring in praises (four times)
I am … going forth [when] this Re goes forth."[558]

556 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80 n. 23.

557 The king's name is not in a cartouche which Brand suggests is used when referring to a deified pharaoh quite appropriate for BD 42 used to deify his limbs. See Plates 232 and 233 first column on the left.

558 Translation is based on M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 9; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 105; and T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 48.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

This spell for warding off the slaughtering can be a form of defensive magic used to repel demons and other hostile beings.[559] The verb *ḫsf*, to ward off, "is very often [also] used to indicate action against the enemies par excellence in the Egyptian mythology, namely Seth and Apopis."[560]

Set against the backdrop of Heracleopolis, in the opening columns of the recitation, the king identifies himself directly with Re as the rising sun, which is the prime event of the first occasion. What follows is the king's identification of his bodily parts with two groups of nine deities, the two Enneads which will complete his deification. It is taken from the Litany of Re, the Book of Praising Re in the West, Praising the United One in the West.[561] But here the emphasis shifts as the king identifies himself directly with Osiris. The meaning behind this shift is subtle but clear. When addressing individual parts of his royal body, he is as Osiris at the time of the New Moon. He is dismembered. This state is a result of his direct participation in the ritually induced transfigurations that are underway. The act of naming each deity who rules over the associated royal body part brings it into existence. In reciting this portion of the spell, the king, true of voice, effectively causes the re-memberment of both his own body and of Osiris as the Moon. The process unfolds from the top of the head to the bottom of the toes, which is an important meditation technique.[562] I cite only four of the eighteen inscribed verses in the Osireion version of BD 42 which are of particular interest.

> (1) "The hair of Osiris Men-maat-Re, true of voice, is as the Nun
> (2) The face of Osiris Men-Maat-Re, true of voice, is as Re...
> (12) The phallus of Osiris Men-maat-Re, true of voice, is as Osiris...
> (15) The hinter parts of Osiris Men-maat-Re, true of voice, is as the Eye of Horus..."[563]

As with all creation, it begins in (1) the Nun. Out of the primordial abyss arises Atum, the creator as the face of (2) Re. The phallus of the king is (12) Osiris as the potent regenerative force of his *ḥa* that is now restored. The hinter parts of the king is as (15) the Eye of Horus. The royal face as the sun shines during the day, while the Eye of Horus illuminates the night, hence its position in the hind part of the royal body. As the fifteenth recitation determined with the Udjat-eye, the restored eye, indicates it symbolizes the full moon. (Plate 232) The hale royal body illuminates the day and the night as its

559 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 106-110.

560 Ibid., 106 n. 644.

561 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 228. Thutmose III shroud, lines 168-172. See A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 20, 38-39 and plate 1. In the version in the Litany of Re, there are twenty-four bodily parts that are deified most probably equated to the twenty-four hours of *nḥḥ*, cyclical time that arose with the advent of the first occasion.

562 This also follows the pattern of the medical papyri, according to Goelet in R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 168.

563 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 9. I have substituted the original name of Seti I in place of the recarved cartouche of his grandson Merenptah.

potent *ba* regenerates the created cosmos on the first occasion. In every sense he is the Lord of All.

"This ritual integrated the body of the deceased [here the living Horus, the king] into the immanent forces of nature as expressed through the plurality of the gods.... In a long litany [which dates back to the Pyramid Texts PT 539] the king asserts his bodily parts to be identified with different gods of the pantheon, and from the result of which he shall ascend to the sky." [564] In the Osireion it is recited to enter the solar barque with Re and the *ba* of Osiris for the first sunrise. "The multiplicity of the divine images assimilated with each one of the bodily parts facilitates this return to the one creative source: the many, polytheistic forms achieve the one theological unity of the 'first time'." [565]

It should be noted that the Osireion version of this spell is not complete. It omits the nineteenth body part in the "standard version", the twenty fingers and toes who are live cobras. Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris, symbolizing his rememberment and his rebirth. The king Men-maat-Re, who is true of voice (column 1 on Plate 232) would know of this omission and recite it to correctly complete his deification. With the rememberment of his nineteen Osirian body parts he is transfigured and he is Re:

> "[Not one of my members] is without a god.
> Thoth is the magical protection of my whole body;
> I am Re every day...." [566]

Recall that it was Thoth who initiated this transformation into an effective *akh* in the preceding spell BD 18. Now with the process complete, his magic protects the object of the king's deification – I am Re every day.

This omission would be critical. Without reciting it, the king's deification would not be complete. He could not escape from the underworld. He could not enter the solar barque to rise with the sun god and the *ba* of Osiris for the first sunrise. Without his presence, there could be no first occasion – no created cosmos! This omission appears to have been clearly intentional. We will see this technique used again by the ancient Egyptian initiates in the third ritual cycle to thwart a successful crossing to the House of Osiris. [567]

On the other hand, the depiction of the eighteen deities as two Enneads may have been to emphasize the lunar nature of this overtly solar spell i.e. I am Re every day, (Plate 232) especially since

564 N. Billing, "The Corridor Chamber. An Investigation of the Function and Symbolism of an Architectural Element in the Old Kingdom Pyramids" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007), 190.

565 P. Kousculis, "Magic in Greco-Roman Egypt" MAA 2 (2002), 15.

566 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 48.

567 See below 5.3.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

BD 42 is used here in the context of the Rites for the New Moon.[568] In the later 'Ceremony of Glorifying Osiris in the God's Domain' (the *ḏuat*), preserved in p.MMA 35.9.21 which was performed during the Mysteries of Osiris in the month of Khoiak,[569] Isis says:

> "You [Osiris] will enter the sound eye and unite with it.
> Your hue will illuminate the land at night,
> when you come into being as Osiris the moon,
> Thoth the bull who rejuvenates in the sky each day.
> I [Isis] have created the greater Ennead, the lesser Ennead has been provided,
> for the sound eye on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
> It means that the 'month' [Here a name for the moon.] will be completed.
> Do not be distant, for I have effected an entry into the sound eye.
> It means that the numinous image of Osiris will come into being.
> This means Thoth setting it in order with its constituent parts
> so as to remove injury from it.
> You will appear in the sky with Re on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
> Bulls will ejaculate and cows will become gravid
> when you [Osiris as the full moon] are seen in the sky on this day."[570]

Here the relationship linking the Two Enneads and the sound eye of Osiris-Moon is explicit. Setting Osiris-Moon in order with its constituent parts by Thoth is analogous to the deification of the body parts of the king which is achieved by the recitation of BD 42 by the king, who is at the same time the son of the sun Re and the son of the moon Osiris.

The final spell in the ritual cycle for the first night of the rites for the New Moon is located above the door to the Annex at the top of the notional east wall of the Antechamber. (Plates 30, 233, 235) It is the place where the sun will rise out of the eastern akhet on *zp tpj*. From the few remaining traces, I was able to ascertain that the text is, in fact, Chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead.[571] "Ch[apter] 133 … 'to be performed (on) the first day of the month' [Blacked-out Moon Day], corresponds to what, in the CT, was the beginning of the Book of the Two Ways, namely CT [1029]. Once transmitted to the BD, this spell became one of the pivotal texts concerning solar theology..."[572] The rubics for this spell point

568 There may have also been a further reference to the lunar cycle through the number eighteen. The day after the full moon group is day 18 called *jꜥḥ*, day of the moon, clearly the second half of the lunar cycle, its waning, was underway by the eighteenth of the lunar month. See R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13.

569 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 135.

570 Ibid., 144-145.

571 Compare the text on the lintel above the door to the Annex on my Plate 235 with E. Naville, Das agyptische Totenbuch II (1971 reprint), 343-344.

572 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 74.

to its potency and its magical ritual use:

> "To be said over a barque four cubits long
> made of papyrus strips,
> and having the Council of Nomes on board,
> with a starry sky made and purified
> with natron and incense,
> after you had made an image of Re
> with Nubian pigment on a new bowl,
> put at the prow of this barque
> and after you had placed an image of this Blessed One,
> whose initiation you have desired,
> into the barque.
> This means that he shall sail in the barque of Re
> and Re himself shall see him therein.
> Do not use for anyone except yourself -
> even your father, or your son.
> Be you very careful!
> This is (for) initiating the Blessed One
> into the mind (*jb*) of Re
> and making him mighty before the Ennead...
> To be said in addition to this statement
> that Horus used for his father Osiris
> Wennefer alive forever and ever.
> Since Re looks upon this Blessed One as himself,
> has looked upon him as (upon) the Ennead,
> great is the fear of him in the hearts of the blessed and the dead.
> His *ḥa* shall stay alive forever;
> it shall not die again in the god's domain.
> He is not kept away from the gates,
> from the portals of the pits and
> the gate of the god's domain.
> He shall not be left out on the judgment day;
> he shall be triumphant against his enemies.
> His offerings shall be on the alter of Re daily." [573]

The use by Horus for his father Osiris Wennefer, alive forever and ever attests to its effectiveness. CT 1029 (BD 133) "explains the purpose of the work [the Book of the Two Ways], which is bridging Diesseits und Jenseits and of enabling the soul [*ḥa*] to live anew each day." [574] Here in the Osireion it is

573 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 108-109. These rubrics are not found in the Osireion version of BD 133.

574 T. DuQuesne, "Guide to the Ways of Re-setawe" DE 31 (1995), 110.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Re, the *ba* of Osiris and the Lord of Appearances [sunrise],[575] the king, who will be born anew with the sunrise as is described in BD 133. (Plates 236, 235)

"Re appears [in his horizon]
his Ennead following after him
[of which the *ba* of Osiris and the deified king are a part];
the god issues from the secret [hidden] place,
and trembling falls on the eastern horizon of the sky at the voice of Nut;
she clears the ways for Re
before the Eldest One, who turns about
[Reverses direction to travel from east to west during the day].
Raise yourself, O Re who are in your shrine [i.e. Day Barque],
[1] that you may lap up the breezes.
[2] May you swallow the north wind,
[3] may you swallow the spine [vertebrae of Apophis?],
[4] may you entrap the day,
[5] may you kiss Maat,
[6] may you divide your suite
[This marks the division of the day into two halves].
[7] May you sail the Sacred Barque to the Lower Sky,
[8] may the Elders run to and fro at your voice;
[9] may you reckon up your bones,
[10] may you gather your members together,
[11] may you turn your face to the beautiful West,
[12] may you return anew every day,
for you are the golden image
which bares the likeness of the sun-disk
[lit. that under (lies) the union of the disks],
the sky being possessed with trembling
at your recurrence every day.
The horizon is joyful,
and there is acclamation within your bounds."[576]

This rather lengthy description of the unfolding sunrise has been structured such that the twelve stanzas describing the sun god's actions, forms a parallel to the division of the day into twelve hours. The second half of the spell in its complete version also was structured such that there are twelve

575 As the king is called in the opening column of BD 133. See Plates 233, 235.

576 Translation based primarily on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 21; and some insertions from T.G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 108; and those of the author.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

statements pertaining to Osiris N.[577] In the Osireion version there appear to be only eight because the chapter ends with the watery abyss of the Nun from which the sun god, the *ba* of Osiris, and the king rise.

"As for the gods who are in the sky
who behold the king, true of voice, [578]
they have offered up praise as though to Re,
for the king, true of voice, is a great one
who seeks out the *wrrt*-crown of Re [579]
and reckons up his needs;
the king, true of voice, is one alone
who affairs flourish in that first company
of those who are in the presence of Re [including the *ba* of Osiris];
the king, true of voice, is hale on earth
and in the God's Domain [the *duat*],
the king, true of voice, is hale like Re.
The king, true of voice, will run
and will not be weary in this land forever.
How good it is to see with the eyes,
while the ears hear Maat, twice over,
the king, true of voice, (receives offerings)
increased twice over in Heliopolis.
The king, true of voice, is Re
whose courses are concealed in the suite of Nun!" [580]

The version of BD 133 inscribed in the Osireion ends as it began in the opening of the preceding spell BD 42 with the affirmation of the king, the living Horus, true of voice, that I am Re.

BD 133 (CT 1029) appears to be a pars pro toto substitution for the complete Book of the Two Ways in the Osireion. Note that later in the Book of the Two Ways, "Section IX specifically identifies Horus [In the Osireion, it is the king as the living Horus and ritualist.] with Re [CT 1116]. The

577 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), Spell 133b on 108.

578 While traces remain of the king's name and 'true of voice' in the Osireion version of BD 133 (Plate 235), the *ba* of Osiris does not so I omit it here.

579 "This spell [PT 637] is the first of many instances in the corpus where the possession of the *wrrt*-crown is explicitly linked to the resurrection of Osiris [here Osiris-Moon] and/or his legitimate rule, generally over the nightly half of the cosmic cycle, as becomes apparent in those cases in which rule is transferred to him from or by Re." K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 38.

580 See above n. 576.

justified soul, as Osiris, receives his potency (*ba*) [CT 1120]."[581] This is a concise summary of the events which are detailed in the second ritual cycle, the rites for the New Moon! The two courses or ways in the Book of the Two Ways are by water and by land, which is the source of the composition's modern name.[582] "The Two Ways could well be considered to represent the routes of Re and Osiris respectively, and the purpose of the Book is to conjoin the opposites of Sun and Moon.[583] The obvious Osireion parallels in the second ritual cycle for the rites of the New Moon are in the Entrance Passage. The Book of the Night on the half of the ceiling directly above the Book of Caverns details the nocturnal voyage of the sun god in his solar barque. The Book of the Caverns corresponds to the land route. The solar barque materializes at the end in the final scene only after the land journey has been completed. It is in the Book of Caverns where Osiris receives his potency (*ba*) [CT 1120]. This is graphically depicted in the fifth division. (Plate 198) An enormous ithyphallic figure of Osiris 2.85m tall (9 ½ ft.) has his *ba* bird on his head,[584] signifying that he is united with his *ba* which is responsible for his potent state. The specific identification of Horus with Re is found in the eastern akhet, the Antechamber, in the two ritual episodes BD 42 and BD 133. As the rubrics state, the gates of the sky must be and are accessible for the sun to rise in BD 133. "...the fundamental theme of the Zwb [Book of the Two Ways] is the union of Re with Osiris and the identification of the justified soul [In the Osireion, it is the living Horus, the king and ritualist.] with both."[585] This all important union is elaborated on in the Book of Caverns. It is also mentioned in BD 180 opposite BD 42 in the Antechamber.[586] The identification of the king, the living Horus with Re was discussed above. His identification with Osiris is found in the Book of Caverns, BD 18, BD 42, and BD 133.

However, even more compelling is the remarkable correspondence of the third ritual cycle, which begins with the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries on the night of 30 Khoiak (IIII *ꜣḫt* 30), to key elements incorporated in the Book of Two Ways. This tantalizing connection will be the subject of an in-depth study. I only briefly mention here a few of the numerous similarities. In addition to the aforementioned parallels in the second ritual cycle for the rites of the New Moon, which also forms part of the third ritual cycle, are the following observations. The most obvious potential difficulty is with the day trip in the solar barque in section VII of the Book of the Two Ways, because there are no remaining traces in the Osireion of the diurnal cycle of the sun god. But this would appear to be an accident of preservation. In the tomb of Ramesses VI of which the Osireion is its template, there are two copies of the Book of the Day paired with the Book of the Night. The corresponding second copy in the Osireion would have been inscribed opposite the traces of the Book of the Night on the ceiling

581 T. DuQuesne, "Guide to the Ways of Ro-setawe" DE 31 (1995), 111.

582 L. Lesko, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways (1972), 3; H. Willems, Chests of Life (1988), 235.

583 T. DuQuesne, "Squaring the Ouroboros" DE 33 (1995), 153.

584 The figure is the height of the entire wall which Frankfort stated is 2.85m in height. H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 14.

585 T. DuQuesne, "Guide to the Ways of Ro-setawe" DE 31 (1995), 100.

586 See below 4.6.

in the First Transverse Hall which forms part of the third ritual cycle.[587] The many gates and gatekeepers found in the middle sections of the Book of the Two Ways have their parallels in the Sloping Passage as does "the palace (*stp-sȝ*) of Osiris" in section V.[588] "The ways of Rosetau"[589] finds parallels with the Sloping Passage and the Central Hall, which together represent the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat,[590] both in architectural design and content and so on and so forth.

The only remaining fragment of the vignette which was depicted directly above the text of BD 133 is telling. (Plates 233, 235) It is the tail of a uraeus which allows for a reliable reconstruction of the scene using the parallels with the final scene of the Book of Gates, where the two uraei flank the scene and the standard vignette for BD 133.[591] (Plates 121, 236) The role of the twin uraei is two fold. Depicted in their most deadly form, Isis and Nephthys stand alert protecting the solar barque and by so doing assist and insure that the sunrise will unfold. Like in the Book of the Day, the sun god would have appeared with a falcon's head rather than in his ram-headed nocturnal form.[592] (Plate 140) In all probability, it would have been a depiction of Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the two akhets (horizons), that specific form of the sun god that arose out of the union of Re and Osiris which is the theme of BD 180 inscribed below it on the doorway opposite BD 42. (Plate 233) From the rubrics, the solar barque is said to be four cubits in length (7 ft.) which would easily fit in the space above the doorway to the Annex. Accompanying Re-Horakhti, the *ḥa* of Osiris would have been in the prow of the barque. His presence in the solar barque explains the moon's absence from the night sky at the time of conjunction, the new moon. As in the final scene of the Book of Gates, the king would also have been in the solar barque in order to come into existence with the first sunrise. Recall that Re-Horakhti, Osiris, and the king were depicted together in the opening scenes of the first ritual cycle, thematically linking the ritual cycles in the Osireion.[593] Thus the sun and the moon, the two eyes of the Elder Horus,[594] together with the living Horus, the king all materialize on *zp tpj*. Finally the last word in the hieroglyphic text in the Osireion version of BD 133 is "Nun" with a seated god determinative, suggesting that here too, the solar barque is rising out of the Nun, here as 'the Father of the Gods' on the first occasion. (Plate 235) This concludes the rituals for the first night of the rites for the New Moon in the Osireion with sunrise on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon with the *ḥa* of Osiris having entered the solar barque to travel with Re and the king.

587 See Appendix A.

588 L. Lesko, "Some Observations on the Composition of the Book of the Two Ways" JAOS 91 (1971), 38.

589 Ibid., 39.

590 See below Chapter 5.

591 The standard vignette is a form of the sun god in his solar barque.

592 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 117.

593 See above 3.1.

594 The Elder Horus was present in the opening text of the first ritual cycle. See above 3.1 and Plate 62.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.6 THE RITUAL SEQUENCE FOR THE SECOND NIGHT: THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON ON THE NIGHT OF THE BLACKED-OUT MOON

With the restoration of the potency of the *ḥa* of Osiris completed during the first night of the rites for the New Moon, the stage is set to begin the ritual preparations for the return of the newly reborn Moon to the night sky. These additional ritual episodes are depicted on the walls of the Antechamber and the adjoining Annex of the Osireion. However, it would appear that the actual physical enactment of these restorative rites may have been preformed on the earth. That is to say in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and the House of Life. In the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) in the Annex, a key composition in this second night of rituals, the king is depicted eighteen times making offerings to the deities of the caverns. (Plates 243, 244, 245, 246) In every case, it is explicitly stated that the offerings are made on the earth (*tpj tꜣ*). These "stage directions" are unambiguous as to where the offerings depicted are actually to be presented. Furthermore, in contrast to the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns in the Entrance Passage, the texts in the Annex are extremely abbreviated providing only the essentials. This need not have been the case because of its location. (Plate 30) The size of the Annex could have been easily expanded to accommodate a complete version of the composition. Therefore, it must have been viewed by the ancient Egyptians as unnecessary since the rites were to be performed elsewhere; as the texts state "on the earth". Further evidence for this is found in a text from the Butcher's Hall.

> "A long-horned (bull) for the Navigation of […],
> for the New Moon feast which is (celebrated)
> in the temple of Menmaatre." [595]

The most likely location for this stage of the offerings and rites in the main Seti temple would have been the notional west wall in the Second Hypostyle Hall. [596] At Medinet Habu, Ramesses III is depicted on the north wall of the First Court making offerings for the New Moon festival. [597] (Plate 166) Or as the Papyrus Salt 825 suggests, the rites were performed in the House of Life. [598]

The second night of rites for the New Moon ends as they did on the first night of this ritual cycle with the sunrise depicted on the notional eastern wall above the entrance to the Annex. However, the expanded rites on the second night include the ritual episodes on the notional southern half of the

595 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Translated Vol. I (1993), 195:5-9.

596 See below in 4.6.

597 H. Nelson, U. Holscher, Work in Western Thebes 1931-33 (1934), 13 fig. 8.

598 P. Derchain, Papyrus Salt 825 (B. M. 10051), Rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Egypte (1965). See below 6.5 for the probable location of the House of Life in Seti's Abydene complex.

Antechamber and those in the Annex. The rituals consists of two distinct sequences, which would have been problematic had the rites been physically performed there.

After entering through the first gate on the left side of the entrance to the Antechamber, the eastern akhet, there is the second gate of BD 145B inscribed on the opposite side of the doorway, (Plate 215) which opens its own distinct ritual sequence. Von Lieven has noted that "BD 145 in the later Papyrus Imouthes is recited by Horus on his way to see his father." [599] Here, the king need not have been actually physically present because his carved image acts as an effective substitute ritually. [600] As at the first gate, the Osiris king, true of voice, cries out to the second gate:

> "Lady of the Sky, mistress of the Two Lands,
> Neby, lady of the sacred land
> whose doorkeeper/guardian is Child of the Fashioner [Ptah], *msptḥ*,
> He (the king) says, make way for me (for) behold I have come.
> What says Osiris king … true of voice?
> … Yes, I am Pure [by] these waters
> in which Osiris purified himself,
> when he was placed into the night barque and the day barque, [601]
> when he went forth from Abydos and descended into the west." [602]

Recall that at the first gate, the king is purified by the waters in which Re purified himself when the east of the sky was cleared for him. Here, the king is purified by the waters in which Osiris purified himself when he went forth from Abydos and descended into the west. Together they represent the Two Ways – the way of the sun, Re and the way of the moon, Osiris – further linking the scenes and texts in the Antechamber to the themes in the Book of the Two Ways. [603] The two goals are: (1) to travel in the solar barque with Re as the text states, and is represented in the Antechamber by the vignette for BD 133 of the sunrise in the east of the sky; (Plate 236) and (2) to be in the presence of Osiris, here represented by the enthroned figure of Osiris on the notional eastern end of the south wall at the end of the Way of Osiris sequence. (Plate 224) "The purpose of the Book [of the Two Ways] is to conjoin opposites of Sun and Moon", [604] which is masterfully achieved in the Antechamber. This contrast between the Two Ways is also highlighted by the use of a retrograde text for the first gate

599 A. von Lieven, "Book of the Dead, Book of the Living: BD Spells as Temple Texts" JEA 98 (2012), 259.

600 K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual Performance, Pattern, and Practice (2013), 30.

601 This statement placing Osiris in the solar barque further links the texts in the Antechamber to the time when the rites for the New Moon were performed from the night of last crescent visibility to the reappearance of the new crescent.

602 Author's translation. See: Z. Fabian "Did They Say 'Yes' in the 19th Dynasty Version of Book of the Dead 145?" Specimina Nova Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis XV 1999 (2000), 13-25; for 'Fashioner', R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11.

603 See above 4.5.

604 T. DuQuesne, "Squaring the Ouroboros" DE 33 (1995), 153.

whereas it is not retrograde for the second gate. In fact, this distinction serves to identify the two separate ritual sequences of the Two Ways in the Antechamber.

The next episode of the Way of Osiris is on the notional western end of the south wall in the Antechamber. (Plate 30) Having been purified by the waters in which Osiris purified himself, the king is depicted standing, burning incense for all fathers, the gods.[605] (Plates 216, 217) He is identified as the good god, the son of Osiris, rather than the usual son of Re emphasizing his relationship here with his father Osiris and the Way of Osiris. By the burning of incense and the recitation of names, the king is summoning the gods into existence on the first occasion so that they may partake in the offerings being presented. Recall that all these gods had been abolished by Akhenaten.

There are three sets of three offering trays, one group of three for each of the three rows of the 153 deities in the Litany of Osiris. (Plates 217, 219, 220) The text above the king is a lengthy variant of the opening to BD 141-142, which has been tailored for the ritual task at hand. As part of the Way of Osiris, the text is not written retrograde. (Plate 218)

> "Roll which the king Men-Maat-Re, true of voice recites aloud
> for his father Osiris, lord of Abydos
> at the festival of the West.
> It is (the means) of his initiation into the heart (mind) of Re
> and into the hearts (minds) of the gods
> and existing with them.
> To be spoken on the day of the festival [of the Blacked-out Moon][606]
> by Men-Maat-Re, son of the sun, true of voice, for your living [*ḳas*]
> He offers three times:
> Bread, beer, cattle, fowl (geese), duck, roasted meat
> and incense on the fire to all the gods
> and to Osiris in [all] his names."[607]

Notably, "incense in particular is identified with the eye of Horus".[608] From BD 168B, a variant of which is found in the adjoining Annex in the Osireion, it is stated:

605 It can also be translated as *jt-jtw*, 'father of fathers' which is an epithet of a god as the first creator god. P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 118.

606 In the second column of the text above the king's head it reads: "festival – blank/destroyed – of the West". This blank space is large enough for *psḏntyw* [See L. Lesko, Dictionary of Late Egyptian I (1982), 183.] In any event, parallel texts specifically state that the offering is to be performed on the day of the New Moon. [See T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 117.]

607 Author's translation. I have substituted the original name of Men-Maat-Re for Merenptah.

608 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991) PhD Dissertation, 140.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"O Osiris, the eye of Horus offers incense to you." [609]

Here in the context of the Way of Osiris, the burning of incense, that is the offering of the restored eye of Horus to Osiris by the king, the living Horus, brings about the revivification of Osiris as is known from the mythology. [610] The restored eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, is the symbol of the moon *par excellence* directly connecting the Way of Osiris sequence to the restoration of the moon as part of the rites for the New Moon, as does the 15 columns of text, the number of days from new to the full moon.

The second half of this text, columns 8-15 on Plate 218 is considerably more fragmentary and apparently unparalleled in other versions of BD 141-142, perhaps deserving its own designation as BD 141B.

"[blank] offerings for their *ḳas* and
to present to the Foremost [of the West/Westerners]
the making of beneficial (*ɜḫw*) gifts.
He enters therein [blank] Men-Maat-Re, true of voice
with the Lords of Eternity (*nḥḥ*) [blank]
The gods rejoice [blank] the son of Re, Men-Maat-Re.
He is the Unique One among the gods. [blank]
He travels freely unhindered like the Lords [of Eternity?]
[blank] Ennead not [blank]..." [611]

The text points out that Men-Maat-Re by these acts of ritual offerings and beneficial gifts becomes the Unique One among the gods, unhindered and able to travel freely. The Unique One is known from the Great Litany of Re, which was called by the ancient Egyptians, the Book of the Adoration of Re in the West and of the Adoration of the One Joined Together in the West. [612] In the Central Hall the seventy-six manifestations of Re and Osiris were inscribed on the architraves encircling the island which were supported by ten large granite columns. Ten is the number that was sacred to Horus as the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process. Appropriately, the Unique One is the nineteenth praise to Re. Recall nineteen is the number associated with the rebirth of Osiris as Osiris-Moon and is Horus.

"Praise to thee, Re with exalted power [lit. high of power],
filled with members (i.e. intact in body) [the Udjat-eye as the full moon],
the Unique One with veins joined;
surely thou art the body of Horus." [613]

609 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 172.

610 E. A. W. Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection I (1911, reprint 1973), 88.

611 Author's translation.

612 M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science, Vol I, tomb 2 (1989), 511.

613 Ibid., 519.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Subtly in the Way of Osiris, the lunar aspect of Horus and kingship are emphasized. Note that this text is specifically designated as a *mḏꜣt*, papyrus roll/book, suggesting that it, together with the litany that it introduces, could be considered as an independent composition as it originally may well have been. But here, it forms the heart of the Way of Osiris.

Hovering above the king's head is *bḥdt nb pt*, 'Behedet, lord of the sky', (Plate 218) who "is identified with the rising sun, the dynamic mover who accomplishes the transition from dark chaos to illumined cosmos."[614] What follows next is three registers of the names of all the gods and Osiris in all his names. (Plates 220, 221, 222) This is an ancient tradition dating back to the Pyramid Texts. "An ancestor of BD 141-142 is PT [219], which consists of a list of gods starting with the mention of the Ennead together with some important deities and continuing with a list of various forms of Osiris."[615] As is well represented in the Osireion, "the Egyptians codified important cosmological and religious knowledge in the form of lists and of hybrid compositions mixing pictorial representations and written captions."[616] The use of this important "enumeration formula penetrates every aspect of Egyptian thought and knowledge, including knowledge and definition of god, ritual and science."[617] According to Finnestad, "an adequate interpretation of these cosmogonic name-lists cannot be achieved unless they are seen in their functional context. They are meant to be recited.... Perhaps the clearest evidence of the connection between the cosmogony and the temple-cult lies in the literary form of the cosmogony myth – a form which is conditioned by a certain mode of creation: the cosmogony [creation] is effected through recitals of long series of designations, by which cosmos is called forth and appears in agreement with the content of the designations. These recitals performed by gods [and the king] are basically a ritual way of creating, and they clearly fit into a cultic context.... There is one contextual characteristic of the enumerations and name-givings which should be noted because it offers additional testimony to the ritual character of the cosmogony, and lends to it an undoubtedly cultic aspect: The recitals are – and, as a rule, are explicitly said to be – performed within the context of praise giving.... The gods of Egypt are not independent of the cosmos, they constitute it. God is no spiritual being abstracted.... The coming of the *ɓa* of Horus is no visit to the world of man: it is the coming of the creative sun and it brings with it the world of man... Egyptian gods exist as cosmological phenomenon or they do not exist at all. The same is valid for the Egyptian creator. He exists as cosmos or he does not exist at all."[618] This is precisely what the name Atum embodies. Garnot had further suggested, based on his analysis of a hymn to Osiris in the Pyramid Texts, that the name Atum can serve as "a periphrastic designation of Osiris – 'the (newly) Complete', that is, the reconstituted one

614 R. Finnestad, Images of the World and Symbol of the Creator (1985), 89.

615 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 155.

616 J. Baines, "Organization of Sacred and Secular Knowledge" in J. Sasson (ed.), Civilizations of the Ancient Near East (1995), 1746.

617 P. Kousoulis, "Magic in Greco-Roman Egypt" MMA 2 (2002), 15.

618 R. Finnestad, Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator (1985), 68-73, 93.

(rather than 'the All, the Totality')."[619] This additional aspect of the creator god would aptly apply to his listing in the Litany of Osiris, adding a deeper dimension to the meaning of 'Osiris in all his names'. "The common Egyptian hymnic form usually called litany builds on this theology: the god is invoked in all his names, which correspond to the concrete form – *bꜣ* – the god has in all his places. These enumerations thus turn out to be a genuine praise of the omnipresent god."[620] According to Assmann, "the Egyptian text from which our tripartite classification of the dimensions of the divine realm proceeded subsumes the verb articulation of divine essence under the concept of name, which is a highly apposite designation for the verbal dimension. In its names, the sacred was present in a sense similar to its presence in cult statues and its developments (that is, its cosmic – natural manifestations).... The Egyptian theory of the name was based on the principle that an essential relationship existed between the name and the named. The name was a statement regarding essence, and even a heraldic device, as we have seen in the example of the throne names assumed by kings at their coronation. The relationship between name and essence ran in both directions: everything that can be gathered from a name says something about the essence of the named, and everything that can be said about the essence of a person can be ascribed to that person as a name. The Egyptian concept of the name thus included what we understand by 'predicate' [epithets]. There are many indications that in Egypt, the cultic naming of the name of a deity was the original form of hymnic praise."[621] Thus, this is a fitting form for a creation text on the first occasion. "Hymns with name formulas belong to a genre of liturgical recitations that the Egyptians called 'transfigurations' (*sꜣḫw*) … *ꜣḫw* refers to the specific power of the sacred word, in the sense of Gustav Mensching's well known definition of 'myth' as the 'visualization of the supernatural in spatiotemporal events mediated through the word, which is therefore sacred word.' Only the radiant power of divine words had the ability to illuminate the sacred, the divine meaning of cultic, and even cosmic, events and acts, the otherworldliness in this world. As a verbal power that emanated from speech, *ꜣḫw* was a means that deities, especially deities of knowledge, such as Isis, Thoth and Re, had at their disposal.... In the cult, speech also made use of this power of language, in that it was expressed as the language of deities."[622]

As Gestermann recognized, the decoration for the Osireion had been selected with great care and special emphasis was placed on the crafting of the individual texts.[623] This is most certainly the case with the Litany of Osiris, where the number and selection of the names of Osiris is unique among the

619 J. Garnot, "A Hymn to Osiris in the Pyramid Texts" JNES 8 (1949), 101.

620 J. Bergman, "Ba as Form Of Divine Manifestation in Ancient Egypt" (1970) at www.oocities.com/athens/academy/1326/bAasform.html

621 J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 83-84.

622 Ibid., 87-88.

623 L. Gestermann, "Einige Anmerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm im Osireion in Abydos" in W. Waitkaus (ed.) Diener des Horus Festschrift fur Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag (2008), 119.

many variants of BD 141-142.[624] A detailed analysis of the litany with its multifaceted symbolism would require a study in itself. The structure of the Litany of Osiris is, of course, revealing. It embodies a remarkably sophisticated numerical symbolism. The underlying structure is based on the numbers three and seventeen, both prime numbers. The number three symbolized plurality to the ancient Egyptians and was written with three strokes (III). The number seventeen as we have already encountered was sacred to Osiris. It represented his dismembered state. The litany is organized into three rows of 51 (17 x 3) deities including Osiris in all his names. The order in which the names are to be recited aloud by the king and thereby brought into existence is given in the opening speech. It is to be recited on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon festival – first to all the gods that are depicted in the upper most register and then to Osiris in all his names. They are to be enumerated beginning at the top row on the right with the guardians of the doors of the gateways of the *ḏuat*, and proceeding to the left so that all the deities' names are recited before the first manifestation of Osiris, who is the fifty-first (17 x 3) and final figure in the top register. (Plate 220) This was followed by the recitation of the fifty one names of Osiris in the middle register and then concluded with the enumeration of the final fifty one names of Osiris in the bottom row. Altogether 153 divinities have been summoned and made manifest by the king's performance of this ritual. This is an interesting number. It comes into existence from the sacred Osirian number seventeen. It represents the sum of all its parts, signifying its totality and completeness:

$$1+2+3+4+5+6+7+8+9+10+11+12+13+14+15+16+17 = 153$$

Said in other words, it is the Way of Osiris. It is the reconstitution of the state of dismemberment, which begins with seventeen, the death of Osiris and Osiris-Moon, and is the goal of the rites for the New Moon. The Litany of Osiris should be viewed here as a creation text in the context of the first occasion. The division between all the names of Osiris and the other deities is also numerically significant. There are a total of 103 names of Osiris. Note that 103 is also a prime number. The last one is Osiris-Khentamentiu, Osiris Foremost of the Westerners. (Plate 221) It ends with three strokes, indicating plurality but also the number three. Taken as a plurality for all of the names of Osiris (103 x 3 = 309), this equates to the number of lunations in 300 civil months (25 years), reconciling the solar-based Egyptian civil calendar with the monthly lunar cycles. Time, specifically cyclical time (*nḥḥ*), is being created out of the recitation of the names of Osiris by the king. Recall that “it is the sun that marks off day from night, but it is the moon [Osiris] that determines months, and seasons, and years [i.e. cycles of time].”[625] Importantly at one level, while Osiris can be interpreted here as creating time, the fifty deities headed by Re-Horakhti can be interpreted as creating space,[626] two essential elements

624 For example, Niwinski found that the longest list of Osiris names (BD 142) contained 137 in the Greenfield Papyrus (BM 10554) which also had a shorter list of 71 names. The classic version of BD 142 had 51 names, but other versions cited varied widely containing: 62, 59, 55, 54 ,48 and 48. See A. Niwinski, “The so-called Chapter BD 141-142 and 148 on the Coffins of the 21st Dynasty from Thebes” in B. Backes, m. Muller-Roth, S. Stohr (eds.) Festschrift fur Irmtraut Munro: SAT 14 (2007), 138-139.

625 P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922, reprinted 1987), 83-84. See above 4.4.

626 Recall that Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, is the manifestation of the god arising from the union of Re with Osiris.

of the created cosmos. Considered one of the most sacred numbers, being the sum of the squares of the sacred Pythagorean triangle = 9 + 16 + 25 = 50, it forms the first of the Pythagorean triples. [627] "Because of the mystic meaning associated with numbers by the ancients, they considered the most beautiful triangle of all, the right angled triangle with sides of 3, 4 and 5 units of measure." [628] It is of major significance and symbolized here by the fifty deities. "This [Pythagorean] theorem [which when squared sums to fifty] has been called the root of all geometry and the cornerstone of mathematics." [629] There is another important aspect embedded in the number symbolism of fifty. It is the sum of the numbers nineteen and thirty one, both relate directly to the lunar cycle. Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris symbolizing his rejuvenation, reconstitution and rebirth as Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners and at the same time Osiris-Moon. Thirty one is the number of all possible combinations of lunar phases within a single lunar month, which arose out of *zp tpj*. [630] Both nineteen and thirty one are prime numbers as well. Divisible only into itself and by the number one, "this means the primes are the basic 'atoms' in the multipicative system of integers." [631] In essence prime numbers are the building blocks for the numerical system. At one level, they can be equated with the structure of creation. The ancient Egyptians chose five prime numbers to express the unfolding of creation in the structure of the Litany of Osiris. All five (3, 17, 19, 31 and 103) have Osirian and lunar connotations. [632] Five is itself a prime number, symbolizing the *ḏuat*, where creation first started to unfold out of the Nun. [633] The process itself and its completion are concisely summarized by the final three deities – the Nun, Re-Horakhti and Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners – depicted in the top register. (Plate 221) They convey essentially the same message as we saw at the beginning of the first ritual cycle on the notional southern wall but in the Entrance Passage rather than the Antechamber. There the king by the invoking of Atum, the creator, out from the Nun initiates creation. By the offering of Maat to Re-Horakhti and Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the same two deities, the king completes the Heliopolitan process of creation of which he himself is the product and symbolizes its fruition. In the top register of the Litany of Osiris, the process and its completion are elaborated on by the fourth and fifth divinities – Maat and the barque of Re. [634] Maat, cosmic order, is both the force that holds the created cosmos

627 C. Wilcox, "Lesson 50 The Pythagoras Theorem" (2010).

628 R. Hutchens, The Bridge to Light (1985), 171.

629 T. Worrel, "Our Ancient Friend and Brother, the Great Pythagorus": www.sricf-ca.org/paper1.htm

630 See below 4.6.

631 G. Jameson, The Prime Number Theorem (2003), 2.

632 See above 4.3.

633 For the Osirian connection with the number three, see below 4.6.

634 Interestingly, these first five deities are omitted while others were added in the version found on the first shrine of Tutankhamen. This would seem to suggest that this particular ritual aspect of the Litany of Osiris for the living king was no longer relevant in the funerary context of the dead king. Furthermore, the list of deities no longer consists of exactly fifty divinities and there are only fifty two names of Osiris rather than 103. These are both clear indications that the dimensions of space and cyclical time are also not relevant in the realm of the *ḏuat* and *ḏt* time, which is certainly the case. See A. Piankoff, The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon (1955), 138-141.

together and through the offering of Maat the means by which cosmos is created. The barque of Re is the symbol of the goal of the first way, the Way of Re, in both the Antechamber and the Book of the Two Ways. The goal of the first way is for the king, the initiate, or the deceased to travel in the solar barque with Re, in his manifestation that stemmed from the union of Re with Osiris, Re-Horakhti (Re-Horus of the Two Horizons). It should be noted here that at yet another level Re-Horakhti and Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, represent the two divine powers of the Two Ways who can create the state of an effective *aḫ*. "It is also Re who grants the state of *ɜḫ*, *aḫ*",[635] as was discussed in BD 18 above. In the Litany, the name Re-Horakhti is written using an uncommon spelling. (Plate 221, top left second figure) It replaces the more common hieroglyph GSL-N 27 of the sun rising up out of a mountain with GSL-G 25, the crested ibis which is the hieroglyph for *aḫ* (spirit).[636] This is a subtle but clear indication that the *aḫ* making capability of Re-Horakhti is being stressed here. "In Assmann's *sɜḫw* [transfiguration spells for inducing the state of *aḫ*] the name Osiris-Khentamentiu [Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners] was used in place of a personal name of the deceased."[637] This substitution, in effect, actually creates the state of *aḫ*, demonstrating the power and effectiveness embodied in a divine name.

Returning to the deities depicted in the upper register of the Litany of Osiris, the actual unfolding of the Heliopolitan creation process occurs beginning with the sixth figure, that of Atum, the creator.[638] (Plate 221) He is followed by the Greater Ennead and the Lesser Ennead. Smith recognized the lunar significance of these two groups, which here in the context of the recitation of the Litany are being called into existence on the first occasion. "According to the Egyptian view, on each of the fourteen successive days during the period of the moon's waxing a different divinity was thought to merge with that celestial body and restore one of the missing parts. These divinities constitute the Greater and Lesser Enneads which are said to have been created and equipped by Isis for the benefit of the sound eye in the passage from p.BM 10208."[639] It should be noted here that Isis, not surprisingly, is depicted as the fourteenth deity in this row. "The parts or components which they [the Greater and Lesser Enneads] supply are called *dbḥw*, a term used indifferently of the constituent elements of the moon and those of the body of Osiris. The work of these deities is completed by Thoth on the fifteenth day of the lunar month. At this time, restored to a state of wholeness through their actions, Osiris may be said to enter the sound eye",[640] which is being offered by the living Horus, the king, to Osiris in its symbolic form of incense. "As Gutbub has noted, the effect of the entrance of a divinity into a celestial

635 R. Demaree, "The Ax jqr n Ra – Stelae" JEOL 18 (1964), 254.

636 See Gardiner's Sign-list (GSL).

637 K. Eaton, "A 'Mortuary Liturgy' from the Book of the Dead" JARCE 42 (2005-2006), 88.

638 It is important to note that in a similar fashion the Litany of Re also does not begin with the Heliopolitan creation process. There Re is not invoked in his forms as Atum, the creator, until the eleventh invocation. This underscores the parallel in the structure for both the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber and the Litany of Re in the Central Hall. See A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 19-23.

639 M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 122.

640 Ibid., 122.

body is to enhance its light. Accordingly, other deities apart from Osiris can be said to enter or unite with the moon if they perform such a function for it. Thus, the divinities who progressively restore that celestial body to fullness during the period of its waxing are described in some sources as entering it (*ʿq*). Thoth, who completes their work, can be said to enter the sound eye (*ʿq r tꜣ wḏy*) and become one with it."[641]

Next in the Litany of Osiris, the product of the Heliopolitan creation process is depicted, Horus, Lord/Possessor of the *wrrt* crown. (Plate 221) The *wrrt* crown is associated with divine royalty and rule and possesses the quality of *aḳḫ* [and the power to create *aḳḫ*].[642] "The epithet *nb wrrt* may denote the rule of Osiris as well as that of Atum or Horus."[643] The key here is it denotes divine rule. Next follows Shu, Tefnut, Geb and Nut. The fourteenth deity is Isis and the fifteenth is Nephthys, the Lady of the House [of Heliopolis]. (Plate 221) Their association with the numbers fourteen and fifteen here have an explicit lunar connotation. Fourteen is the number of visible lunar phases of the waxing (and waning moon) to which Isis is said to have equipped. The fifteenth day of the lunar cycle is the Day of the Full Moon. The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys which form part of the ritual cycle of the Osiris Mysteries link these two goddesses directly to Osiris Wennefer and the waxing restorative phase of the lunar cycle. In the context of *zp tpj*, this recitation initiates both the monthly lunar cycle and the great nineteen year cycle at its extreme northern limit to which the Entrance Archway of the Osireion is aligned. This nineteen year "Metonic" cycle synchronizes the movements of the Moon-Osiris with those of the sun god Re. "In the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys the moon is said to ride in the solar barque:

> "Thoth is your protection,
> he causes your soul [*ɓa*] to arise within the Day Barque
> in this your name of 'Moon' [Blacked-out Moon Day].
> I have come to see you within the *wḏꜣt*-eye [the restored Sound Eye]
> in this your name of 'Lord of the Sixth Day' [festival].
> Your courtiers are beside you and will not forsake you,
> and you have captured heaven [the skies]
> through the greatness of your majesty,
> in this your name of 'Prince of the Fifteenth Day [Full Moon]."[644]

With the completion of the creation of the cosmos and the beginning of cyclical time, the emphasis shifts in the Litany to the deities and places within the created cosmos, which number thirty six (19 + 17). On one level, structurally they can be interpreted as representing the thirty six decans that measure the passage of cyclical time (*nḥḥ*) of both the Egyptian civil year and the hours of the night. It

641 M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 123 and citing A. Gutbub, Textes Fondamentaux de la Theologie de Kom Ombo (1973), 387-388.

642 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 35-36.

643 Ibid., 109.

644 K. Eaton, "A 'Mortuary Liturgy' from the Book of the Dead" JARCE 42 (2005-2006), 92-93.

probably also alludes specifically to the unfolding of the first year arising out of *zp tpj* as does the final scene of the Book of Gates which is on the same wall as the Litany but in the Entrance Passage.[645]

The Litany of Osiris stands juxtaposed to the Central Hall. The deities named directly across from the entrance to the Sloping Passage leading to the Central Hall are all found in the Central Hall as well, connecting the two areas and identifying the Central Hall as the place where the cosmos is created to which the Litany refers. The first group of deities are the seven cows and bull followed by the four steering oars of the eastern, western, southern and northern sky.[646] They are from BD 148, which a rubric identifies as the Book of [Osiris-]Wennefer. From this Eaton suggests that "in a temple the priest could act as Horus for his father Osiris-Wennefer. In this way a personal ritual takes on a broader significance."[647] This is precisely what the king as the living Horus is doing for his father the god Osiris-Wennefer by the performance of the rites in his house/temple, the Osireion. BD 148 is a spell for making provisions for the Westerners in this context and they are depicted on the architraves in the Central Hall. (Plate 317) This group of deities in the Litany of Osiris are placed directly opposite the "false door" serving as the entrance to the Sloping Passage. Their position seems to have been crucial.[648] In the New Kingdom tombs, BD 148 was frequently connected with the false door, the place of making offerings and communicating with the deceased tomb owner.[649] Next the Four Sons of Horus are named and listed in the Litany. In the Central Hall they occupy a prominent place seated directly over the entrance to the Second Transverse Hall. (Plates 299, 305) They are followed by the Shrines of the South and the North in the Litany. Also in a prominent position in the Central Hall, they are depicted on either side of entrance to the Second Transverse Hall.

The position of Thoth, the regulator of cycles and time, in the top register of the Litany of Osiris is noteworthy. He is the sixteenth divine figure from the beginning of the row (starting at the right), which can be equated to the maximum length of sixteen days from new moon to full moon. The sixteenth day was called *mšpr šn-nw*, "second 'arrival' day".[650] In that same position Thoth stands as the first of the remaining thirty six divinities. Interpreted as symbolizing the thirty six decans of the night sky that mark the hours of the night and the ten-day "weeks" of the Egyptian civil year, Thoth marks the starting point of cyclical time, *nḥḥ*. In this pivotal position, he rules over the cycles observed in the night sky through the phases of the moon over the course of the lunar month and the procession of the decanal stars over the civil year and even the hours of the night.

645 See above 3.4.

646 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 139-141.

647 K. Eaton, "A 'Mortuary Liturgy' from the Book of the Dead" JARCE 42 (2005-2006), 88.

648 A. Niwinski, "The so-called Chapters BD 141-142 and 148 on the Coffins of the 21st Dynasty" in B. Burkes, M. Muller-Roth (eds.) SAT 14 (2007), 134.

649 For example see: H. Hays, W. Schank "Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representations" in P. Dorman, B. Bryan (eds.) Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes (2007), 99; P. Dorman, Tombs of Senenmut (1991), plate 57.

650 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 11.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The middle register of the Litany of Osiris provides a direct link to the north (notional west) wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. (Plate 437) By the giant pilaster of the August Djed in Abydos, a dominate feature in that wall's decoration, (Plate 438) in scene B in the upper register, offerings are made to Isis Shentayt,[651] who opens the celebration of the annual Osiris Mysteries. (Plate 439) This same manifestation of Isis is also depicted prominently in the Central Hall. (Plate 310) In the lower register of scene B in the Second Hypostyle Hall, there is an abbreviated Litany to Osiris. (Plate 439) "The table is divided into seven columns, in each column, the formula is the same ['Making a boon which the king gives Osiris'], except that different forms of Osiris are given."[652] The fourteen forms of Osiris listed here match those of the first fourteen of the middle register of the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber. They are almost in exactly the same order, except that Osiris, Fashioner of Millions, and Osiris, *mḥ nrt* are reversed. The use of fourteen forms of Osiris is significant and can be equated to the fourteen phases of the visible lunar cycle of either the waning moon or the waxing moon. They can represent the dismembering of Osiris's and Osiris-Moon's body by Seth into fourteen pieces. However, this "short" litany when recited is one which restores the lunar cycle. This is underscored by the depiction of the king with a burning censor before an alter here symbolizing the eye of Horus, and signifying that the left lunar eye has been restored and is the sound eye, the Udjat-eye. (Plate 439)

The specific location and position of the litany of Osiris and the adjacent scene of the enthroned and restored Osiris in the Antechamber appears to have been subtle but intentional. It establishes a direct physical link to the short Litany to Osiris on the notional west wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall in the main temple. An imaginary line connecting the two Litanies of Osiris runs directly through the scene of the Awakening of Osiris in the Second Transverse Hall on the notional western end of the notional north face of the pitched ceiling. (Plate 27) The recitation of the Litanies of Osiris provides the means for the Awakening of Osiris. That is to say the re-memberment and reconstitution of the Moon as the revivified Osiris.

The seventh divine form in both litanies is *wsjr-sꜣḥ*, Orion, which is the stellar manifestation of Osiris par excellence.[653] The number seven is an important magical number often associated with Osiris.[654] Here it may allude to the seven brightest stars in that constellation. But there is likely a much more subtle and deeper meaning behind the selection of the stellar manifestation of Osiris for the seventh position in the monthly rites for restoring the moon to its fullness. Recall that Osiris is said to enter the moon at the Half Month Festival i.e. the time of the full moon, when the Udjat-eye is restored and complete. In associative thought that the ancient Egyptians appear to have used for punning and

651 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 28 Upper Register Scene B, also spelled Shentyt and Shentayet.

652 Ibid., 31 Lower Register Scene B.

653 See above 4.4 for *sꜣḥ's* identity as Osiris contra Conman.

654 W. Dawson, "The Number 'Seven' in Egyptian Texts" Aegyptus VIII (1927), 97-107. On commenting on the significance of the number seven, Wilkinson cites the seven cows in BD 148 which as we have just seen are also named in the Litany of Osiris and placed in a key position directly opposite the "false door" opening to the Sloping Passage and the Central Hall where they are again represented. "In this text, along with the attendant bull, the seven cows appear to represent the sustaining powers of the universe." R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 146.

apparently number symbolism as well, the seventh position out of fourteen is the half way mark of the cycle period. It can at one and the same time represent half of the cycle of the waxing moon but just as validly half of the lunar monthly cycle, the full moon. Now recall that there is a very important cycle that arises out of the linking of Orion with the full moon, specifically at the full moon nearest the winter solstice in those special years when the full moon appears directly over the head of the upright standing figure of Orion at midnight. This event occurs only once every nineteen years, marking the start of that cycle that can be used to reconcile the movements of the Osiris-Moon with that of the sun god Re.[655] (Plate 168)

There remains to discuss a few additional lunar references in the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber. Direct lunar statements by the ancient Egyptians were rare, as they were usually veiled. In the lower register by Murray's numbering scheme, the twenty fifth manifestation of Osiris is *Wsjr dnjt*.[656] Recall Wells' comments on the Satet temple where he identifies *dnjt* as the name for both the first quarter and last quarter phase of the moon.[657] The sixth deity in the top register is Atum. The name Atum as a periphrastic designation of Osiris as the newly Complete One could be a veiled reference to the Full Moon.[658] While there appears to be no direct reference to the New Moon in the Litany, the Rites for the New Moon themselves serve to complete the lunar cycle of first quarter, full moon, last quarter and new moon. Finally, there is Osiris in all his Births,[659] an apparent allusion to the repetitive nature of the lunar cycle itself.

To the left of the Litany at the eastern end of the notional south wall in the Antechamber is a scene that depicts Horus, Protector of His Father, Son of Osiris, holding a staff to the nose of the enthroned Osiris. (Plate 224) Having completed the recitation of the litany for his father Osiris, the king's own transformation into his mythical prototype occurs in this final phase of the Way of Osiris. Here, the king becomes one with the mythical Horus, who wears the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The double crown represents two of the king's aspects. One is Horus, Protector of His Father, Son of Osiris, the legitimate heir, and the other that of Atum as the creator on *zp tpj*.[660] At the same time Atum here in the sense as the newly Complete One represents the restored moon, which is both Horus and Osiris, the proverbial two sides of the same coin.

The enthroned god in the *štyt*-shrine of Sokar is Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners.[661] (Plate 225)

655 See above 4.4 for this important cycle and Appendix B.

656 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904, reprinted 1989),18 and plate IX.

657 See above 4.4. Also R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 11.

658 See above 4.6.

659 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904, reprinted 1989), 19 and plate IX.

660 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 53-57.

661 R. van Walsen, The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh I (1997), 198. "... the *štyt* shrine of Sokar, as proven by the vignette where the vaulted roof is crowned with the swathed figure of the Sokar falcon.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

By its location at the eastern end of the notional southern wall, "Foremost" may also refer to his position. (Plates 30, 234) He is in the eastern akhet "at the portal of the horizon, and may even be envisaged as forming the portal himself."[662] Significantly, the sun disk is depicted inside the shrine with Osiris, (Plate 225) which is generally not the case in other vignettes for BD 173.[663] Recall from the discussion of the final scene of the Book of Caverns, it is only at the time of the New Moon when Re and Osiris are together traveling in the solar barque. This scene by the presence of the solar disk inside the shrine with Osiris alludes to and symbolizes this special period.[664] It is the time when Osiris-Moon is being reconstituted and rejuvenated in the *duat* by Re's presence and the assistance of Horus, Protector of His Father, as the living Horus, the king. This lunar interpretation is supported by the context of the offerings being made and incense burned (the eye of Horus) for all the gods and Osiris in all his names on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon (the new moon).

A protective uraeus surrounds the disk and is adorned with an ankh, symbolizing the life giving power of the sun god. (Plate 225) Re must pass over or through the enshrined Osiris to complete his rebirth from the eastern akhet. This act represents his uniting with Osiris, as Horus simultaneously touches the nose of Osiris with the ankh-tipped was-scepter bringing to Osiris the sweet breath of life of Atum on the first occasion. This process highlighting the king's crucial role in bringing about the union of Re and Osiris is described in a speech by Thoth to Seti I in the Stairway Passage leading out to the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion:

> "You [Seti] having become the equivalent of Horus
> since the great interment.
> [Exactly as he is depicted in the vignette to BD 173 (Plate 224)]
> You are the protector for Wennefer,
> you wash out his decay of yesterday.
> You enable him to appear at [the] crack of dawn
> as Re in the presence of every god.
> [on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon]
> You free him.
> You enable his nose to breathe,
> you bring for him the North Wind.
> [the sweet breath of life from Atum]
> You cause the Great *Ba* [depicted as a Ram]

662 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 621.

663 For example, the solar disk is not depicted in the papyrus of Ani, p.BM 10470, a contemporary papyrus. It is also not in Nebseni, p.BM 9900, and Gatseshen, JE 95838. In the Ptolemaic period, the solar disk is depicted in the Papyrus funeraire Tanetnachebou in A. Gasse, Les Papyrus Hieratiques et Hieroglyphiques du Museco Gregoriano Egizeo Vol I (1993), plate XXXIX and 59. In p.BM 9912 there is also a winged disk but depicted above the shrine in M. Mosher, The Papyrus of Hor (2001), plate 30.

664 See below 5.4 for an elaboration of this thesis on the shrine scenes in the Central Hall.

to rest on his corpse,
and his shadow in the sun disk.
You cause him [Osiris-Wennefer] to see Re in exultation,
his rays passing over his face.
You cause Re to fly over his sarcophagus, 'Lord of Life'.
When he has awakened,
you have placed his children beside him
[the Four Sons of Horus as depicted in the vignette of BD 173 (plate 225)]." [665]

The placing of the ankh-tipped was-scepter to the nose of the enthroned Osiris by the transfigured king as his mythical prototype, Horus, Protector of His Father, connects the revivification of Osiris and the rejuvenation of the Moon directly to *zp tpj*, the first occasion. The key to this linkage lies with the identification of ankh (*ꜥnḫ*) and was (*wꜣs*) with Shu and Tefnut, which both Walker and Winter have convincingly argued. [666] In the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, "Ramesses II is lustrated by Harsiese and Thoth. Harsiese [Horus, son of Isis] states:

"I purify you with ankh and was
that your flesh rejuvenates forever,
that you become young like/as the majesty of the moon,
powerful of valor because of your strong arm,
that your name endures like/as (that of) Shu and Tefnut,
that you rejuvenate like Khepri,
as Re endures in rising and setting" [667]

From the speech of Seshat to Seti I on the wall of the Stairway Passage leading to the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion, Seshat says:

"You repeat renewals [lunar cycles]
and you begin to flourish youthfully
like the moon[-god]." [668]

The lunar identification of the living Horus, the king is explicit and implicitly with Osiris, the dead but

665 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Translated Vol. I (1993), 165; and KRI I 191: 4-9.

666 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 60-70; E. Winter, Untersuchungen zu den agyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-romischen Zeit (1968), 85-88.

667 E. Walker, Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 70.

668 KRI I 187: 11-12. Translations Vol. I (1993), 162.

transfigured king.

"Shu and Tefnut may perhaps be seen as procreative powers who dwell within the abyss, who are present before the proper functioning of time yet exists. Atum lies inert in Nun, until his two children cause his birth as the sun; they enable their father to rise: 'I rise because of them both, their arms being about me'." [669] In a like fashion, Shu and Tefnut as ankh and was cause the revivification of Osiris and as we have just seen the regeneration of the Moon. As the first impulse at the very beginning of creation, Shu and Tefnut symbolize the spark that enables the birth of Osiris, Osiris-Moon and the lunar cycle.

This theme is reinforced by the clever design for the base of the shrine of Osiris. It is the foundation on which the enthroned Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, is seated. (Plate 224) It consists of sixteen ankh signs alternating with fifteen was-signs for a total of thirty one divine manifestations, which form the base and support for the sacred shrine of Osiris. Recall that the number thirty one as the 'Limbs of Osiris-Moon' embodies all possible combinations of phases for any single 29 or 30-day lunar month. (Plate 36) Thus, the very foundation of Osiris as it is expressed here is lunar in nature.

The ankh (*ꜥnḫ*) and was (*wꜣs*) signs as Shu and Tefnut signify that this event is materializing out of *zp tpj* at the point of creation where Atum's two children give him life in the waters of the Nun. [670] In Pyramid Text 685, the king is reborn and speaks of the origin of the purification waters of life [that come from the Nun]:

> "which exist through Atum,
> which the phallus of Shu makes,
> and which the vagina of Tefnut creates.
> They have come and brought to you
> the pure waters with their father [Atum]..." [671]

"In the paradox of time and [divine] family relationships, the creator does not originate from nothing, but from potentiality, and in essence Atum, Shu [as ankh] and Tefnut [as was] simultaneously come into existence." [672]

On the shrine's foundation rests the base of Osiris' throne. Its shape is that of the hieroglyph for

669 E. Walker, Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 69.

670 Ibid., 65-70.

671 R. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (1969), 295.

672 E. Walker, Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 69.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

mɜʿt, 'cosmic order'. (Plate 224) Within it the unfolding of creation is cleverly broadened beyond its lunar origin through the symbolism incorporated there by the introduction of *nb* and *ḏd* signs. The woven wicker basket, *nb* sign, is the hieroglyph for 'all' and also for 'lord', perhaps meant to represent Atum in this scene as the supporting wicker basket woven out of the fabric of creation. The *mɜʿt* base contains nine groups of signs symbolizing the created cosmos as the Heliopolitan Ennead. (Plate 224) Each groups consists of four signs, possibly alluding to the cardinal directions which are also coming into being. Together they total thirty six. At another level, they can be interpreted as representing the thirty six decans that the ancient Egyptians used to measure cyclical time (*nḥḥ*) that arose out of the first occasion. As symbolic representations of the unfolding of creation, they are Atum (*nb*), Shu (*ʿnḫ*), Tefnut (*wɜs*) and Osiris (*ḏd*, djed-pillar).

In the body of the throne resting directly on Maat (*mɜʿt*) are nineteen alternating red and blue horizontal bands. (Plate 224) Nineteen is the sacred number to Osiris symbolizing his regeneration, renewal and rebirth. Nineteen is the maximum period of time from the day of the Full Moon to its return to the night sky with first crescent visibility. So too is it the number of years in the so-called Metonic cycle which reconciles and realigns the lunar cycle with the solar cycle. (Plate 36) On another level, the nineteen bands in two groups of nine blue and ten red by their number express the unfolding of the Heliopolitan creation process. Nine represents the Ennead and ten its fruition, Horus as the tenth member. In the body of Osiris' throne is a 3x4 rectangle containing a heraldic emblem for the united kingdom of Upper and Lower Egypt.[673] At one level and a key one at that, it can be viewed as a further development in the unfolding of the created cosmos, that of dynastic rule in Egypt. In the context of *zp tpj*, the first ruler of Egypt, Osiris, sits upon the throne of the Two Lands. The presence of Horus, Protector of His Father, placing the revivifying life giving power of ankh (Shu) and was (Tefnut) to his father's nose reestablishes the pattern for the legitimate transfer of royal power from father to son and heir on the first occasion, a pattern that was disrupted by the heretic Akhenaten. The text of BD 173 addresses what Horus has done for his father through which he establishes his right to wear the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt as Ruler of the Two Lands. (Plates 225, 226) A portion of the text of Chapter 173 of the Book of the Dead for which the scene serves as its vignette is inscribed above and behind the figure of Horus. As with the other texts of the Way of Osiris, it is not written retrograde. As noted, it enumerates the good deeds that Horus has done on behalf of his father. The text begins with a group of fourteen columns of the twenty two columns depicted. Each begins:

673 It should be noted that the concept of created space complimenting created time alluded to through the number symbolism of the initial fifty deities in the Litany of Osiris is subtly expressed by the sequence 3, 4, 5. If the 3 x 4 rectangle is divided into two parts representing its components of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt – the Two Lands, it yields two 3 x 4 x 5 triangles. Recall that each forms a Pythagorean triangle. "Because of the mystic meaning associated with numbers by the ancients, they considered the most beautiful triangle of all, the right angled triangle with sides of 3, 4 and 5 units of measure." (See above n. 629.) Together they represent the concept of created space.

The same 3, 4, 5, sequence can be discerned in the numerical organization of the divinities contained within Maat, the base of the throne of Osiris. (Plate 224) Accompanying each of the 5 ankh signs (Shu) and the 4 djed-pillars (Osiris) are a group of 3 signs; 2 was-scepters (Tefnut) and 1 woven wicker basket (Atum). Here this sequence can also be read as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 another expression of the symbolic representation of the unfolding of creation.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"Ho Osiris ! For I am your son Horus;
I have come [to you]..." [674]

The first column of text is not found in the standard version of BD 173. [675] Osiris's name is also rendered differently than in all the other refrains. (Plate 226) It would appear then that this rite was specifically added for its ritual use in the Osireion.

"Ho Osiris! I am your son Horus
I have come bringing you
ʿnḫ-ḏd-wꜣs
for your beautiful face [to rejuvenate it]." [676]

In addition to the revivifying function of this rite, at the same time it serves a protective function as well. "Winter discusses the protective function which Shu and Tefnut serve in relation to the god Osiris, who is regarded as their child. The concept may be seen as early as the Middle Kingdom in a hymn to Osiris, and in the late Papyrus Salt 825 where Shu and Tefnut are depicted on either side of the reviving Osiris. In the Ptolemaic and Roman temple vignettes in which the king offers ankh, djed and was to the gods, the djed pillar in the middle is identified with Osiris, who is protected by Shu and Tefnut, themselves represented by ankh and was." [677]

The second column of the text is also modified for its specific use here. (Plate 226)

"Ho Osiris! I am your son Horus;
I have come to you that I may greet you
with nmst-vessels of water [from the Nun]." [678]

Wilson points out that the limbs of Osiris [phases of the moon] are reunified with the waters [of the Nun] poured from the nmst-vessel and the rite was clearly very ancient attested in PT 510. [679] So here in the context of *zp tpj* and the performance of the rites for the New Moon, the reunification of the limbs of Osiris-Moon should be interpreted as the visible phases of the lunar cycle which come into existence on the first occasion.

674 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 130.

675 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 181-182.

676 Author's translation of the first column on Plate 226.

677 E. Walker, Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 66-67 citing: E. Winter, Unterschungen zu den agyptischen Tempelreliefs der grieschisch-romischen Zeit (1968), 85-88; P. Derchain, Papyrus Salt 825, fascicle 1b (1965), figs. 19-20.

678 Author's translation of the second column on Plate 226.

679 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 519-520.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The fifth and sixth columns explicitly states that provisions and sacrifices are made for Osiris upon the earth as is also the case with the eighteen offering scenes of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) in the Annex.

The group of the first fourteen columns of the text of BD 173, through the number fourteen, can at one level also represent the fourteen visible phases of the waxing moon and therefore can be linked to the adjacent Litany BD 142 and directly to the Litany in the Second Hypostyle Hall with its fourteen names of Osiris. (Plate 27)

The recitation in the Osireion version of BD 173 concludes with: (Plate 225)

> "Ho Osiris. I am your son Horus;
> I have come that I may cause
> Isis and Nephthys to make you enduring
> [so that the rebirth of the new crescent moon will occur.]" [680]

Recall that it is Isis and Nephthys who assist and therefore guarantee that the sunrise will unfold. But on the day of first crescent visibility, the moon too will reappear in the night sky. The final closing sequence of this recitation is abbreviated but is also significant for its omission. The complete version concludes:

> "Ho Osiris! I am your son Horus;
> I have come that I may give you
> your [two] eyes and the plumes on your head.
>
> Ho Osiris! I am your son Horus;
> I have come that I may cause
> Isis and Nephthys to make you enduring.
>
> Ho Osiris! I am your son Horus;
> I have come, having filled
> the Eye of Horus with [healing] unguent for you.
>
> Ho Osiris! I am your son Horus;
> I have come, having brought you
> the Eye of Horus so that your face may be provided with it." [681]

The three actions that Horus has done on behalf of his father Osiris which are omitted here all involve

680 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 130.

681 Ibid., 130.

the restoration of the Eye of Horus. This along with the sweet breathe of life that Horus is depicted placing to the nose of Osiris brings about his complete regeneration. That is to say, the lunar cycle has been renewed. The moon with the help of Isis and Nephthys will reappear in the night sky. In a hymn to the Crescent Moon a similar idea is being expressed but attributed to the actions of Thoth.

> "Thoth, the great, has come forth in justification (lit. 'true of voice'),
> the left eye having united to the right, [682]
> and the moon having arrived at the proper time." [683]

The three addresses to the Eye of Horus brings to mind the maximum of three days between last crescent visibility and first crescent rebirth, the period when the moon is traveling in the barque of Re and not visible in the sky. (Plate 70) This three day period in the context of the first occasion marked the start of the nineteen year lunar cycle when the moon is at its northern extreme at the time of the winter solstice.

It would appear then that the goal of the Way of Osiris, to be in the presence of Osiris, was to witness or in the case of the king to cause the revivification of Osiris and with it the restoration of the lunar cycle symbolized by the Eye of Horus. The puzzling omission of these crucial actions for the restoration of the Eye of Horus in the Osireion may reflect the fact that the concluding portion of the rites for the New Moon were performed elsewhere i.e. on the earth in the Mansion of Men-maat-Re. However, it may also be the case that the omissions were deliberate. Recall that the spell for the deification of all the parts of the ritualist' s body (BD 42), the nineteenth and final part that would complete the transfiguration process was omitted. In essence, this would trap the ritualist in the Underworld with all its perils unless he was "in the know" and understood that he must recite the end of the spell from memory to become an effective *akh* and enter the barque of Re to rise out of the *duat* with the new born sun god Khepri. As we will see this deceptive but protective technique was also employed to prevent the uninitiated from entering into the House of Osiris. [684] The fact that this technique was used at decisive points along the ritual cycles strongly argues for the intentional nature of the omissions.

682 The left eye united to the right like the action by Horus of giving Osiris his two eyes subtly reflects the concept that only through the uniting of the Eye of Re with the Eye of Horus can either be regenerated and restored.

683 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 78-79.

684 See below 5.3.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

4.7 ENTERING INTO THE REALM OF THE GODS OF THE TWELVE CAVERNS: CONCLUDING RITUAL SEQUENCE ON THE NIGHT OF THE BLACKED-OUT MOON

Returning to the Way of Re on the night of the Blacked-out Moon, (Plate 30) after the king had recited BD 42 so that no part of his body is not without its god, and now deified, he is able to safely enter into the mysterious and hidden twelve caverns (*qrrt*), which are inscribed on the walls of the Annex chamber. (Plates 234, 240, 241) The texts are known today as Chapter 168 of the Book of the Dead. But as Piankoff recognized, it is actually an independent composition.[685] According to Allen, the ancient Egyptians called it "the Gods of the Caverns in the Mysterious Netherworld".[686] This composition through its ritual performance had the power to re-animate and that is precisely why a papyrus inscribed with this book was placed inside a royal statue of Amenhotep II found in his tomb. It is the first attested version of this composition.[687]

The text inside the door, as part of the way of Re, is written retrograde, leading the king here as the son of Re into the first of the twelve caverns. It is partially destroyed. (Plate 242, right side) Each of the four columns is an invocation and a voice offering to Osiris which the king recites.

The first column is lost except for its ending:

….
[I cast down] your enemies under.

In the second column the epithet of Osiris is also lost:

Osiris ….
[I make] for you sacrificial offerings every day
upon which you live by the means of them.

The final two columns are in tact:

[I] have come before you
Osiris, Lord of Djedu, *ḏdw*, (Busiris)
I bring to you breath for your nose,
life and dominion for your beautiful face.

685 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 42.

686 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 162 n. 271.

687 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 54.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

> [I] have come before you
> Osiris, Lord of Igeret, *jgrt*, (the land of Silence)
> I established your [festival] cycle in the cities of the nome.[688]

Architecturally the Annex and its entrance acts as a zone of transition,[689] which forms the caverns in a similar fashion as to the way the twelve caverns are depicted in a shrine in p.BM 10478. (Plates 247, 248) The text seems to indicate that it housed a statue of Osiris to which the invocations and voice offerings were directed. The statue itself, most probably, was of an enthroned Osiris again similar to the one depicted in p.BM 10478. (Plate 249) But here in the context of the rites for the New Moon, the statue would have undoubtedly represented Osiris-Moon. The Atef crown worn by the enthroned Osiris in the vignette of p.BM 10478 may be sufficient in itself to identify him as Osiris-Moon. Goebs "suggest[s] that the *ḥḏt* [White Crown] and the *ꜣtfw* [Atef Crown] of CT 656 may refer to the two constituent parts of one and the same crown [and that] the White Crown's symbolism is explicit in CT 531."[690] Perhaps the statue of Osiris actually wore the lunar crescent and disk like the example in the Louvre. (Plate 167)

Not uncommon to the structure of ancient Egyptian texts, the opening statements often reveal the intended purpose. The actions of the king, the living Horus, literally voice offerings, in essence serves to magically insure the successful outcome of the rites to be performed for revivifying Osiris and restoring/re-membering Osiris-Moon. Specifically stated, they are: (1) providing protection – casting down of his father's enemies; (2) providing the sacrificial offerings on which Osiris will live; (3) animating him with breath to his nose bringing life and dominion to his beautiful face, i.e., causing the visible phases of the moon to reappear in the night sky; and (4) reestablishing the festival cycle of the Osiris' cult in the cities after having been abolished by the Heretic Akhenaten.

As Hornung noted, the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the Osireion is different from all other versions of this composition. It is the only one to include all twelve of the caverns depicting each group in their entirety.[691] The others include only the deities of the last five – caverns eight through twelve. The first seven caverns' inhabitants "are represented quite schematically – in each case two males and one female. [Plates 243, 254] Thus, only the eighth through the twelfth are portrayed in detail."[692]

688 Author's translation. See also M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 8.

689 J. Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt" in K. Simpson (ed.) Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt (1989), 147-148.

690 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 113 and 147. Also worth noting is that Osiris is addressed as Osiris, Lord of Eternal Recurrence (*nḥḥ*) in p.BM 10478 which is one of his twelve designations in the introductory text. Furthermore, the five uraei on his crown signify the *ḏuat* where the twelve caverns are located and so too Osiris-Moon as the New Moon (Blacked-out Moon).

691 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 54-55.

692 Ibid., 54.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Mendez-Rodriguez has suggested that "the first part of the composition was already lost when they organized the decoration program of the Osireion. So they decided to apply this solution. I think to improve the ritual related to it." [693] This is a very astute observation. The inclusion of exactly twenty one additional deities in the first seven caverns, (not say nineteen, twenty, or twenty four), increases the total number of deities to 365 in the Osireion version of this composition. Together they can be interpreted as representing the 365 days of the twelve month Egyptian civil year. [694] By the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Egyptian civil calendar was long established as the primary device utilized for the measurement of the passage of the solar year in cyclical time (*nḥḥ*).

Not surprisingly, embedded in the numerical structure of this composition, which is an integral part of the rites for the New Moon, is the accounting for the lengths of the twelve and thirteen month lunar years and the means for reconciling the great lunar cycle with the solar cycle over a nineteen year period, known later by the Greeks as the Metonic cycle. [695] Instrumental here is the representations of the king which gives structure and meaning to these cycles of *nḥḥ* time. There are eighteen depictions of the king making offerings to the 365 deities of the twelve caverns. The nineteenth representation of the king is his rebus as part of Horus-Behedet, (Plate 245) the solar principle that arises out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion, thereby creating *nḥḥ* cyclical time. Nineteen is the number of solar years required to realign the great lunar cycle with that of the sun. It is the maximum period of time it takes for the moon to return to its northern extreme, to which the Entrance Archway appears to be aligned, at the time of the winter solstice. The nineteen representations of the king when added to the 365 deities in the twelve caverns total 384, a sum equal to the number of days in the thirteen-month lunar year. In the center register at the end of the twelfth *qrrt* are eleven ram-headed poles. (Plate 246, 255) Recall from the first hour of the Book of Gates that the ram-headed pole which is located in the western desert where the new crescent moon reappears in the night sky is addressed as "this head is the word of command of the Greatest God when (He) raises his body." [696] These eleven words of command of the Greatest God, which is an aspect of the nightly manifestation of the sun god Re, can be considered as an exclusive group and as such apart from the other 354 deities in the twelve caverns. A text describing the eleven deities states that:

> "Those who are in charge of secret things
> [the words of command of the Greatest God]
> which are in the earth,

693 Personal communication, 4/26/2012. His PhD dissertation and forthcoming book are on the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168).

694 The Egyptian civil year consisted of twelve months each of thirty days and an additional five epagomenal days, which the ancient Egyptians considered to be above or outside of the year.

695 See above 4.4.

696 See above 3.2. The quote is the translation in E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 114. The body of the sun god in the *duat* is at the same time the corpse of Osiris and as such when the Greatest God raises his body, it can also be interpreted as the new crescent moon reappearing in the night sky low in the western horizon.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

> May they place their walls about N [the son of Re]
> like what is done for the Inert One [Osiris].
> A bowl is offered to them on the earth by N [the king]
> when he goes in and out of the God's Domain." [697]

The function of this group of eleven is to put up or become a wall of protection, thereby creating an exclusive perimeter. The other 354 deities equates to the 354 days in the twelve month lunar year. Recall too that the ram-headed poles, the words of command of the Greatest God, are also present in a key lunar scene which is located in the middle register of the second division, at the exact center of the first half of the Book of Caverns. Its central location highlights its importance. (Plate 179) Here, they are depicted with the Chest of Osiris which contains the dismembered limbs of Osiris. The chest is adorned with a solar disk signifying the union of Re with Osiris and the start of the rememberment process of Osiris-Moon and leading to the beginning of the lunar cycle on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon. [698] Remarkably, in the Osireion there is a direct association between the ram-headed pole as the command of the Greatest God, Re, and the creation and renewal of the lunar cycle in the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns and in the realm of the Gods of the Twelve Caverns.

In the Book of Gates, a composition also concerned with the unfolding of creation in cyclical time (*nḥḥ*), we encountered the representation of the 354 deities of the twelve month lunar year transformed into the 365 day solar year by Osiris and his retinue in the Judgment Hall of Osiris between the fifth and sixth hours, [699] (354 + 11 = 365). It was followed by another 384 deities in hours six through nine, the time before Re leaves the *ḏuat* proper and represents the great Osirian lunar year of thirteen months. The apparent duplication of the identical deity counts of 354, 365 and 384 in the two compositions can be explained by the fact that each is found in a different ritual cycle in the Osireion.

The unique form of the redaction of the composition of the realm of the Gods of the Twelve Caverns as found in the Osireion directly links it to the creation and unfolding of the lunar cycle through the number symbolism embedded in its structure. The lunar cycle begins in the *ḏuat* on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon, the first day of the lunar month, when this phase of the rites for the New Moon were to be performed. Again the nineteen representations of the king provide the key to its interpretation. As noted the Osireion version is the only one to depict all twelve of the caverns. To the twelve caverns must be added the nineteen representations of the king in the eighteen offering scenes and in the commanding central scene of the king as Horus-Behedet, depicted above the tenth *qrrt*. Together they total thirty one, a number signifying the created monthly lunar cycle. [700]

697 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

698 See above 4.3.

699 By Piankoff's numbering scheme, it is between the fourth and fifth hours.

700 See below in 4.7.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The texts to the offerings made by the king before the first four caverns would appear to provide information on the scope of the lunar cycle in a most subtle way. (Plate 243) They mention both the Field of Offerings, *sḫt ḥtpw*, and the Field of Reeds, *sḫt jɜrw*. Their importance here is tied to their location. Both are situated in the east near the place of sunrise. Specifically, the Field of Offerings lies just to the north of the ecliptic and the Field of Reeds, where the House of Osiris is located, lies to the south of the ecliptic.[701] This area or band of the sky encompasses the visible path of the moon which is somewhat wider than the solar route that is defined by the ecliptic. At the peak of the lunar cycle, the Moon's declination swings from minus twenty eight degrees to plus twenty eight degrees each month compared to the twenty three and one half degrees for the ecliptic.[702] This means that for the years that the moon is at its extreme, which are separated by a maximum period of nineteen years (when viewed from the surface of the earth), "the Moon can be seen rising and setting more northerly and also more southerly than the solar extremes, and will transit monthly with altitudes which are higher in the sky than the summer Sun and lower in the sky than the winter Sun.[703] Said another way, during the years when the moon is at its extreme, it will enter the Field of Offerings (to the north of the ecliptic) and the House of Osiris in the Field of Reeds (to the south of the ecliptic) every month.

The placement of Horus the Behdetite over the tenth cavern is also significant highlighted by its central location on the notional east wall in the Annex. (Plate 245) Recall that the number ten was sacred to Horus. As the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process, Horus represents the start of a new cycle. It not only symbolizes the beginning of dynastic rule in Egypt through the transfer of royal power from father Osiris to his son Horus, but here it also marks the creation and the beginning of the lunar cycle with the conception of Horus on the night of the Blacked-out Moon and his subsequent birth on the night of first crescent visibility. Recall too that Horus and Osiris are one and the same god. It is the god of divine kingship with two manifestations – Horus of the living, as the king of the Two Lands, and Osiris, Ruler of the West, as the divine king in the afterlife. In short, they are two sides of the same coin.

Just as the king must be present to recite the rituals to insure that the newly born moon is restored to the night sky, so too must the sun god be present for its unfolding. For without the presence of the sun god, the prime mover, there can be no rebirth for the moon which explains the need for the presence of the winged sun disk. "The Majesty of this God [will] emerge again on the Earth by reappearing in Upper Egypt... He is transfigured into the Greatest God of Edfu... This is the matutinal transformation into the winged Sun Disk (Horus of Edfu [Horus-Behedet]) in which guise he soars up to the sky and renews the initial creation of the world."[704] Horus-Behedet over the tenth *qrrt* is an integral part of this composition. The large size of the depiction reminds us as to the importance that Re and the son of Re, the living Horus and king play in the creation of the lunar cycle and its unfolding.

701 J. Allen, Review of R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten in JNES 61 (2002), 63.

702 J. Young, "Moon Teachings for the Masses at the Umass Sunwheel" at www.umass.edu/Sunwheel/pages/moonteaching.html

703 Ibid.

704 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 301, 319 n.10; from the vignette of Nut in the Book of Nut.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Viewing the structure of this composition as a unit, the twelve caverns combined with the nineteen representations of the king total thirty one. This number, signifying the creation of the lunar cycle, as it embodies all possible combinations for a single monthly lunar cycle of twenty nine or thirty days. At the same time, the number nineteen as a sacred number to Osiris symbolizes the god's regeneration, renewal and rebirth of Osiris-Moon in his manifestation of Horus-Moon and the lunar aspect of divine kingship.[705]

The following analysis of the critical and centrally located tenth *qrrt* develops these concepts. The arrangement of the groups within this cavern differs significantly from the only other royal copy found in the tomb of Amenhotep II of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This suggests that the "new" arrangement in the Osireion reflects a use different from the funerary context of the Amenhotep II version – that of the rites for the New Moon. While the introductory text leading into the twelve caverns proper is written retrograde as part of the Way of Re, the texts of the Book of the Twelve Caverns are not retrograde. This serves to highlight that the gods of the caverns in the mysterious *ḏuat* (BD 168) are meant to be part of the Way of Osiris. So here in the Annex through the use of the different texts' orientations and the presence of both the statue of Osiris-Moon and the depiction of the sun god Re and the son of Re, the king as Horus-Behedet, we see a complimentary use of the Two Ways, a theme that is expressed consistently throughout the Antechamber and the Annex of the Osireion.

The order in which the caverns are organized is sequential but has a very distinctive pattern. It is circuitous probably even mimicking the nature of the mysterious *ḏuat* itself. It begins with the first *qrrt* in the top left corner of the notional northern wall and is read downward to the end of the sixth cave in the lower left corner; (Plate 243) then across at the bottom to the seventh *qrrt*; back up to the top for the eighth cave; across at the top for the beginning of the ninth *qrrt*, then down again to the bottom for its conclusion; directly across once again at the bottom to begin the reading of the centrally located tenth cavern on the notional eastern wall of the Annex, (Plate 245) which concludes at the top of the register where the eleventh *qrrt* opens in the top left corner of the notional south wall; then down to the bottom for its conclusion; (Plate 246) across at the bottom for the beginning of the twelfth cave, where it concludes at the top in the right corner of the notional south wall of the Annex chamber. The composition concludes as it began with a four column text on the notional western wall by the door. (Plate 256, 242) This clear pattern for the reading of each individual *qrrt* causes a significant difference in the order of the reading for the sections of each cavern in the royal funerary papyrus of Amenhotep II and that for the rites of the New Moon in the Osireion.

The 'Mysterious Goddess' dominates the tenth *qrrt* by virtue of her size in the Osireion version. (Plate 245) She stands adjacent to the scene with the thirty one limbs of Osiris[-Moon]. In the vignette in p.BM 10478, the goddess is depicted with the Udjat-eye, the restored and sound lunar eye of Horus in front of her. (Plate 250) The text reads:

705 In the Hall of Barques in Seti's temple, Moon(*jʿḥ*)-Horus is listed among the nine deities named on the Bench-edge Bandeau-texts. See KRI II Translations (1996), 511:14-15 on 327 and KRI II (1979), text 511:14-15. For the barque for Horus-Moon housed in this Hall see K. Eaton, The Ritual Function of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 70-72 . Both are evidence of cultic activity for Horus as the Moon and the lunar aspect of divine kingship.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"The Hidden One/Goddess
May she cause the *ḥa* of Osiris
to endure and his corpse [be] in tact
like the gods who are in the *ḏuat* [the limbs of Osiris]" [706]

The Udjat-eye and this text are a clear reference to the re-membering of Osiris-Moon. Her position is pivotal. Her location marks off and defines the range of the number of days that the moon is in the *ḏuat* (i.e. not visible in the night sky). The Hidden One stands over a total of seventy two deities signifying the maximum period of three days (seventy two hours) from last crescent visibility to the return of the moon to the night sky with first crescent visibility. The tenth cavern is divided into two parts by a single column of hieroglyphs. There are a total of forty eight deities to the left and twenty four on the right not including the oversized figure of the Hidden One. [707] (Plate 245) The normal period for lunar invisibility is two days (forty eight hours represented by the forty eight deities). The minimum period is one day (represented by the other group of twenty four deities). [708] Furthermore, these periods of the moon's invisibility are symbolically represented by the trebled figure at the head of the group of fifteen recumbent figures who are designated as the limbs of Osiris. (Plate 245) Note that the goddess is depicted facing this group of figures, standing at their feet. The name of this goddess, *štɜt*, is generally translated as the Mysterious or Hidden One. [709] However, in the Osireion her name is written differently and is most revealing. (Plate 245) Murray translated it as *šnt* "Shent, who is probably the goddess Shenty [Shentayet]... it is in the chapels dedicated to her that some of the Osiris mysteries are celebrated." [710] Recall that it was on the first day of the final sequence of nineteen days in the Cycle of 76 of the annual renewal of kingship that Shentayet fashions the body of the figurine of Osiris, as only she could do, which initiates the opening of the annual enactment of the Osiris Mysteries, where the

706 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127 for the basis of this translation.

707 It should be pointed out for the purpose of clarification, that in addition to the large figure of the Hidden One, there are four others. These figures are oversized only in the Osireion version of this composition. The large size of the five figures distinguishes them and identifies them as special markers such as the role the Hidden One, Shentayet, plays in the tenth cavern. But their large size also segregates them from all the other deities depicted in the twelve caverns and so were apparently not intended to be included in the tabulation of the overall deity count. Their presence, in effect, serves to disguise and conceal the message that can be gleaned from the true deity count, which is made up of the like-size deities. On the surface, the composition appears to contain 370 deities, which in itself has no particular numerical significance. However, by recognizing that the five oversized figures function as special markers and therefore, as in a similar fashion to the five epagomenal days of the Egyptian civil year which are outside of the year, they too are outside of the composition's structural organization as well, then the true deity count can be ascertained. There are, in fact, 365 like-size deities, which at one level can equate to the complete Egyptian civil year of the 360 days of the twelve fixed thirty-day months plus the five epagomenal days that were above the year.

708 Obviously, all three of these periods were observationally determined by the ancient Egyptians. For the calculated astronomical periods see R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13-14 and 72 n. 43.

709 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 166; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127; A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 74.

710 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 6 and pl. III = my Plate 245.

rejuvenation of Osiris is the goal.[711] Taken in the context of the monthly rites for the New Moon depicted in the Osireion, the body that Shentayet fashions is that of Osiris as the Moon. Shentayet is the manifestation of Isis as the mourning widow and as we have seen in the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, Isis, She who is Great of Magic, explicitly speaks of and thereby calls into existence the lunar cycle.[712] The name of the tenth cavern alludes to this same creative function: (Plate 245)

> The gods of *qrrt* ten in the *duat*,
> who cry out aloud [or the wailers (fem.)][713]
> whose mysteries are sacred.[714]

The wailers, Shentayet and her retinue, cry out aloud [as wailers] and as in the Lamentations, by this action, brings the lunar cycle into existence and renews it at the start of every month on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon. The depiction of the goddess positioned at the feet of the 'limbs of Osiris' in the tenth cavern further supports her identification in the Osireion version as Shentayet, since Isis is almost always depicted facing Osiris and is standing or kneeling at her husband's feet in the many scenes where she is present by the bier, mummy, coffin or sarcophagus of Osiris.[715] It should also be noted that Shentayet is also depicted twice in the Central Hall of the Osireion. (Plate 310)

Standing with Shentayet is the Ennead whose arms are hidden. Probably here it is in the sense that the arms which are being hidden are or hold the arms/limbs of Osiris-Moon, depicted in the scene adjacent to them. They are hidden because it is during the time of the New Moon when the moon is not visible in the night sky. These limbs can also be equated to the Udjat-eye as is shown with the Hidden One in the vignette of p.BM 10478. (Plate 250) The Ennead whose arms are hidden are said to be "those who are among the worshipers of Re when he comes forth on the earth."[716] Depicted as eight mummified gods, this Ogdoad can also be associated with Thoth, as the Lord of the Eight. They face the thirty one limbs of Osiris and are shown spitting at or on them. (Plate 245) "The act of spitting occurs repeatedly in mythological and ritual contexts as an expression of generative force... Surely deriving from the same rationale is the ritual use of spittle in the transmission of healing..."[717]

711 See above 1.4 and Table I = Plate 33.

712 See above 4.6. It should be noted here that this composition (BD 168) is also tied to the third ritual cycle - the Osiris Mysteries and the Conception of Horus. It was likely an offering rite made each hour on the earth as the text clearly indicates, on behalf of the king for Osiris-Moon's regeneration. See below, according to p.Brooklyn 47.218.50, the rites were to be performed in the House of Life (thus in the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion).

713 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 165.

714 Author's translation from M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), plate III = my Plate 245.

715 For example, see my Plate 277 of the vignette of BD 17 in the Sloping Passage and in the papyrus of Ani in R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 7.

716 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 102.

717 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 75, 78.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

"May you spit on the face of Horus for him
so that you remove the injury which is upon him.
[PT 215]

O Horus, I have split on your eye
after it was taken by its conqueror.
[the Abydos stela of Ramesses IV, KRI 5 (1983), 24.]" [718]

Finally from the Sloping Passage in the Osireion in BD 17, Thoth is said to have spit on the Eye of Re to heal it. [719]

The *ɓas* who become/manifest as the limbs or members of Osiris-Moon are in fifteen groups of thirty one recumbent gods. They are "in groups of two, with the exception of the first group which is made up of three figures." [720] The fourteen groups of two *ɓas,* as limbs of Osiris, represent the fourteen visible phases, side by side, of the waxing and waning cycles of the moon. The group of *ɓas* at the head of the scene are three in number. "It does not take a mathematician to work out that the period of time signaled is three days. This figure is meaningful in terms of the moon's invisibility, as it denotes the maximum length of time elapsing from last crescent invisibility to first crescent visibility." [721] It is *psḏntyw*, the Blacked-out Moon (our New Moon) or in Depuydt's more accurate terminology "last crescent invisibility". [722] CT 155 is a lengthly spell concerning the *ɓas* of the New Moon which is titled:

"Knowing the *ɓas* of the New Moon (*rḫ bɜw psḏntjw*)
and entering the house of Osiris of Busiris (*ʿqr pr Wsjr n ḏdw*)" [723]

It ends with the names of the three gods who are the *ɓas* of the New Moon:

"I know the *ɓas* of the New Moon.
They are Osiris, Isdes [Thoth] and Anubis." [724]

718 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 79.

719 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), Plates 8-9.

720 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 75.

721 G. Priskin, "Coffin Text 155 on the Moon" Birmingham Egyptology Journal (2013), 43.

722 L. Depuydt, "The Hieroglyphic Representation of the Moon's Absence (*psḏntyw*)" in L. Lesko (ed.) Ancient Egypt and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward (1998), 80-81.

723 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 72. See also n. 728 above.

724 Ibid., 72. See also n. 728 above.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The three *bas* correspond to the maximum period of the moon's invisibility of three days. Note too that the three *bas* of the New Moon are associated with the House of Osiris in Busiris (*ḏdw*) which this scene or perhaps better still the tenth *qrrt* could well represent.

Above the thirty one *bas* of Osiris are two groups of gods who number seventeen in total which also has numerical significance with respect to the lunar cycle. (Plate 245) As we have seen, seventeen is a number sacred to to Osiris, signifying the necessary stage of dismemberment and death which is symbolized by the waning lunar cycle. No longer visible in the night sky, Osiris-Moon is dead. His dismembered body lies in the *ḏuat*, specifically here in the tenth *qrrt* as the numbers seventeen and thirty one imply and is confirmed by the name given the thirty one gods – the *Bas* becoming or manifesting as the Limbs of Osiris, a vivid description of the phases of the moon coming into existence. The manner in which this composition was designed for its use in the Annex focuses attention squarely on the tenth *qrrt*, located in the central position on the notional eastern wall over which the giant winged sun disk Horus-Behedet presides. In the context of *zp tpj*, it leads to the unfolding of the first sunrise, the prime act of creation, which manifests as the visible winged disk Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. The necessary death of Osiris depicted here will also lead to the regeneration of Osiris-Moon in the eleventh and twelfth caverns and eventual birth in his manifestation as Horus-Moon, marking the start of the first visible lunar cycle on the first second day of the first lunar month.

The group of nine deities in three rows directly above the thirty one *bas* of Osiris form a protective Ennead "who those who are therein [the *qrrt*]".[725] (Plate 245) They are said to be the one "who repulses the Rebel from Re",[726] whose corpse is Osiris. According to Willems, "the mention of the guardians of the room [*qrrt*] (or limbs) of Osiris make it clear that the context is that of the Stundenwachen around the mummy on its bier."[727] At the top of the cavern, there are eight gods in two rows of four. They are said to be "those [*aḫu*] who belong to the sunshine."[728] As such they appear to be connected to the eastern akhet and Horus-Behedet who hovers directly over them as well as to the king who is depicted making offerings to them. (Plate 245) Here, he is called "the Brilliant One in the Mysterious Region."[729]

This vertical structure of the scenes in the tenth *qrrt* directly links Re and the king with the revivification of Osiris. (Plate 245) This union between Re and Osiris which is affected through the ritual actions of the king, the living Horus, causes both the sun god to be reborn here as Horus-Behedet and manifests with the sunrise as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons and the Osiris-Moon to be reborn in

725 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 126.

726 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 101.

727 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 316.

728 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 126.

729 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 101.

his vindicated manifestation of his son Horus as Horus-Moon. This I think is the great mystery not that "the 'mystery of Osiris' was the fact of his death" as Assmann has suggested,[730] but that the king causes by his ritual actions that both Re and Osiris are reborn to the visible sky of day and night, but also in the realm of the *ḏuat*. In short, it is the paradox of the begotten becoming the begetter. This concept is succinctly and beautifully captured by the depiction above the tenth *qrrt* of Horus-Behedet rising up from the eastern akhet to renewed life. (Plate 245) It is labeled "Behedet, who gives the sweet breath of life to *bꜣ-n-rꜥ mrj jmn"*, whose rebus is between the two uraei. "Horus of Edfu [Behedet] is Osiris who is reborn as Horus in the person of the divine Living Falcon [winged sun disk] and of the reigning King [rebus of *Bꜣ-n-Rꜥ*] who performs the ritual."[731] In the context of the third ritual cycle, this scene represents the king on I *prt* 1 at sunrise on the day of his annual coronation celebration.

Without the benefit of Mendez-Rodriguez's unpublished dissertation on the Book of the Twelve Caverns, which was completed in January 2016, my comments on the other caverns will necessarily be brief. Fortunately, the name of the eighth *qrrt* is explicit as to its function.

"She who protects the *ḥas*,
She who judges
distinguishing truth (*mꜣꜥt*) from falsehood (*jsft*)."[732]

This *qrrt* functions as the Hall of Two Truths and the number symbolism supports this interpretation. When the two figures of the king making offerings to this cavern are included with the forty figures in the cavern, there are a total of forty two. (Plate 243) This is the well known number of assessors or judges in the Hall of Two Truths.[733] That the two figures of the king should be included is clear from the inscription which states:

"The king is one of those
who hears the living [i.e. judges]..."[734]

Furthermore, in the non-royal variant p.BM 10478 the text for the recumbent goddess face down (four goddesses in the Osireion version, Plate 257, which is Piankoff's Group 5 in Cavern 8) states:

"The Tired Ones
They grant that Osiris NN [here the king]

730 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation (2005), 190.

731 J. van Dijk, "A Ramesside Naophorous Statue From The Teti Pyramid Cemetery" OMRO 64 (1983), 55.

732 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 48.

733 C. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Agypten (1976), 63-67.

734 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 92.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

may pass through the Broad Hall of the Two Truths." [735]

While the Hall of the Two Truths is indeed linked to the judgment of the *ba* of the deceased in the funerary literature, it has been demonstrated that it was a purification and initiation rite in the temple context.[736] Placed directly before entering into the presence of Osiris in the ninth *qrrt* of this composition, the Hall of the Two Truths is likewise situated in the third ritual cycle as well. [737] In the temple we call the Osireion, it would appear to serve as an added purification and initiation ritual for the king to insure his state of purity before entering int the presence of his father and seeing the gods.

In the royal version, there is but a single mention of the sun god, "Those who mourn Re" in the eighth *qrrt*. [738] However, in the non-royal versions there are up to seven. Perhaps this limited mention of the sun god Re was employed to highlight the Way of Osiris in the ritual context of the rites for the New Moon in the Osireion.

Having passed through the Hall of Two Truths, the king is shown making offerings to the ninth *qrrt*. The name of the ninth cavern is:

"Mysterious of Forms (fem.)
who cuts off breath/vital air." [739]

Obscure to be sure. But perhaps this cavern's function is related to that of the scorpion Serqet, *srqt*, whose poisonous sting constricts the throat thereby cutting off the vital air causing death. In this sense the ninth *qrrt* could be viewed as the place of the necessary death only out of which the regeneration and rebirth can occur, given the proper performance of the required rites. At the same time, "she [Selqet/Selket] was thought to give breath to the justified dead [who had just emerged from the eighth *qrrt*], helping them to be reborn in the afterlife." [740] The ninth *qrrt* could also be viewed as the key turning point along the path of rejuvenation and where Serqet's help was required. In the Book of the Two Ways as "the Keeper of the Bend" she watches over a dangerous twist in the pathway. [741] So we

735 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 57.

736 J. Gee, "Prophets, Initiation and the Egyptian Temple" JSSEA 31 (2004), 101-102.

737 See below 5.1.

738 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 55.

739 Ibid., 48; and T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 164.

740 C. Seawright, "Egypt: Serqet, Goddess of Scorpions and Venomous Creatures, Magical Protection and the Afterlife" www.touregypt.net

741 L. Lesko, The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways, 63; CT 1069 and CT 1176 are located in Lesko's section IV. Also G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986), 142.

find here another allusion to the Book of Two Ways in the Way of Osiris and the Way of Re in the Annex and the Antechamber. It should be noted that the king invokes Serqet as a protective goddess in the ritual of the deification of his royal body (BD 42), necessary to gain entry into the realm of the gods of the Twelve Caverns in the mysterious *ḏuat* in the Annex. (Plate 232) She becomes his teeth which protect the throat of the king, which therefore cannot be constricted.

There are exactly 100 deities in the ninth *qrrt*. If the three figures of the king making offerings to this cavern are included, they total 103. We have seen this numerical relationship embedded in the structure of the Book of the Gates in the first ritual cycle.[742] The significance of the ratio of 100 to 103 lies in the function of reconciling the Egyptian civil calendar with the lunar cycle. Recall that there were 300 months in twenty five civil years and exactly 309 lunations in that same period of *nḥḥ* time (a total of 9125 days). The apparent reason for its duplication here is that the Book of Gates is part of a different ritual cycle in the Osireion. The first ritual cycle corresponds to the days of the month when the moon is visible in the sky, whereas the moon is not visible in the sky when the Rites for the New Moon were to be performed.

Like the tenth *qrrt*, the ninth is also divided into two parts, here by a double column of hieroglyphic inscriptions. (Plate 244) At the top the king makes an offering on the earth and is in possession of gifts at the sacred pylon in the West, named the 'Lord of Crossing Over', which is the entrance to the ninth *qrrt*. These gifts are for a group of nine deities said in one version of BD 168 to be in the House of Osiris.[743] They all would appear to be manifestations of Osiris. The four bulls are explicitly labeled as forms of Osiris. (Plate 244) Two of the nine are also found in the Litany of Re.[744] The Hidden One (Osiris), *sštȝ-wsjr*, is the twenty-second manifestation of Re in the forty fourth invocation of the Great Litany.[745] The Dark One, *snk*, is the forty-second manifestation of Re in the ninth invocation of the Great Litany.[746] The one called the Mysterious One is connected to the Udjat-eye and hence to the lunar cycle.[747]

Directly below the nine manifestations of Osiris in the text, the king is said to be “the one who enters the mysteries”.[748] There are twelve mummified figures wearing the White crown of Upper Egypt, the symbol of the moon's luminosity. (Plate 258) They are “the gods who are in their shrines above [upon] the watery abyss [of the Nun].”[749] In the funerary version for both Amenhotep II and

742 See above 3.3.

743 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 164.

744 I thank Daniel Rodriguez for pointing out to me that there are a number of manifestations from the Litany of Re in this composition. His dissertation will explore the relationship between the Litany of Re and this composition.

745 A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 13, 24, 180.

746 Ibid., 13, 26, 180.

747 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 54.

748 Author's translation.

749 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 61.

p.BM 10478, the number of mummified figures wearing the White crown is clearly indicated to be fourteen, (Plates 252, 251) no doubt a reference to the fourteen visible phases of the waxing and waning lunar cycle that were created out of the Nun on *zp tpj*. The inclusion of only twelve of the fourteen in the Osireion version is significant as it would seem to indicate that the total deity count for the ninth *qrrt* was of paramount importance. The number 100 had to be maintained, so that the ratio of 100 to 103 was in tact, synchronizing the solar and lunar cycles.

In the second part of *qrrt* nine, the structure appears to embody three distinct cycles of *nḥḥ* time. In the top two registers there are a total of thirty one deities, a number as we have seen signifies every possible combinations of the phases for the twenty-nine and thirty-day lunar month. The first deity is the crocodile-headed Mekhenty-irty, *mḫnty-jrty,* Horus with two eyes. (Plate 253) Horus with two eyes represents the period when both the sun and the moon are visible in the morning sky i.e. the time of the full moon. A passage about this deity in p.MMA 35.9.19 alludes to this event where it is mentioned "in the morning in order to see the Great God in Heliopolis and [in] every town." [750] Again in p.MMA 35.9.19 he is designated:

> "... the son of Isis, who creates truth;
> he grants...
> that the water which is in the two eyes of Horus
> be beneficial to [here the king]." [751]

Interesting to note that both Allen and Faulkner translate the name as Horus with [No] Eyes in His Forehead and Horus the Eyeless One. [752] Horus with no eyes represents the time when neither the sun nor the moon are visible in the sky i.e. the time of the Blacked-out Moon, *psḏntywt,* the new moon. Presumably, Allen came to that translation because of the attached statement:

> "who is attached to the station
> that is in the nether world forever." [753]

This is the case for the Blacked-out Moon which is not visible in the night sky because it is in the *ḏuat*, the place of regeneration. The logic would appear to be the same for Faulkner's translation "the Eyeless One" which is followed by the phrase:

> "who belongs to the Standing One
> who is [always] in the *Duat.* " [754]

750 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 98.

751 Ibid., 67. Here too Piankoff translates the name of the crocodile-headed god as Mekhenty-irty.

752 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 165; and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 126.

753 Ibid., Allen, 165.

754 Ibid., Faulkner, 126.

Since the inscription in the Osireion is damaged, (Plate 259) either translation would be acceptable. However, I believe that the case for reading it as Horus with Two Eyes is somewhat stronger because that is how it is in the only other royal version, that of Amenhotep II. (Plate 253) In addition, the deity at the opposite end of this register is Anubis, (Plate 260) who as we have seen is one of the three *ɓas* of the New Moon. So that contained in this group of thirty one deities, are representations for both the Full Moon, Mekhentyirty, and the New Moon, Anubis as one of its three *ɓas*.

At another level and one certainly valid in the context of a creation text, Englund interprets this Horus figure quite differently. "Horus of Letopolis comprises two opposites, two aspects of himself. There is Horus who has not his two eyes, Horus-mkhenty-n-irty, i.e. the sources of light, the sun and the moon, and this Horus form must [also] represent the unity of the godhead before creation, before the coming into existence of duality. There is also Horus who has his two eyes, Horus-mkhenty-irty, which represents the godhead after the differentiation process has started, and duality, the first step on the way to plurality, has come into existence and transformed the unity of the godhead into the creator god who manifests himself in the light. These Horus forms correspond to Atum as the sole god and Atum as the triune god together with Shu and Tefnut." [755] Recall that Horus was the product of the Heliopolitan creation process initiated by Atum. So here we see Horus of Letopolis assuming the role of the begetter, which is another example of the paradox of the begotten becoming the begetter. Multiple interpretations are the norm in the Underworld Books.

It should also be noted that in this group of thirty one deities in the ninth *qrrt*, there are another two deities who are also found in the Litany of Re. Hidden Members/He who hides the limbs, *jmn-ḥʿw*, is the fifteenth manifestation of Re, who is found in the thirtieth invocation. [756] The Brilliant One(s)/Those Who Shine, *sšpyw*, is the twenty first manifestation of Re who is found in the forty second invocation of the Great Litany. [757] In the Osireion, this name is, in fact, the only name in the entire composition that is written retrograde! (Plate 260) Following the protocol employed in the Antechamber and the Annex, the retrograde writing of the name identifies it as part of the Way of Re. The Brilliant One(s)/the Shining Ones positioned with the group of deities symbolizing the monthly lunar cycle is analogous to the solar disk adorning the Chest of Osiris which contains the dismembered limbs of Osiris in the Book of Caverns. It is the solar element that initates the process of lunar regeneration, a process that could not occur without it. It is the uniting of Re with Osiris. This would also account for its location in the group of thirty one deities. It is adjacent to Anubis. The unusual backward-leaning stance of these figures, who look upwards to Anubis suggests a close connection to that deity who symbolizes the *ɓas* of the New Moon at the start of the lunar cycle. Finally, the Shining Ones in p.BM 10478 are said to grant that Osiris N. [here the king] may enter into i.e. participate in all

755 G. Englund, Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions (1989), 80.

756 A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 13, 25, 179. The positions of fifteen and thirty in the Litany may suggest an underlying lunar connotation and association.

757 Ibid., 13, 24, 181.

the Mysteries of the *ḏuat*.[758]

Directly below the group of thirty one deities are four rows of twelve gods and goddesses. (Plate 244) The top row of deities are the gods who are in the *ḏuat*, which form a separate group from the three rows of thirty six deities who are said to be in the following of Osiris. The text in the papyrus of Amenhotep II does not make this distinction.[759] The twelve gods and goddesses who are in the *ḏuat*, because of their location, could be interpreted as representing the twelve hours of the night, another aspect of *nḥḥ* time. They are depicted as decanal stars because they were used by the ancient Egyptians to mark off the hours of the night. The thirty six gods who are in the following of Osiris, taken as his manifestation of Orion represent the group of thirty six decans (stars) which were used to measure the year and hours of the night, further explicating *nḥḥ* time. Each decanal star was used to mark off a ten-day period, which formed the length of a "week" in the Egyptian civil calendar. The thirty six decanal deities are depicted in pairs. The striding male deity carrying the *wꜣs*-scepter of dominion is followed by a standing female deity. This is generally how the constellation Osiris-Orion, *sꜣḥ*, and Sothis-Sirius, *spdt*, who heralds the opening of the New Year are depicted in the astronomical ceiling scenes. (Plate 158) The procession formed by the thirty six decanal deities conveys the sense of the progression of *nḥḥ* time which they in turn measure. Each of the three rows of twelve decanal deities can further be interpreted as representing one the the three seasons of the Egyptian civil year. Each season consisted of four months of three ten-day weeks (thirty days).

Finally, the thirty six deities who are in the retinue of Osiris can be divided into two Osirian groups of seventeen and nineteen, the numbers sacred to Osiris, symbolizing his death and rebirth. Starting with the lead male figure in the first row, the group of seventeen is completed by the third male deity in the second row. (Plate 244) The group on nineteen begins with the third female deity in the second row, here assuming her form as Isis-Sirius who is associated with the revivification of Osiris, and is completed by the final female figure at the end of the third row. This was no arbitrary division of the year into two groups of seventeen and nineteen, at least not for the ancient Egyptians. It resurfaces in an astronomical ceiling scene over a thousand years later in the temple of Philae. It is located in the northeast corner of the pronaos added to the main temple of Isis during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180-145 B.C.)[760] It is another example of a cosmological scene as an expression of the dual nature of the Egyptian concept of time and a rather complex one at that.

The stars visually dominate this composition. (Plate 159, top) The number of stars depicted, although they appear at first glance to be random, are skillfully chosen and relate to the measurement of the cycles of time initiated on the first occasion (*zp tpj*). In this register, the nineteen stars enclosed by the body of the goddess Naunet, as we have seen, is a number sacred to Osiris in his regenerative capacity. Seventeen more stars are enclosed by the body of the night sky goddess, Nut. This number is

758 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 70.

759 Ibid., 62.

760 C. Herzer, "Temple of Isis at Philae: Cosmological Scenes as Expressions of Time", in preparation.

also a consecrated number sacred to Osiris. It represents the necessary but destructive stage of dismemberment, the death before rebirth is possible. Together the number of stars associated with the cycle of dismemberment and revivification total thirty six. This is the number of decanal stars, each a ten-day period, that measure the length of the Egyptian civil year, less the five days that are outside of the year. These five epagomenal days are represented by the five stars which are enclosed in the *ḏuat*, (Plate 159) a mysterious and unseen region called the "Hidden Chamber" and as such appear to lie outside of the year. The thirty six decans and the five stars representing the days outside of the year, total forty one, another consecrated number to the ancient Egyptians. Previously considered of unknown origin and meaning,[761] it can now be safely identified at least on one level as a numerical representation associated with a complete cycle of time, the Egyptian civil year. The consecrated number, forty one, was incorporated into the architectural design of Djoser's Step Pyramid complex, which dates to the beginning of the Third Dynasty.[762] "When the civil calendar was invented, the heliacal rising of Sothis was its basis. That event took place on day nine of the first month, which was lunar, of course. If we follow Berlev this event would have occurred in regnal year eighteen of the pharaoh Djoser."[763] Perhaps the incorporation of the number forty one into the design of Zoser's complex was to commemorate and immortalize the advent of the creation of the Egyptian civil calendar into his House of Eternity. This tantalizing coincidence would appear worthy of a deeper investigation into the obscure origin of the Egyptian civil year.

Adding the six remaining stars that lie beyond Naunet's arched body, (Plate 159) brings the total number of stars in this composition to forty seven. As we have seen in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty Temple of Satet,[764] there are forty seven deities depicted in the innermost part of the temple. They also symbolize the Egyptian Dual Year, reconciling the lunar year with the Egyptian civil year.

Returning to the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the mysterious *ḏuat* (BD 168), the king is shown in three offering scenes before the gods and goddesses of the eleventh *qrrt*. (Plate 246) Its name is:

"She who clothes/veils the Weary One [Osiris]
who conceals that which is hidden/secret."[765]

This cavern represents a further development in the regeneration process of Osiris-Moon. After the necessary death in the ninth *qrrt*, Shentayet's presence and role is emphasized in the tenth *qrrt* by

761 J. Rousseau, "The Puzzle of the Consecrated Numbers" BSAK 2 (1988), 114.

762 Ibid., 115.

763 A. Spalinger, "The Beginning of the Civil Calendar", M. Barta, F. Coppens, J. Krejci (eds.) Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/1 (2011), 735.

764 See above 4.4.

765 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 162 and n. 1156.

her large size.[766] Her role, as on the first day of the annual Osiris Mysteries, is to initiate the renewal process by assembling and forming the in tact body of the corn mummy which represents the body of Osiris and specifically in the Osireion, that of Osiris-Moon. Here in the eleventh cavern the Weary One, Osiris is clothed. This stage can be likened to the wrapping of the mummy in linen bandages, a process that both protects and conceals the body of the Weary One, "whose weariness symbolizes the weakness of death."[767] This is an essential step in the rejuvenation process before the revivification of the in tact and protected body can occur. In a funerary context, the revivification is then achieved through the proper performance of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth.

As in the ninth and tenth caverns, the eleventh *qrrt* is also divided into two parts and contains a group of thirty one deities. It is formed by five groups of gods. The first is the Ennead of the Ruler of the West.[768] (Plates 245, 261) These nine gods are depicted on their biers "as prone figures with upraised heads are attested already from the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the Litany of Re, where they are identified as *wršjw*, 'awakened ones'".[769] Interestingly, they are the seventeenth manifestation of Re, a number sacred to Osiris.[770] The text adjacent to it indicates that the offering on earth is made to the *ɓa*, who is in the following of Re. This would equate to the *ɓa* of Osiris who is in the barque of Re at the time of the new moon. The text continues with stating that the king is before Osiris, the Foremost of the West, which can be interpreted here as the thirty one deities as the limbs or lunar phases of Osiris-Moon who are in the *ɗuat* i.e. at the time of the New Moon where they are in the process of being regenerated. Directly behind this Ennead are four gods with both arms raised, "the Ones who acclaim", *ḥknwty*.[771] (Plate 245) They may be connected or associated with the Jubilating One, who is the twenty-third manifestation of Re in the Litany of Re. Below the acclaimers in Piankoff's Group 3 of cavern 11 are the four *ɓas* of the Earth [who grant triumph/vindication to Osiris and the king over their enemies in the sky and the earth].[772] Below them are three more of the thirty one deities.[773] (Plate 245) The first is a striding god carrying the *wȝs*-scepter and an ankh. He is the *Ɓa* of the West, presumably a

766 Importantly, it is only in the Osireion version of BD 168 that the goddess, "the Mysterious/Hidden One" is explicitly identified as Shentayet. Also only here is the figure of the goddess outsized, suggesting a dominant role for her. They also serve to highlight the different use of the Osireion composition from the funerary nature of the other versions. Only p.BM 10478 also suggests a lunar interpretation for the Mysterious One because of the presence of the Udjat-eye in the vignette.

767 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 162.

768 *psḏt ḥqr jmnt* could also be translated as Ennead who rule the West. Piankoff Group 5 in cavern 11.

769 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques (2013), 11 n. 47.

770 A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 179.

771 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 166. Piankoff's Group 4 in cavern 11.

772 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 78; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127; and T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 127.

773 Piankoff's Groups 1 and 2 in cavern 11.

manifestation of Osiris-Moon. He is followed by an erect serpent on whose tail a goddess appears to be standing or, as illustrated in the papyrus of Amenhotep II, standing erect in front of the goddess. There is only a single caption for these two closely related deities variously translated as the Swallower (fem.), the Devouress of the Dead or the Python.[774] In a lunar context, her name suggests that the serpent here functions as the force which conceals the moon from the night sky by devouring it. Whereas the goddess, who is said to be able to keep Osiris sound/hale on behalf of the Great God who is in the netherworld,[775] represents and functions as the body of the goddess Nut who swallows the sun, the moon and the stars by which she affects their regeneration and rebirth.[776]

The final eleven deities in the group of thirty one are found in the middle register.[777] (Plate 245) The Ennead of Mourners (nine female deities):

> "The mourning Ennead, may they make mourning for Osiris N.
> Such as is made for Osiris."[778]

"In lines 223-4 of the Great Litany [of Re], crying assists in the glorification of the corpse of the sun [which is Osiris, of course]:

> 'The mourning ones toss their hair because of you,
> and they flail for you with their arms
> they cry out for you,
> and they scream for you,
> and they shed tears for you
> so that your *ba* rejoices when they scream,
> and your body becomes effective.'"[779]

Here we see a further stage in the unfolding of the process of re-memberment of the body of Osiris-Moon, as it is becoming effective *ɜḫ* through the cries, screams and tears of the ones who mourn. Similar to the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, the two great sisters mourn for Osiris causing the Moon to become hale through the naming of its parts.[780] Behind the Ones Who Mourn are two male

774 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 77; T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 166; and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

775 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 166.

776 The act of swallowing is a well attested magical technique with multiple functions. For example, see R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 102-110 and references.

777 Groups 10-12 in A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 82-83.

778 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 162-167. *psḏt jɜkhjw*, Ennead of Mourning Ones.

779 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995) PhD Dissertation, 266-267.

780 See above 4.6.

deities. (Plate 245) The Summoner:

> "He whom Re summoned.
> May he summon Osiris to Re and his Ennead." [781]

As we have repeatedly witnessed, Re's presence is essential for the regeneration of Osiris-Moon.

Of the god Iqen:

> "May he drive away all evil from Osiris forever." [782]

Positioned in the bottom register is the Ennead who hides Osiris [his body]. They are depicted in a most unusual stance and as such must be of great significance. (Plates 245, 262) The nine crouching male deities are all looking up over their shoulders directly at the giant winged sun disk above the tenth *qrrt* on the notional east wall, the place of sunrise. The winged sun disk contains the *ḥa* of Re, *bꜣ-n-Rꜥ*, the king, but also the *ḥa* of Osiris who travels with the sun god at the time of the rites for the New Moon. With the Ennead who conceals Osiris stands a mummified deity, the Face-Destroyer, or perhaps better here as Murray translated it, Destroyed of Face. [783] (Plate 262)

> "May you open the face [clear the vision] of Osiris
> that he may see the sunlight [of Re]." [784]

In a lunar context, the opening of the face could be equated to the waxing phase of the lunar cycle and to its culmination, the full moon. Recall that at the time of the full moon, both the moon and the sun are visible in the morning sky, so that Osiris-Moon could quite literally be said to see the sunlight of the shining sun, Re. The Destroyed of Face or Dwindled of Face, *ḥtm-ḥr*, [785] could be interpreted as representing the other half of the lunar cycle. Dwindled of Face is an apt expression for the waning moon. The Blacked-out Moon, which is not visible in the night sky, is clearly Destroyed of Face. Destroyed of Face as the Blacked-out Moon, the new moon at the start of the Egyptian lunar month initiates its own regenerative cycle, which is expressed as opening the face of Osiris-Moon until its culmination with the seeing of the sunlight of Re which occurs most prominently at the time of the full moon. Thus, the great significance of this unusual scene lies in its cryptic but concise expression of the full lunar cycle, that originates with the Blacked-out Moon in the *ḏuat* and manifests through the

781 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

782 Ibid., 127.

783 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 7.

784 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 167; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

785 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), plates 15, 30; and P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 688.

performance of the rites for the New Moon. The eyes of the nine deities who conceal the body of Osiris-Moon connect this cycle to *zp tpj* with the first sunrise, the prime act of creation.[786] So the invisible moon as the *ḥa* of Osiris who travels in the solar barque, signifying the start of the lunar cycle, simultaneously comes into existence with the prime act of creation.

The forward section of the eleventh *qrrt* can be divided into two groups of nineteen and ten deities. (Plate 246) Nineteen symbolizes the regenerative phase for Osiris-Moon. At the top are nine mummified gods with arms bent and concealed under their robes, each lying upon a serpent on their biers. Perhaps in a lunar context they are meant to symbolize the still hidden lunar phases signified by their concealed arms but now at a more advanced stage in the regenerative process. They are the Ennead in the following of [Osiris].[787] Before them stands Iqeh of whom it is said that he has the power to grant that Osiris be in the presence of Re, as he transverses the sky forever,[788] while Iqeh himself is:

> "in the following of Him,
> who dwells in the Place of Embalmment,
> Lord of the Sacred Land."[789]

The over-sized figure of the god Iqeh, *jqh*, dominates the top section of the eleventh *qrrt* and is juxtaposed to the large mummified figure of Destroyed of Face at the opposite end of the cavern at the bottom. (Plates 246, 245) This positioning would suggest a possible connection to the unfolding of the lunar cycle from the mummified Destroyed of Face, the invisible new moon, to the full moon, which the striding Iqeh places in the presence of Re.

Completing the group of nineteen deities are nine recumbent jackals on divine standards who "keep watch over Osiris (so that) he perishes not forever."[790] (Plate 246) In the context of the lunar cycle, perishing not forever means that the invisible new moon will not be trapped in the *ḏuat* and will reappear in the night sky with first crescent visibility as the new born Horus.

786 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 25.

787 Not legible. In the papyrus of Amenhotep II, the Ennead is in the following of Re. In p.BM 10478, the Ennead is in the following of Osiris. See A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 80 and plates 14 and 28. Both Allen and Faulkner have chosen Osiris: T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 166; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

788 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 166. Forever in the sense of an endless repetition of lunar cycles where, in particular, the full moon is seen in the morning sky with Re.

789 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

790 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 166.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

At the bottom of the eleventh *qrrt*, there are ten deities in two groups of five. (Plate 263) Ten is the number sacred to Horus as we have already encountered. Horus has strong ties to the moon and the lunar cycle. There is a clear reference to Horus connected with this group. According to a text in p.BM 10478, the making of an offering upon the earth to the ones who are with the coiled Serpent gains access to the Followers of Horus.[791]

The author of this composition which was designed specifically for ritual use in the Osireion on the first occasion, *zp tpj*, took great care to keep the deity count in the eleventh *qrrt* to seventy by omitting the four Embalmers of Osiris which are found in the funerary versions of BD 168 (Piankoff's group eight).[792] In a related context, the number seventy is significant in the regeneration process for the stars. Sothis-Isis, who opens the Egyptian New Year, remains in the *ḏuat* for seventy days before she is reborn and visible again in the night sky. So too for Osiris' stellar manifestation, Orion, who is part of the group of decanal stars the were created at *zp tpj* to be used in the night as the stellar gods who mark off the civil year and measure the hours of the night. Recall that we have already encountered this group of thirty six decans who are in the following of Osiris[-Orion] in the ninth cavern.

Visually, the twelfth *qrrt* appears in a somewhat different configuration than those for the ninth, tenth and eleventh caverns. It is dominated by two large groups, each of fourteen deities enveloped in the coils of serpents. (Plates 246, 264, 265) The focus here is no longer on a group of thirty one deities. The three deities which could be associated with or attributed to the phase of the new moon are not even present in this final region of the *ḏuat*.[793] The *ḫas* of the New Moon by definition never appear in the night sky, only the visible twenty eight phases of the lunar cycle do. They are depicted here as two groups of fourteen, representing the waxing and waning cycles of the moon. (Plates 246, 264, 265) The recumbent striding male deities in each group of fourteen are enveloped in the coils of the protective serpents and as such are not yet visible i.e. not born. The image created is that of a womb, out of which each successive phase will be born into the night sky. The deities, also fourteen in number but in groupings of seven and six together with the larger figure, who will animate each successive lunar phase are depicted directly behind the group of fourteen enclosed in the womb who are located at the top end of the cavern and as such will be the first to emerge and be born as the waxing phases of the moon. "According to the Egyptian view, on each of the fourteen successive days during the period of the moon's waxing a different divinity was thought to merge with that celestial body and restore one of its missing parts. These divinities constitute the Greater and Lesser Enneads which are said to have been created and equipped by Isis for the benefit of the sound eye.... The parts or components which they supply are called *dbḥw*, a term used indifferently of the constituent

791 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 106 and plate 30; T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 167; and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

792 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 81 and plates 14 and 28.

793 This is the case since there is no contiguous grouping of deities that can be assembled here that sum to thirty one as was the case in caverns nine, ten and eleven.

elements of the moon and those of the body of Osiris. The work of these deities is completed by Thoth on the fifteenth day of the lunar month. At this time, restored to a state of wholeness through their actions, Osiris may be said to enter the sound eye." [794]

The name given to the twelfth *qrrt* would appear to provide support for this collaborating function of the gods to bring about the birth of the visible forms as phases of the Moon. Rodriguez prefers Piankoff's translation.

> "The gods of the Twelfth Cavern in the Netherworld [*dwꜣt*]
> She who unites [*ꜥḥ(w)t*] the gods
> and embraces [*sḫn(w)t*] (their) manifestations [*sšmw*]." [795]

He points out that both verbs *ꜥḥ(w)t* and *sḫn(w)t* are participles with feminine endings and therefore must refer to the cavern, *qrrt*, and not the gods *nṯrw*. [796] Yet, while not as precise, Allen's translation does capture its essence.

> "The Gods of the Twelfth Cavern in the Netherworld [*dwꜣt*]
> (Where) the Gods are United [*jꜥḥt*]
> With (Their) Visible Forms [*sšmw*]." [797]

The ancient Egyptians' choice to use the verb, *jꜥḥ*, provides the key to understanding the purpose and function of the twelfth cavern. According to Wilson, the verb, *jꜥḥ*, 'to unite', is used "usually of the limbs of a dead person and primarily the body of Osiris." [798] In a lunar context, the limbs of Osiris-Moon here referred to as the visible forms, *sšmw*, are the visible phases of the waxing moon under preparation for the return to the night sky on the next day, *ꜣbd*, the second day of the lunar month.

It should be noted here that on the arms of the royal mummy of Osiris Tutankhamen l.p.h. Carter found "magnificent bracelets, seven on the right and six on the left forearm." [799] They included Khepri (scarabs) and their manifestations, the Udjat-eyes. "Their diameter shows that they had encircled a very small arm, none of them was of sepulchral nature, but all were obviously once personal ornaments that had been worn during life.... Upon the second and third fingers of the left hand was a gold ring:

794 M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 122. See above 4.6 for additional aspects of this process.

795 A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 49.

796 Private communication 2/24/2014.

797 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 167.

798 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 43.

799 H. Carter, The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, Vol. II (1927), 129-130 and plates XXXIII and LXXXVI. By their number, they may also subtly allude to the ancient and closely connected Sixth and Seventh Day Lunar Festivals, which were recorded in the Old Kingdom festival lists.

upon the bezel of one is the lunar barque on a deep blue [back]ground, upon the bezel of the other, that of the second digit, the king, minutely engraved in intaglio, is represented kneeling and offering the figure of Truth [Maat]."[800] Symbolically, they represent the same configuration of the groupings of seven and six gods of the Greater and Lesser Enneads in the twelfth cavern with the lunar barque on the finger as the fourteenth. The king presenting Maat, cosmic order, the fifteenth completes the waxing lunar cycle of rebirth.

While the text in front of the fourteen deities who will animate the phases of the waxing moon is not explicit, the portion that is offered to them on the earth by the king could in a ritual context symbolize the *dbḥw*. This group of fourteen deities which equate in function to that of the Greater and Lesser Enneads are identified here only by their location and not their function:

> "He of the river-bank
> [i.e. the western edge or side of the twelfth *qrrt* and]
> the Gods who are in [this] region of the *ḏuat*."[801]

But the location is of importance because it reveals the purpose of the twelfth *qrrt* as the staging ground for the moon's reappearance in the night sky. They like the fourteen deities who are before them are at the notional western end of the southern wall. Again this location has significance. Recall that the moon's reappearance in the sky occurs not in the east as the sun and stars do, but low in the western horizon at first crescent visibility. Because the twelfth cavern is in the *ḏuat*, the inversion principle applies such that the decoration on the southern wall is actually in the north from the perspective inside the underworld. At the time of the first occasion, first crescent visibility occurs at its northern extreme to which the Entrance Archway at the far end opposite the Annex is aligned. Out of the Blacked-out Moon, the first crescent is born at the beginning of the nineteen year lunar cycle from northern extreme to southern extreme and back. This nineteen year cycle is reckoned by the remaining nineteen divinities in this part of the twelfth cavern below the fourteen unborn phases of the waxing moon. (Plate 246) Their number symbolizing rebirth also reinforces the idea that this *qrrt* serves as the staging ground for the reappearance of the moon in the night sky, the goal of the rites for the New Moon. Central to this group of nineteen divinities are the eleven ram-headed poles. The opening scene in the Book of Gates identifies the ram-headed pole as:

> "This Head (is) the word of Command of the Greatest God
> when he raises His body."[802]

800 H. Carter, The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, Vol. II (1927), 129-130 and plates XXXIII and LXXXVI.

801 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

802 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 114.

It is depicted in the western desert mountain range where the newly born crescent moon will appear in the night sky on the first occasion. (Plate 67) "His Body" is the first crescent moon manifesting now as Horus, son of Re and son of Osiris. The eleven ram-headed poles as the commands of the Greatest God, Re, highlights the importance of this eleven year interval of the nineteen year Metonic cycle to the ancient Egyptians. We have already encountered this interval expressed by the deity count embedded in the structure of the second half of the Book of Caverns.[803]

Pictorially, the eleven commands of the Greatest God labeled, "those who are in charge of the secret things which are in [the sky and] the earth",[804] also serve to separate the two groups of fourteen deities in their protective serpent wombs. It creates a play on numbers such that the dismembered state of Osiris as the Blacked-out Moon is highlighted. Twenty eight minus eleven yields seventeen, the sacred number to Osiris of his death by dismemberment. In front of each of the two groups of fourteen deities, representing the waxing and waning phases of the monthly lunar cycle, are another four deities transforming them into a group of thirty six. Thirty six is the number of decans that mark off and measure the Egyptian civil year. (Plate 246) The thirty six divided into two separate groups of eighteen also represent the two distinct halves of the yearly solar cycle. From the start of the Egyptian civil year in the context of *zp tpj* on I *ꜣḫt* 1 at the summer solstice and the time of the Blacked-out Moon (new moon),[805] the sun moves along its southern course until the winter solstice. Then with the reversal in direction, the return cycle from the winter solstice where the sun god Re is at its southern extreme on the ecliptic back to the summer solstice at its northern extreme. Now include the eleven commands of the Greatest God who as "those who are in charge of the secret things, *štꜣw*",[806] could be as Darnell suggests "a personification of the corpse of the solar Osirian deity; in the fifty second address in the Great Litany [of Re] the sun god is *štꜣy/štꜣw*."[807] The total sums to forty seven (18 + 11 + 18), a number which explicates the dual Egyptian year as measured by the cycles of the sun and the moon and is found already in Hatshepsut's Eighteenth Dynasty Satet temple at Elephantine.[808]

Like the eleventh *qrrt*, the twelfth also contains a total of seventy deities corresponding to the amount of time each of the decanal stars spend in the *ḏuat* regenerating. Thus the stars, the sun, the moon and the interrelationships of their cycles, symbolized by the number nineteen, are found in the twelfth and final cavern. Because this composition is a creation text at *zp tpj*, all aspects of time that come into being on the first occasion apparently had to be expressed simultaneously and not just that for the moon and the lunar cycle which is the focus of the Osireion's version of BD 168.

803 See above 4.4.

804 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

805 As derived from the vignette of Nut in the Book of Nut in the Second Transverse Hall. See below 5.7.

806 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 127.

807 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books (1995), 285.

808 See above 4.4.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

The Brooklyn papyrus 47.218.50 "provides the ceremonial sequence of a Ptolemaic New Year festival for the king. Even at first glance there are striking parallels with scenes from the Heb Sed.... The text [even] explicitly refers to the Heb Sed.... The Brooklyn papyrus 47.218.50 thus constitutes an intact and independent source allowing a reconstruction of the Heb Sed ceremonial sequence."[809] Part of that sequence was the recitation of BD 168 and the making of offerings to the gods of the twelve caverns as part of the rituals performed in the House of Life.[810] The connection of BD 168 to the Heb Sed festival is a most interesting observation, particularly in light of the lunar connection for BD 168 in the Osireion as an integral part of the rites for the New Moon. Recall again Parker's statement: "It is my belief that the whole character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to have, ultimately, a lunar explanation. The dying Horus is the waning moon. Horus dead becomes Osiris, and the moon is invisible. The new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as the king of the dead and of his son and successor Horus as king of the living. The ceremony of the Sed is also understandable on a lunar basis. The king normally celebrated it for the first time in his 30th year. The 29 years he has reigned may be compared to the 29 days of the lunar month from the day of new crescent, the second day, to day 30. Like the moon, the king, Horus of the Living, has run his course. In his 30th year, *psḏntyw*, he dies and is reborn as the youthful Horus, the crescent moon, strong and vigorous."[811] The connection of BD 168 to the Heb Sed and in the Osireion with the rites for the New Moon is a decisive piece of evidence for the support of Parker's belief as to the importance the moon held in the concept of divine kingship.

The composition concerning the twelve caverns and their gods ends as it began with four columns of text on the notional west wall of the Annex next to the door. (Plates 256, 242) Symbolically, it marks the place of the birth of the moon, i.e. its return to the night sky low in the western horizon just after sunset. The texts are not written retrograde and so are part of the Way of Osiris. Each of the four columns is an invocation and a voice offering to Osiris which the king recites. Again it can be assumed that it is directed to the statue of Osiris:

> It is before you that I have come[812]
> Lord of the Sacred Land, Osiris, Ruler of Eternal Sameness (*ḏt*),
> having made what your *ḳa* desires in the land of the living.
> [The 18 offering scenes by the king said to be made 'on the earth'.[813]]

809 J. DeGreef, The Heb Sed Festival Sequence and p.Brooklyn 47.218.50" GM 223 (2009), 27.

810 Ibid., 31-32.

811 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80 n. 23.

812 As translated by L. Zabkar, "Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator" ZAS 108 (1981), 8.

813 Through the number 18, the 18 offerings by the king on the earth can be equated to the Greater and Lesser Enneads which Isis made for the moon, symbolizing the waxing and waning phases of the lunar cycle. See above 4.6, section on BD 42.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

It is before you that I have come
Lord of Eternal Sameness (*ḏt*), Wennefer, Son of Nut,
having made for you twice-great offerings
in your proper portions (?). [Reference to Thoth, twice-great, and the waxing and waning phases of the lunar cycle.]

It is before you that I have come
Lord of the West, Osiris, Great *Ba* in the *Duat.*
I have driven out evil, *jsft*, from this land
in order to cause contentment for your heart every day.

It is before you that I have come
Lord of the Necropolis, Lord of Eternal Recurrence (*nḥḥ*),
Ruler of the Westerners, having placed offerings for for *ḳa*
consisting of bread, beer, oxen and fowl. [814]

This concise and carefully crafted concluding text contains some subtle but important information about the function of this mysterious chamber. The key lies with the names and two epithets in the central portion of the text. They are Osiris, Great *Ba* in the *duat* and Wennefer, Son of Nut. (Plate 242, highlighted) At one level the Annex chamber can be interpreted as the womb of Nut, [815] where the Son of Nut is revivified becoming Wennefer, Beautiful of Face, as the soon to be visible reborn new crescent moon and at the same time the rejuvenated Osiris, who is the Great *Ba* in the *duat.* We further learn from the text in the first and last columns that Osiris is also invoked by the king as Ruler of *ḏt* time, Eternal Sameness, from which the Lord (and therefore possessor) of cyclical *nḥḥ* time arises. This *nḥḥ* time is expressed in the structure of the Book of the Twelve Caverns, *qrrt*, or divisions signifying the hours of the night which exist only in cyclical time. As the womb of Nut, it is also the place from which the sun god, Re, and the son of Re, the king are to be reborn. This event is depicted in the scene at the top of the notional eastern wall of the Annex, the place of sunrise. (Plate 245) The winged solar disk with the rebus of the king in tow is shown flying up out from the twelve caverns as Horus-Behedet. The scene is unique to the Osireion version of this composition. The gigantic size of Horus-Behedet in relation to the size of the other deities in the twelve caverns, alerts us to the importance that the sun god Re and the son of Re, the king as the living Horus, play in its unfolding.

814 Author's translation. See also M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 8.

815 The fragmentary text for the opening vignette of p.MMA 35.9.19 concerning BD 168 lends support to this type of interpretation:

"My soul is mine, my spirit is mine.
I was mighty in the belly [womb] of my mother Tefnut,
before being born.
My limbs are not weary..."

in A Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974), 47.

4. THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON

Furthermore, the Gods of the Caverns in the Mysterious *Ḏuat* can be interpreted as forming the structural fabric of cyclical time (*nḥḥ*) arising out of *ḏt* time on *zp tpj*. One cannot help to wonder if to the ancient Egyptian mind, in light of the frequent references to *nḥḥ* and *ḏt*, that it was time that created the cosmos and not the other way around.[816]

There is an analogous pairing of these concepts in the Litany of Re, the Book of Praising Re in the West [and] Praising the United One in the West,[817] which is partially carved on the architraves of the Central Hall. At the head of the group of the United One in the West, are "Djeda of the One Joined Together",[818] the united Re Osiris and "He at the Head of His Cavern",[819] [the Foremost of his *qrrt*] equate to the revivifying Wennefer, Son of Nut, who is the result of the union of Re with Osiris and Osiris, Great *Ba* of the *Ḏuat,* the new moon. At the head of the group of Re in the West are Khepri, "the Becoming One",[820] and "Re of the Disk (His Great Disk)"[821] which equates to the winged sun disk and the king together as Horus-Behedet rising out of the caverns.

The retrograde text to the right on the outside of the doorway to the Annex signals that the king had re-entered the Way of Re. (Plates 234, 233, 237) In the Book of the Two Ways the goal of the Way of Re is to enter into the presence of Re, which here is to enter the solar barque. The king recites a special version of BD 180 tailored to the task at hand, part of which is taken from the Litany of Re.[822]

> "Chapter for going out into the day,
> worshiping [adoring] Re in the West (and) in the sky,
> giving praise to those who are in the *ḏuat*;
> opening a path for my *ḥa* who is in the God's Domain,
> granting him his movements
> extending his strides in the God's Domain,[823]

816 For the importance of *nḥḥ* and *ḏt* see: J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 73-80; J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 25-27 and 56-59; E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt (1983), 183-184; P. Bochi, "Images of Time in Ancient Egyptian Art" JARCE 31 (1994), 55-62; E. Iversen, "*sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* and the Egyptian conception of time" DE 31 (1995), 69-79; L. Zabkar, "Some Observations on T. G. Allen's Edition of the Book of the Dead" JNES 24 (1965), 75-87; D. McBride, The Egyptian Foundation of Gnostic Thought (1994); S. Gregory, "On the Horus throne in Dt and nHH: changless time and changing times" OLA 265 (2017) and S. Gregory, Tutankhamun Knew the Names of the Two Great Gods (2022).

817 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 137.

818 A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 13.

819 Ibid., 13.

820 Ibid., 13.

821 Ibid., 13.

822 G. Lapp, The Papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA9900) The Texts of Chapter 180 (2002), 9. "The bulk of the text of Chapter 180 was taken from the Litany of Re..." Only about a quarter of the text for the other versions of BD 180 have been used with emendations to fit the needs for its ritual purpose in the Osireion. The emendations make a pars pro toto unlikely.

823 "Going in and out" (of the God's Domain) of the standard version of BD 180 is omitted from the Osireion version, presumably reflecting the fact that here in the eastern akhet it is only possible to go out into the day with the sunrise.

and taking the shape [form] as a living *ḅa*," [824]
by Osiris, king *Bɜ-n-Rᶜ*, son of Re, *Mr-n-ptḥ*, true of voice.
O Re who sets in Osiris [Plate 238],
(and) in his dawnings, [825]
Lord of the *aḳḥu* and the gods.
The Westerners they praise him,
Only you, not another, [know] the mysterious/secret places
Sacred Ram, as the Foremost [of the West]
Wennefer who shall exist in *nḥḥ* time together with *ḏt* time.
"How well provided are you" [826]
[lit. you of the beautiful face]
who are in the *ḍuat.*
Your son Horus is pleased with you,
"ordering governance for you. [827]
May you make him appear in your *ḍuat* place.
How sweet is your supervision in the *ḍuat*,
the terrace to the sky." [828]
I am the guardian of the gates
who comes(following) after Re.
I have offered offerings in the Field of Reeds, *jᶜrw*, [829]
and gifts, *ᶜwt*, in the earth in the Field of Reeds.
"I give judgment like Thoth" [830]
O you gods and royal ancestors
as you haul Re, haul my *ḅa*,
the ones with you and with my *ḅa* preeminent in the West.

In the context of the second ritual cycle, the primary purpose of this recitation is to assist in the king's departure from the *ḍuat* by going out into the day with the sunrise that marks the start of the second day

824 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 132.

825 Translated here in its astronomical sense of *ḥtp* as setting and *ḥᶜ* as sunrise.

826 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 132.

827 R. Faulkner translates this as "he [Horus] has taken over governance", which of course does happen. But J. Allen's translation "ordering governance for you [Osiris]" is more appropriate for the ritual use of BD 180 in the Osireion, in that it captures the paradox that arises from the verbal performance of this rite. The king is now the begetter and not the begotten and in that capacity establishes his father Osiris as the Ruler of the West.

828 My sincere thanks to James P. Allen for kindly providing me with his translation for this section, 6th column in on the right Plate 237.

829 As are depicted in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and eighth caverns of BD 168 in the Annex.

830 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 132.

of the lunar month. A number of conditions must be met for this to occur. They are affected by the king's reciting of the gods' words, the hieroglyphic text, thereby bringing them into existence i.e. causing them to occur. Proper praises to Re and the gods of the *ḏuat* opens the way for the king to travel freely through the God's Domain, specifically in his form as a living *ḥa*.[831] By calling out to Re, the king causes the sun god to set and rest in/unite with Osiris.[832] The text in the third column that expresses this is subtle and cleverly designed. (Plate 237) It contains the very essence of BD 180 and the transformations that can only be achieved in the *ḏuat* by uniting in a single column of text, the king, as a living *ḥa*, who by his recitation affects the union of Re with Osiris. "It is there stated [p.Salt 825] that the union of Re and Osiris is the key to rebirth: a mystery which is not to be divulged on pain of death... In becoming 'Osiris N.' [in this case the living *ḥa*, Osiris, king 'Ba-n-Re', son of Re, 'Beloved of Ptah', true of voice], the justified soul also takes on the attributes of Re..."[833] "Thus empowered, the individual travels through the body of the sky goddess to become a living *ḥa*", according to Hermsen in his study on the Book of Two Ways.[834] This critical but only temporary union results in the revivification of Osiris Wennefer so that he may exist in both *ḏt* time and *nḥḥ* time, where he will rule over the *ḏuat* at the command of his son, Horus.[835] The king enumerates the good deeds that he has performed. He acts as the guardian of the gates through which Re travels in the *ḏuat* and in the Fields of Reeds. As we have seen in the scenes of the twelve caverns, he has made offerings in the Field of Reeds. He also makes gifts in the earth in the Field of Reeds and these gifts are empowering to the recipients.[836] Leclant has observed "that the Field of Reeds, in contrast to the Field of Offerings, is a

831 The limited use of the king's designation as 'a living *ḥa*' in the Osireion would seem to imply that it had a special meaning and significance. There are only two existing cases. The first is here in BD 180 allowing the king to travel freely through the God's Domain so that he may be hauled out of the *ḏuat* along with the sun god to the solar day barque for the impending sunrise. Similarly, it is also found in the opening passages of BD 17 in the Sloping Passage, the beginning of the chapters for going out into the day as a living *ḥa*. This marks the beginning of the ascent out of the *ḏuat* in the third ritual cycle. See below 5.8. Both cases are related to the condition necessary for the king to be able to depart from the *ḏuat* and return with the sun god to this world with the sunrise. It would seem then that this must be the significance and purpose for this designation as a living *ḥa* for the king within the ritual context in the Osireion.

In Zabkar's study on the concept of the *ḥa*, he indicated that the expression "living *ḥa*" needs further study but offered a preliminary conclusion. "When occurring by itself, the phrase does not appear to have a specific meaning. The qualification 'living' is probably intended to emphasize the vitality of the *ḥa* , its 'liveliness' as a agent of so many afterlife activities. That 'living' is the imperfective active participle stresses the repeated and continuous activity of the *ḥa*." L. Zabkar, A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts (1968), 141-142. I would suggest that the more specialized use of the term 'living *ḥa*' in the Osireion is yet another example where BD texts were tailored to meet the ritual requirements.

832 See 6.2 below where it is so stated in the Speech of Thoth. This "close written association between Osiris and Re seems to be attested first in the Book of Two Ways..." T. DuQuesne, "Osiris with the Solar Disk" DE 60 (2004), 22.

833 T. DuQuesne, "The Osiris-Re Conjunction with Particular Reference to the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen (2006), 31.

834 Ibid., 31, citing E. Hermsen, Die Zwei Wege des Jenseits (1991), 54.

835 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation (2005), 188.

836 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 132.

place of passage as opposed to a place of rest, and that the Field of Reeds is specifically the place where the beneficiary is purified prior to his ascent to the sky."[837] Finally, as a rightful and just king who is true of voice he makes judgments issuing commands like Thoth. The quid pro quo for the king's actions is for the gods and royal ancestors to haul him with the sun god and the *ḥa* of the Foremost of the West out from the Field of Reeds along the terrace or stairway to the sky to the place of sunrise in the eastern akhet.[838]

This text is inscribed on the notional southern side of the eastern wall of the Antechamber which functions as the eastern akhet. The field of Reeds lies along the southeastern edge of the ecliptic at or near the eastern akhet.[839] Recall that this is symbolically the place of sunrise on the winter solstice, where the sun god reverses the course in his annual cycle to travel back across the ecliptic. It is also the time of the New Moon and initiates the start of the nineteen year lunar cycle at its northern extreme on the first occasion.

The *ḥa* of Osiris-Moon entered the solar barque ending last crescent visibility in the sky with the sunrise on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon. The *ḥa* of Osiris remains with Re until it reappears in the night sky with first crescent visibility which usually occurs on the second day of the lunar month shortly after sunset low in the western horizon.[840] While traveling with Re through the day sky and the *ḏuat*, marked by the moon's absence from the night sky, *psḏntyw*, Osiris-Moon is regenerated and transfigured. This period of transfiguration was also said to be the time of Horus' conception.[841] When the moon reappeared in the night sky, it appeared in its transfigured form as the vindication of Osiris, which is Horus, the newly reborn manifestation of Osiris, the young and vigorous Moon god.[842] The ancient Egyptians considered the second day of the lunar month, *ꜣbd*, with the return of crescent

837 H. Hays, "Transformation of Context: The Field of Rushes in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature" in S. Bickel, B. Mathieu (eds.), D'un monde a l'autre: Textes des Pyramides verses Texts des Sarcophages (2004), 181.

838 Osiris was known as the Lord of the Staircase. T. DuQuesne, "The Osiris-Re Conjunction" in B. Backes, Totenbuch-Forschungen (2006), 26-27.

839 H. Hays, "Transformation of Context" in S. Bickel, B. Mathieu (eds.), D'un monde a l'autre Textes des Pyramides vs. Texts des Sarcophages (2004), 177 n. 14.

840 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13. "In forty-six cases (70 per cent) [out of his sixty-five calculations] the crescent was visible on the evening of the day (*ꜣbd*) after that on which there was no lunar visibility in the morning (*pšḏntyw*). In the other nineteen cases (30 per cent), new crescent was first visible on the third day of the month, *mšpr*, which I have termed 'arrival' day."

841 Ibid., 59 and 12. As was also said to be the case for Khonsu, the Moon god of the Theban triad.

842 Because Osiris and Horus are one god, that of divine kingship in this world and the next, they are in effect the two sides of the same coin. This explains why these two deities could be and were equated with the moon. Recall that the left eye of Horus as the sound and restored Udjat-eye, representing the full moon, was given by Horus to his father Osiris to restore him. We also saw how Osiris was said to enter the moon when it was full, i.e. restored, complete. By the same token the new crescent moon appearing in the night sky is the newly born Horus but also at the same time Osiris "as he shrines forth from his temple at sun set" [Dendera text in R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 59-60.] The association of the moon with either Osiris or Horus depends on what aspect, usually of kingship, the text is emphasizing.

visibility in the night sky to be the birth of Horus. An entry from the Esna festival calendar supports this view:

> "Performing the ritual of the divine birth of Horus
> on the second day of this month IIII *prt* 28:
> Feast of Horus, son of Isis." [843]

There is another from the Edfu calendar:

> "On the second lunar day of this month was born Horus,
> son of Isis and Osiris." [844]

The tutelary deity of the second day of the lunar moon is " 'Horus, avenger [protector] of his father'. That suggests some connection with Osiris." [845] That connection as van Dijk noted is "the resurrection of Osiris in the form of his son Horus...", [846] here as the new crescent moon.

On the lintel above BD 180 are traces of a barque scene and text describing the sunrise ending the day of the Blacked-out Moon and beginning day two of the lunar month, *ꜣbd*, with the return of the new crescent moon to the night sky, the goal and culmination of the rites for the New Moon. (Plate 233) The text is BD 133, originally part of the Book of Two Ways (CT 1029), which has been described in detail. [847] It is one of the relatively small number of chapters in the Book of the Dead which was to be recited on a specific day of the month, the year or a certain festival. [848] Interestingly, those who have translated this text do not agree on what day it was to be recited. For example, Faulkner, Lucarelli and Milde suggest it is the first day of the lunar month, the day of the Blacked-out Moon. Whereas Allen and Eaton have chosen the second day of the lunar month, that of the day of first crescent visibility. [849] In light of its use in the Osireion rites for the New Moon on both the first and second days of the lunar month, it can be assumed that the ancient Egyptians intended it to be used for either or both days.

With the sunrise on the second day of the lunar month, the *ḥa* of Osiris again leaves the *ḏuat* with

843 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 59-60.

844 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 59.

845 Ibid., 59.

846 J. van Dijk, "Early Christian Apocrypha and the Secret Books of Ancient Egypt" in A. Hilhorst, G. van Kooten (eds.), The Wisdom of Egypt (2005), 422.

847 See above 4.5.

848 K. Eaton, "Monthly Lunar Festivals in the Mortuary Realm" JNES 70 (2011) 234. Only 9% of the chapters (17 of 192). I thank her for kindly providing me with a copy of her article.

849 Ibid., 234 n. 79; T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 108; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 21; R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead Of Gatseshen (2006), 74; H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1997), 160.

the sun god in the solar barque. They travel across the sky and set in the western horizon, entering the Osireion where the second ritual cycle will come to an end and the first ritual cycle begins anew. The *ḥa* of Osiris returns to his throne to take up residence in his image which is depicted on the notional southern wall of the Entrance Passage, adjacent to the opening scene of the Book of Gates. (Plate 64) This is in preparation for the god's visible manifestation as the new crescent moon to reappear in the night sky during the first hour of the night, which the ancient Egyptians viewed as an interstitial realm preceding the *ḏuat* proper.[850] It is from this entrance in the western horizon which corresponds to the opening scene of the Book of Gates, directly behind the enthroned and newly invigorated Osiris, that the new crescent moon reappears in the night sky low in the western horizon. The moon's visibility concludes the rites for the New Moon. If the moon did not appear in the night sky on the second day of the lunar month, *ꜣbd*, the ritual was in all likelihood to be repeated ensuring its successful return on the third night, *mšpr*.[851]

The linking of the new crescent's reappearance in the night sky with the opening scene of the Book of Gates ties together the two ritual cycles, that of the nightly journey of the sun god through the *ḏuat* when the moon is visible in the sky and the moon's monthly return to the *ḏuat*, seamlessly forming a single continuous monthly cycle for the movements of the moon and the sun. These two ritual cycles serve a common purpose that of regeneration and renewal for both Re and Osiris in an eloquent display of maat. One cannot exist without the other and the same holds for the cosmos itself.[852]

In the context of *zp tpj*, the continuous cycle represents the first appearance of the moon in the night sky of the newly created cosmos at the beginning of the first monthly cycle at the start of its twelve and thirteen month lunar years. The alignment of the Entrance Archway subtly suggests that it is also the start of the nineteen year cycle, marking the moon's journey across the sky from its northern extreme. This nineteen year period also reconciles and realigns the movements of the sun god Re with the moon god Osiris-Horus, as expressed in the first and second ritual cycles in the Osireion. The Book of Gates is the nightly journey of the sun god and, by the composition's strategic location in the Entrance Passage also that of the annual journey across the ecliptic. The Book of Caverns together

850 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 59. It should be clear by now that the manifest form of Osiris as the new crescent moon is Horus, son and incarnation of Osiris.

851 The repetition of the ritual was not an infrequent event, occurring about 30% of the time.

852 This concept is at the very essence of the ancient Egyptians' understanding of cosmology. In the famous passage from BD 175 concerning the destruction of the created universe, Atum says:

> "I will dispatch the Elders and destroy all that I have made;
> the earth shall return to the Primordial Waters,
> to the surging flood, as in its original state.
> But I will remain with Osiris.
> I will transform myself into something else,
> namely a serpent, without men knowing or the gods seeing."

For without Osiris even Atum, the creator, could not exist. Quote from: R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 29.

with the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) details the creation and regeneration of the moon god and its monthly lunar cycle.

The linkage of Re with Osiris for their mutual existence symbolizes the unity of creation, Maat, giving depth to the meaning of the opening scenes to the first ritual cycle and the culmination of the second ritual cycle. The king, now as the creator by virtue of his performance of the rituals, offers Maat to the solar deity Re-Horakhti and the lunar deity, Osiris, the Lords of Maat, (Plate 64) following the scene of the king invoking Atum and the creation of the cosmos itself. (Plates 61, 63)

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.1 MESSAGE IN STONE

Engraved on a block of sandstone in the Entryway of the Central Hall is this message:

> "The throne of Geb has been alloted to [Horus] and
> the potent [functional] office of Atum has been confirmed in writing
> in a testament [*jmyt-pr*] which has been engraved on [this] block of sandstone,
> according as your father Ptah-Tatenen commanded from upon the great throne." [1]

With this testament, *jmyt-pr*, written in stone, the means for royal succession has been reestablished from father Osiris to Horus as the son and legitimate heir after the Amarna Hersey that had abolished it. It was necessary for Seti to reach back to the very beginning of time on the first occasion to restore maat and by so doing legitimize his fledgling dynasty. With the recitation of these words by the living Horus to his father, Osiris, his vindication has been foretold and thereby magically assured.

The architectural design, alignment, decoration and location of the Osireion unite to define its sacred space. It is a unique structure in many respects. Foremost among them is that this temple is subterranean by design, placing the chief cult center for Osiris in its proper realm, that of the underworld over which he rules.

"Abydos' place in Egyptian history is of extraordinary significance", [2] of which the Osireion and

1 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 134. Amended from third person to first person as is found in the other Chapters of the Book of the Dead. The probability is high that Chapter 183, first attested in the Nineteenth Dynasty, was written specifically for the Osireion.

2 D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009), 9.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years are an integral part. It is the burial ground for the kings of the First and Second Dynasties including Osiris himself, tying the site to the origins of the formation of the Egyptian state and dynastic rule.[3] It was "the major cult center, literally over millennia, for the god Osiris, ruler of the dead",[4] standing at the gateway to the Underworld. "At one level, Osiris' myth provided the model for ensuring all Egyptians could survive after death; at another, it structured the system of royal succession in Egypt, for Osiris, once ruler of the living, was eventually succeeded as such by his legitimate heir, his posthumously conceived son Horus."[5] "No other myth (or cycle of myths) was even remotely as intensely woven into the cultural life of ancient Egypt, or in so many ways [as the myth of Osiris].... Nevertheless, it remains true that the myth of Osiris retained a distinctly political dimension of meaning, so that it can be designated, with complete justification, as the mythic articulation of the Egyptian concept of state."[6]

The entrance to the Osireion is in the notional west in this monument dedicated to the Ruler of the West. Named by the reigning king, it was called "Men-maat-Re [Seti I] l.p.h. Is Beneficial for Osiris". Recall that the size of this subterranean structure is twice the size of the king's own magnificent tomb (KV 17) and most likely larger than any other subterranean structure in Egypt, attesting to the importance of this monument.[7] Through its design of six major chambers and corridors forming two distinct parts, (Plate 24) its lunar aspects are highlighted,[8] as does the presence of the first attested copy of the Book of Caverns decorating the left (lunar) wall of the Entrance Passage, with its six divisions and two distinct halves.[9] Six is the number of pieces that are restored by Thoth to make the left lunar eye of Horus complete – the Udjat-eye, the sound eye. Their significance lie in their ability to reconcile the two times – lunar and solar. Together they express the relationship of the length of a synodic month, one complete lunation, to that of the fixed thirty-day month of the solar based civil calendar with uncanny precision.[10] Recall too that the Osireion's Entrance Archway, slightly skewed to the axis of the Entrance Passage points to the moon when it is at its northern extreme, marking the start

3 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 148. "In Cemetery B, the graves of the Dynasty 0 kings Narmer, Iry-Hor and Qa'a lie alongside the grave of Aha, first ruler of the 1st Dynasty; and those of his successors extend off the the southwest, along with that of queen Merneith."

4 Ibid., 9.

5 Ibid., 16.

6 J. Assmann, The Search For God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 124.

7 See above 2.2 for size comparisons.

8 They symbolize the six parts of the Udjat-eye, the left lunar Eye of Horus and the waxing and waning phases of the monthly lunar cycle.

9 See above 4.3.

10 See above 2.2.

of its nineteen year journey across the sky until its return. This nineteen year cycle also reconciles and realigns the movements of the sun with those of the moon.[11] Subterranean and therefore concealed, its celestial counterpart however is normally not. It is the moon. The waxing moon manifests as Horus, more precisely as the left eye of Horus.[12] First crescent visibility marked his birth until the Udjat-eye was complete. Then Osiris was said to enter at the time of the full moon.[13] The waning phase symbolically marked his dismemberment until his death when he returned to the *ḏuat* at the time of the Blacked-out Moon, only to begin the cycle anew after the rites for the New Moon were administered by the king. Horus is conceived during the Blacked-out Moon. The vindicated Osiris would reappear low in the western horizon as if out from the Entrance Archway of the Osireion as the newly born Horus. As Parker described it: "The new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as king of the dead and of his son and successor Horus king of the living."[14] The tutelary deity of the new crescent day, *ꜣbd,* is Horus Protector/Avenger of His Father, *ḥr nḏ jt.f.*[15] "this form of Horus refers to the vindication of his claim to succeed Osiris, rescuing his father's former earthly domain [Upper and Lower Egypt] from the usurper Seth"[16] [and it should be added the heretic Akhenaten], which is at the same time the vindication of Osiris. Recall that this is the manifestation of Horus who is depicted rejuvenating his father in the "Way of Osiris", an adaption of the Book of Two Ways found in the Antechamber.[17] Here we see clearly "the mutually dependent, co-incarnation of Horus-Osiris as two aspects of a single, divine being."[18] It expresses the cycle of one god in two persons – Osiris and Horus, the moon and divine kingship. The rites for the New Moon were conducted in the upper part of the temple, the lower parts were reserved for the climax to the mysteries of Osiris, the posthumous conception of his son, Horus, on I *prt* 1.

The shape of the Sloping Passage that leads down to the Central Hall complex of three chambers, the lower *ḏuat*, architecturally bears a striking resemblance to the design of the depictions of the fourth hour of Amduat, a region called Rosetau. "Here the landscape abruptly changes into a barren desert populated by serpents.... The fourth and fifth hours [of Amduat which correspond to the Sloping Passage and Central Hall in the Osireion] form the 'Land of Sokar, who is upon his sand', Sokar being

11 See above 4.4.

12 Also as Thoth and Khonsu. R. Parker, The Calenders of Ancient Egypt (1950), 12.

13 M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 121.

14 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

15 Ibid., 59.

16 G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986), 90.

17 See above 4.5-4.7.

18 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 134-135.

originally the god of the Memphite necropolis, but in the New Kingdom equated with Osiris".[19] This is attested by the many manifestations of Osiris as Sokar in the Litany of Osiris (BD 142) in the Antechamber. Murray also pointed out that: "In the temple of Seti at Abydos one part of the building is dedicated to Sokar. Twelve of the titles which he bears there are the same as those of Osiris in this inscription [BD 142]."[20]

The zig zag shape of the Sloping Passage mirrors that of the lower section of the fourth hour Amduat from the door in the middle register to the door at the bottom end of the fourth hour that opens to the very depths of the underworld. (Plates 330, 42) Its texts describe the ritual path that the king must follow to enter the House (and temple) of Osiris which is in the lower *ḏuat* and the Place of Destruction.[21] This is the place of the final annihilation, but also where regeneration and renewal begins. Traces were found for a door hinge at the bottom of the Sloping Passage, mirroring the door depicted at the end of the fourth hour. Most probably, there was also a door at the upper end of the Sloping Passage as suggested earlier, although no traces were found since it is in a ruinous state due to subsequent quarrying.

Lunar symbolism dominates the decoration of the lower section of the fourth hour Amduat. According to Manassa, "the Book of Gates as well as the Judgment Hall of Osiris all possesses latent lunar imagery, presented for the first time in the present work [The Late Egyptian Underworld]. Fortunately, these interpretations are supported by more apparent references to the lunar cycle, such as the group of fourteen heads, stars and disks in the lower register of the fourth hour of Amduat."[22] Closer inspection of this scene reveals that there are actually two rows of heads crowned with solar disks and two rows of stars. (Plate 332) The fourteen heads crowned with solar disks would appear to refer to the waxing phase of the lunar cycle. Recall that Horus was born on the day of first crescent visibility (day 2 of the lunar month) and his well known close association with solar symbolism as the son of Re. The fourteen stars could equate to the waning phase of the lunar cycle. The twenty eight figures are all depicted directly above a three-headed serpent, 'The One Who Moves', *mn mnw*. (Plate 332). The One Who Moves may be interpreted as a reference to the moon god, who moves across the sky nightly in its twenty eight visible phases as the waxing and waning moon. The three-headed serpent according to the text is the secret/mysterious image of the Imhet, *jmḥt*. It is an integral part of the scene with the twenty eight figures and signifies the new moon which is not visible in the night sky i.e. secret and mysterious because it is in the *ḏuat*, specifically identified here as the region Imhet at the depths of the underworld.[23] The three heads of the serpent at one level represent and correspond to the maximum number of days between last crescent visibility and the return of the crescent moon to the

19 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat, The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 113.

20 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 17.

21 See below 5.3.

22 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 180.

23 "In the Amduat *jmḥt* is a region of the underworld in the 4th and 5th hour of Sokarland [E. Hornung, Das Amduat II (1963), 82 n. 11]." P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 79.

night sky with first crescent visibility. Thus in a lunar context, the combined scene of the three-headed serpent and the twenty eight figures above it may be interpreted as a representation of all possible combinations for a single lunation. (Plate 332) As we have seen, the use of the number thirty one to express the lunar cycle is found in the first gate of the Book of Gates (scenes 2 and 3); the third hour (scene 11); and in the eleventh hour (scenes 69, 79, 80 and 81). It is also found in the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) in the tenth hour, where the thirty one recumbent deities are labeled the 'Limbs of Osiris'. At the same time, the texts indicate that the secret/mysterious image of the Imhet, the three-headed serpent is intimately connected to "the birth of Khepri, who goes forth from the faces of the 'He who moves'-serpent."[24] As suggested, the serpent 'He who moves' is a representation of the lunar phase when the moon is not visible in the night sky because it is in the *ḏuat* i.e. the Blacked-out Moon. It is said that Horus was conceived on *psḏntyw*, the day of the Blacked-out Moon. So that here both Khepri and Horus-Moon arise out of the mysterious region of Imhet at the time of the New Moon. This connection at the depths of the *ḏuat* between the lunar cycle, the limbs of Osiris, and the solar cycle, the birth of Khepri – the newly born sun god, appears to be linked through Horus, the son of Osiris and the son of Re. "Khepri himself is depicted as a winged solar disk above the final deities of the [lower] register [of the fourth hour of Amduat] with a brief inscription: (Plate 332)

'He remains in his shape of the multicolored plumed god (Horus of Edfu).'

According to the Nut Picture in the [Second Transverse Hall of the] Osireion at Abydos, the Sun God changes in the morning into the image of Horus of Edfu [Behedet] i.e. into the winged scarab."[25] So it would seem that we have another example of Osiris as the father who begets his son Khepri, that is to say Horus of Behedet, the sun god.[26]

'He who is in the sky',[27] (Plate 332) a male figure with one arm raised immediately brings to mind another important astronomical figure to the ancient Egyptians, the constellation Orion, the stellar manifestation of Osiris who in the Book of Caverns is ordered by the sun god to protect his son Horus and affix his divine eye, the Udjat-eye, while he is in the West – the *ḏuat.*[28] Before discussing the goddess Maat who is the final figure standing before the open door, the scene in the middle register of the fourth hour needs to be addressed. Here before Osiris, Thoth who restored the injured eye of Horus

24 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 132-133 figure 327.

25 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 55 and n. 32 on 311.

26 See above 4.3.

27 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 132-133.

28 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 25-260; and above 4.3.

returns the sound eye to a falcon-headed deity 'He with extended arm'.[29] (Plate 331) Here the eye is called the (Eye of) Sokar.[30] This deity is most probably Sokar but in the fifth hour of Amduat as we will learn, Sokar is the mysterious unknown, unseen imperceptible image of Horus himself.[31] So this scene is a clear lunar reference to the myth of the restored eye of Horus, the left lunar eye and its safe return which occurs in the Land of Sokar.

The end of the bottom register of the fourth hour of Amduat like the vignette and text at the bottom of the Sloping Passage both concern Maat who holds the key to the identification and function of the First Transverse Hall.[32] The design of the lower half of the Osireion also has a subtle but important relationship to the layout of the sarcophagus chambers of Thutmose III and his son Amenhotep II, in particular, with respect to the placement of the hours of Amduat in relation to the side chambers and the message these relationships contain. In Thutmose III's tomb, the fourth hour of Amduat is placed around the entrance to his sarcophagus chamber. (Plate 335) A zigzag path through the fourth hour symbolizes the descent to the lower *duat*.[33] (Plate 330) In both tombs each of the four subsidiary rooms off the Sarcophagus Chamber were fitted with single-leafed wooden doors.[34] There is also an opening to one of these side chambers directly in front of the depiction of the fifth hour. (Plates 336, 334) This side chamber corresponds to the First Transverse Hall in the Osireion. From the sequential arrangement of the hours in the tomb of Amenhotep II and the final text and vignette at the bottom of the Sloping Passage, (Plates 334, 271) the identity of the First Transverse Hall can be established with certainty, even though its decoration is almost completely destroyed. At the bottom of the fourth hour of Amduat, the goddess Maaty (written with the double feathers of Maat) stands in front of an open door leading into a chamber. (Plate 332) In the sarcophagus chamber of Amenhotep II, that side room separates the fourth hour of Amduat from the fifth, the Cavern of Sokar. (Plate 334) The goddess' presence here serves a dual function. At the entrance to the deepest part of the *duat* she signifies that maat, that is cosmic order, holds true here as well. The fact that she stands behind Orion and is depicted in front of an open door indicates that we are about to enter the Hall of Two Truths. It should be noted here that by Piankoff's numbering scheme for the hours of the Book of Gates, it places the Judgment Hall of Osiris in this same location, between the fourth and fifth hours. Furthermore, in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the scene before Maaty clearly separates the solar disk from each of the heads. (Plate 333) This subtlety is unlikely to have been “coincidental” because the figure count is altered in

29 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 126.

30 Ibid., 126.

31 Ibid., 142; see below 5.1.

32 See below 5.1.

33 See above 2.2 for a detailed description of the physical design and architectural features of the lower half of the Osireion.

34 C. Roehrig, “Gates to the Underworld: The Appearance of Wooden Doors in the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings” in R. Wilkinson (ed.), Valley of the Sun Kings (1995), 84-87 and 102-104.

the tomb such that there are now forty two figures which, of course, is the number of assessors in the Hall of Two Truths reinforcing the identity of the chamber about to be entered as the Hall of Two Truths. This is a excellent example of Hornung's observation "for careful differentiation is one of the most distinctive features of Egyptian thought." [35]

The connection between the chamber about to be entered between the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat is made explicit in the architectural design of the Osireion and its texts and vignettes. The vignette at the end of the Sloping Passage shows the king wearing the blue crown standing in front of a shrine with its door also open. (Plate 271) Seated inside the shrine are a long row of deities, originally without doubt forty two in number, representing the forty two assessors of the judgment tribunal in the Hall of Two Truths, and corresponding to the forty two addresses by the king to these forty two judges in the text of the so-called negative confession (BD 125B) found directly below the vignette of the shrine of the Hall of Two Truths.[36] The final text at the bottom of the Sloping Passage below the vignette of the shrine explicitly identifies the room that the king is about to enter i.e. the First Transverse Hall. It states: (Plate 276, top register column 89)

r ḏdwt ḫft spr r wsḫt nt mɜʿty

"Spell to be recited when arriving at the Hall of Two Truths" [37]

Here in its ritual context, BD 125 serves not as a "judgment" but rather as a final purification rite essential for the king as ritualist to undergo in order to be able to enter into the divine presence of his father Wennefer. [38]

Beyond the purification Hall of Two Truths lies the Central Hall. It is unique in architectural design and an engineering marvel. (Plates 291, 44, 31, 293) Even today it is still not known how the ancient Egyptians were able to build it. [39] The Central Hall and adjoining Second Transverse Hall behind it encompasses an area slightly larger than Seti's entire tomb (KV 17) at 656 sq. meters (7144 sq. ft.). The Central Hall is 31 meters (102 ft.) long by 17 meters (56 ft.) wide, an area of 527 sq. meters (5673 sq. ft.). The island in the Central Hall alone is more than twice the size of Seti's spacious burial chamber at 264 sq. meters (2842 sq. ft.). Its architectural features reveal its purpose. It is an

35 E. Hornung, Concepts of God in Ancient Egypt (1982), 240.

36 Frankfort does not state the number of deities contained in the row that ran to the end of the wall, nor does a negative still exist in the E.E.S. Archives that details this part of the Sloping Passage.

37 Author's translation.

38 See below 5.3 for a detailed discussion of this text just as we find in the later Graeco-Roman temples. See J. Gee, "The Use of the Daily Temple Liturgy in the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen (2006), 73-74.

39 See above 1.5.

immense recreation of *zp tpj, tɜṯnnt-pr* as is expressed in the Cavern of Sokar, the fifth hour of Amduat at the depths of the underworld. [40] Here, the dark waters of the Nun meet the lower *ḏuat* where creation began to unfold with the appearance of Tatenen, the rising or distinct land, out of primordial watery abyss of non-existence on the first occasion. All the main elements of the fifth hour were incorporated into the design and decoration of the Central Hall, and as a result it is quite literally an architectural rendition of the fifth hour of Amduat. It is as its name implies – "What is in the Hidden Chamber". (Plates 337, 338, 339, 340)

The waters surrounding the island are the waters of the primordial abyss of pre-creation, the Nun. "In the Book of Amduat, the Lake of Fire is represented in the lower register of the Fifth Hour. [41] It occupies the whole lower register above the sand, and is represented as an oblong. It is half-filled with wavy lines to enable the insertion of a text. The water lines are [can be] painted bright red." [42] "Its red wavy lines indicate that it is the 'Lake of Fire' in which the condemned are punished, while the blessed dead find refreshment in its 'cool' sea of flames. A short explanation stresses that the solar barque does not touch these waters:

> 'Waters, which the deities in the Imhet (Realm of the Dead) mourn for.
> The barque cannot pass by these waters,
> the Ones of the Underworld cannot take possession of their water
> since their water is fire for those who are in the (this Necropolis)'." [43]

The oblong shape suggests that it surrounded the Cavern of Sokar at the depths of the Underworld where the primordial abyss of the Nun, described here as the Lake of Fire, meets the lower *ḏuat*, just as the waters of the moat surround the island in the Central Hall. (Plate 44) The island represents the rising or distinct land, Tatenen, that emerges out from the watery abyss on the first occasion. It contains the egg of Sokar. Recall that seismic surveys have shown that the man-made island is not solid, indicating that there is a cavity or cavities inside the island. [44] This inaccessible cavity or cavern, in all probability, was meant to be the oval cavern of Sokar as it is depicted in the fifth hour. Note too that the cavern is directly below a large mound which protrudes up into the middle register. (Plates 340, 341) This large mound can be equated to the island in the Central Hall and within it, the secret oval cavern of Sokar. "The Oval which could also mean the dung ball of the scarab is embedded between

40 See above 1.4. The immense effort here by Seti to recreate the first occasion, zp tpj, as part of his declared era of Renaissance (*wḥm mswt*) underscores how essential this program was to his claim to the legitimate right to rule.

41 Scene forty one of the Book of Gates (Plate 100) contains the fiery hole. "This cavity of fire is described as another variant of the Lake of Fire." See E. S. Abbas, The Lake of Knives and the Lake of Fire (2010), 31. Interesting, if one chooses Piankoff's numbering scheme for the hours of the Book of Gates, then scene forty one falls in the fifth hour just as it is found in the fifth hour of Amduat. In both cases it is located in the bottom register.

42 E. S. Abbas, The Lake of Knives and the Lake of Fire (2010), 30.

43 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 64.

44 See above 2.2.

the two heads of the double-sphinx Aker."[45] Inside this cavern is a depiction of the 'image' of the hawk-headed Sokar arising out from the body of a serpent with three serpent heads at one end and a human head at the rear end. (Plate 342) Sokar grasps the wings of the serpent who is "The Greatest God Who Opens His Wings Out Wide, The One With Multicolored Feathers" and Sokar is called here "The Flesh of Sokar Who Is On His Sand."[46] Hornung takes this composite 'image' to be the sun god.[47] The introductory text to the fifth hour explicitly identifies this god:

> "Unknown, unseen, imperceptible
> is this image of Horus himself (Sokar)."[48]

Sokar manifests as Horus as he rises up/is born out of the body of the serpent, 'The Greatest God Who Opens His Wings Out Wide, The One With The Multicolored Feathers'. Conceptually, this is exactly as the depiction in the Book of the Earth, Scene 14, (Plates 362, 363) in the Second Transverse Hall where Horus rises out of the body of Osiris, where "the text states unambiguously:

> 'the Behdetite (i.e. Horus), he emerges
> from the corpse of his father [labeled the 'corpse of Osiris']."[49]

Here too Isis and Nephthys like the two kites on the mound of Osiris in the fifth hour Amduat are on either side of the oval. (Plates 364 and 340, 341) "The oval, within which Horus's birth takes place, is identified in the annotation as *nnw.t,* a word that originally signified the dung ball of the scarab beetle. Its use here was doubtless meant to evoke the beetle's perceived parthenogenesis and the associated concept of solar rebirth. Van Dijk has suggested that the representation in the Book of the Earth was meant to convey the notion of Osiris's resurrection through the birth of his son..."[50] This oval dung ball with its three-headed serpent on another level could also be interpreted as representing the exact place in the *ḏuat* where the Blacked-out Moon spends its three days.[51] Thus it is where Horus is conceived and will be born. The human head at the tail of the serpent, symbolizing the place of birth, suggests that it is the living Horus, the king who will be born.

45 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 63.

46 Ibid., 63.

47 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat, The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 168.

48 Ibid., 142.

49 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 172-173.

50 Ibid., 173.

51 As we have already seen from the fourth hour of Amduat in the bottom register, the three-headed serpent is a representation of the maximum period of the duration for the Blacked-out Moon. Here in the fifth hour, it seems also to have the added dimension of place as well as time.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

This 'image' of Horus himself, I suggest is still standing within the oval cavity of the island, unknown, unseen and imperceptible, since it is inaccessible even to this day, because of its location deep inside the fifteen meter tall impermeable sandstone island surrounded by water which cannot be drained and just as depicted in the Amduat at the depths of the fifth hour.[52] Furthermore, I suggest that this image of Horus-Sokar would be made of gold, immutable and eternal like the Golden Horus himself and that he bears the cartouche of *Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ*. This is not as far-fetched as it initially might seem. One need only consider the intriguing double room complex, one on top the other, behind the Osiris Complex in the main temple, Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. The rooms are quite large. Each measures about 10.5 meters (34.4 ft.) long and 40 meters (131 ft.) wide and 3.0 meters (9.8 ft.) high.[53] They are undecorated. There are no windows or doors and they are isolated from the rest of the temple and completely inaccessible. Their purpose, too, is unknown. "According to Mariette, in other temples similar souterrains have been found, blocked in a similar manner, after they had been filled with certain sacred objects. One acceptable explanation therefore is that these rooms were used as a depository for sacred objects possibly placed there when the temple was consecrated."[54]

The parallels to the fifth hour do not stop here. The mound protruding into the middle register is surmounted by the head of Isis. (Plates 341, 342) This is not coincidental and of great importance for Isis holds the key to the ultimate function of the Osireion. After appearing only three times out of the 335 deities depicted leading into the fifth hour of Amduat, Isis now assumes a crucial role. In the top register, she appears as part of the Heliopolitan Ennead where Atum has been replaced by Khepri, the rejuvenated Atum as the newly born sun god, and Seth by Horus of the *ḏuat*, perhaps the depicted Horus-Sokar, shifting the emphasis of creation on the first occasion to that of "the continuity of creation … creatio continua (continuous creation)".[55] Isis next appears again in the upper register of the fifth hour, this time in the form of a kite, who along with Nephthys the texts say guards the burial mound of Osiris at the command of the sun god so that the image contained therein remains concealed. (Plate 340) Importantly, that image in the introductory text to the fifth hour is described as the flesh, *jwf* [the nocturnal form of the sun god in the Amduat] and body [*ḏt* a play on words implying the body of Osiris] as the first manifestation Re-Osiris in the unapproachable place of the Land of Sokar. As we have seen, the text declares:

> "Unknown, unseen, imperceptible is this image of Horus himself."[56]

This is quite a revelation. Not only is Horus a result of the union of Re and Osiris, he is also the first manifestation, the begotten as the begetter as the product of the Heliopolitan creation process. It is no

52 For the failed attempts to drain the water surrounding the island in the Central Hall see above 1.5.

53 O. Sety, H. el Zeini, Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt (1981), 179-180.

54 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 151.

55 A. Schweizer, The Sungod's Journey through the Netherworld (2010), 104-105.

56 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 141-142.

coincidence that the first mention of Re-Horakhti in the Amduat is also found here. Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, is the form of the sun god regenerated that results from the union of Re with Osiris.

The two kites on either side of the burial mound of Osiris in the top register are nevertheless still in the *duat*, so that the all important image contained therein of Horus-Sokar is concealed at the command of the sun god. This concealed burial mound of Osiris mirrors a seemingly peculiar funerary practice of the First and Second Dynasty pharaohs. "Dreyer's excavations have revealed each 1st and 2nd Dynasty royal tomb at Umm el-Qaab was capped with a carefully constructed mound; this was defined by brick walls filled with sand and gravel and entirely plastered and whitewashed.[57] The mound was, however, below ground level, and hence a subterranean feature, completely invisible [and thus 'concealed' just as the sun god had commanded in the fifth hour of Amduat] once the pit containing both tomb and mound was filled in."[58] Moreover, the concealed mound only covered the royal tomb's burial chamber as only the fifth hour of Amduat has a mound covering the cavern of Sokar.[59] "These concealed mounds seem to be an innovation introduced in the 1st Dynasty, under King Djer."[60] This is of particular importance here since from the Middle Kingdom onward, Djer's tomb was believed to have been that of Osiris himself. Given the architectural likeness of the Central Hall to the fifth hour of Amduat where the mound of Osiris in the land of Sokar is depicted, it would be logical to conclude that the Central Hall likewise was covered by a concealed mound. As shown in this 1925 excavation photo, remnants may have actually been uncovered, but their importance was not appreciated. (Plate 495)

The third depiction of Isis is of her head. "This [fifth hour] has a vertical axis, with the head of Isis in the center, surmounting the pyramidal mound of the Lower Register."[61] The center of attention as is her location is on the figure of Isis. The caption beside her head identifies her:

"Flesh of Isis who is upon the sand of the land of Sokar."[62]

Her name suggests that there is a union in the making here for her flesh i.e. her body is upon that of Sokar's flesh, who is said to be on his, the land of Sokar's, sand. This union of Sokar-Osiris with Isis begets Horus and the start of dynastic rule. It also creates quite a remarkable image. (Plate 337) The land of Sokar, in essence, forms the body (flesh) of Isis. Beneath her head and surrounded by water is

57 Interestingly, "the remains of a whitewashed plaster structure exists beneath the central sanctuary of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu. This temple was closely associated with the mound of Djeme, and has been the focus of a long-term documentation, conservation, and restoration program of the Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago since the 1990s. While restoring the flooring in that part of the temple the Survey discovered remnants of a raised, layered, plaster and mud structure directly beneath the central sanctuary, perhaps vestiges of the actual 'mound' of Djeme. The findings will be published by the Survey in a future volume of the 'Excavations at Medinet Habu' series." Personal communication by ES director W. Raymond Johnson.

58 D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009), 152.

59 Ibid., 152.

60 Ibid., 153.

61 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 140.

62 Ibid., 158.

the oval cavern, which is her womb. In it is the gestating image as the text says of Horus himself. The architectural design of the Central Hall conveys the same concept. The land of Sokar is the flesh/body of Isis which is represented here by the island. The oval cavern is the cavity deep inside the man-made island. It is the womb inside the body of Isis. It too is surrounded by water. In her womb is the golden cult statue of Horus himself as he is depicted in the lower register of the fifth hour of Amduat. (Plate 342) The decoration on the notional northern wall in the Central Hall furnishes the head of Isis. (Plate 299, 308) The head makes clear the connection. It too is in the center of the composition and on a vertical axis which surmounts both the island mound and the knot of Isis, the *tjt*-amulet. It symbolizes her vagina, the entrance to her womb. The womb, rests on or in a temple enclosure which is located directly above the entrance to the final Transverse Hall, the most secret and sacred chamber, the one that creates life on the first occasion. Therein is depicted among many other creation scenes, the aforementioned Scene 14 of the Books of the Earth, of the birth of Horus out of the body of Osiris assisted by Isis and Nephthys.[63] (Plates 362, 364) The tomb of Thutmose III again provides an important clue which reinforces the interpretation of the function of the Second Transverse Hall as a creation chamber. (Plate 345) It can be equated with the sixth hour of Amduat and architecturally serves as a representation of it. The corpse of Khepri is depicted awakening in the very depths of the sixth hour of Amduat. It is placed directly over the entrance to another side chamber in the tomb, identifying it with the Place of Destruction where Re unites with Osiris. This concise awakening scene is elaborated upon in the Second Transverse Hall where it forms its own composition.[64] Roberson has analyzed the cryptographic texts of this composition and refers to it as “The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky”.[65]

Horus himself, the son of Osiris who is destined to become the legitimate heir to the throne of Geb and rulership over the Two Lands establishes the mythical precedence for the transmission of royal power from father Osiris to son Horus on the first occasion. This is the primary function of the Osireion. The revivification of Osiris, of course, is important indeed absolutely essential. “Osiris does not rise from death or return to this world. He is awakened from the sleep of death by the mourning, embalming, and transfiguration rituals only to the extent that Isis is able to conceive a son by him, one who will avenge his father's death and thus in a certain way 'save' him [by assuming his role as the rightful heir and ruler of his father's kingdom on the earth].”[66] This is crucial because it permits the conception by Isis of Horus and thereby establishes the model for the transmission of royal power. The paramount role of Isis in the revivification of Osiris and the conception of Horus is subtly reinforced through the number symbolism employed. Isis is named exactly nineteen times in the Amduat, the Book of the Hidden Chamber. As we have seen, the number is sacred to Osiris that specifically

63 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 172-173, fig. 5.14.

64 See below 5.4.

65 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), cover.

66 J. Assmann, The Search For God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 130.

symbolizes his rejuvenation. By the end of the fifth hour, ten of her names have appeared. Ten is the number sacred to Horus as the product of the Heliopolitan creation process.[67] As we have seen, the Heliopolitan Ennead opens the fifth hour of Amduat.

Recall now the wisdom in those words of that knowledgeable scribe named after Horus who visited the Osireion in the Twenty First Dynasty: (Plate 52)

> "Homeage to (you), Isis in the Birth-house!
> Osiris, Horus and Isis, may they cause to endure the name of the scribe
> Hor, son of Nesmut..."[68]

As the birth house of Isis, it would also explain why the Roman historian Strabo on his visit to the Osireion remarked about the grove of trees behind Seti's temple as being sacred to Apollo, the Greek god usually associated with Horus and with no mention of Osiris whatsoever.[69]

The measurement of time by the lunar cycles and the civil calendar, based on the 365 day solar year, were of particular importance to the ancient Egyptians, as they reflected the movement across the sky of the visible manifestations of their most important deities, Re and Osiris-Horus. This movement was encoded in the structure of their creation texts which we refer to as Underworld Books and the Books of the Sky. There are the obvious divisions into the twelve hours of the night, found in the Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168), and the Book of the Night; the twelve hours of the day in the Book of the Day; and the six divisions of the lunar cycle into two halves representing the waxing and waning phases of the moon in the Book of Caverns. But there are also the longer cycles and their interrelationships embedded in the structure of these compositions through the number symbolism employed. We have already seen how the deity and figure counts in the Book of Gates spell out the relationship between the lunar and solar years. Recall that there are 354 deities depicted leading up to the Hall of Judgment of Osiris attached to the fifth hour signifying the 354 days of the twelve month lunar year. The eleven deities who are on the rising land, Tatenen, and which include the enthroned Osiris "create" the 365 day solar year of the Egyptian civil calendar. This is followed by another 384 deities who at one level can be interpreted as representing the 384 days of the thirteen month lunar year.[70] Not surprisingly in the important fifth hour of Amduat, there appears to be a similar and very subtle allusion to the relationship between the lunar and solar years. Here, it is

67 Not uncommon, there is a deliberate manipulation by the ancient Egyptians of the depictions and the naming of Isis to make the numerical count "work". In the second hour, middle register, in the fourth barque a huge symbol of Hathor is flanked by two goddesses who Hornung suggests "probably is Isis and Nephthys, but no names are added to the figures..." thereby maintaining the total identified instances at nineteen of which ten occur by the end of the fifth hour. See E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 59. The nineteen identified instances of Isis are on pages 33, 55, 58, 143, 148, 158, 159, 162, 163, 165, 182, 187, 217, 219, 228, 229, 232, 255, and 342 of this volume.

68 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 89, plates 88 and 91.

69 See below 6.1.

70 See above 3.3 and 4.4. For a similar arrangement in the Osireion version of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) see 4.7.

through the names and functions of the 354th, 365th and 384th deities in Hornung's numbering scheme for the Amduat. Deity 354 looks backward towards the beginning of the long procession of deities. (Plate 343) He carries two spirals in his hands and is called “Backward facing who catches with the lasso”. [71] The term 'backward facing' was used by the ancient Egyptians in regard to the action of the moon. “The ferryman involved in this crossing [the Shifting Waterway i.e. the ecliptic] is described as both 'looking/facing backward' (*mɜ-ḥɜ.f, ḥr.f-ḥɜ.f*) and 'facing forward' (*ḥr.f-m-ḫnt.f*)... Krauss makes the persuasive argument that these descriptions refer to the moon, whose crescent faces away from its direction of travel when waxing and toward it when waning.”[72] To catch is to contain and therefore possess. In a lunar context, this could signify the 354 deities as the number of days that are contained in the twelve month lunar year. Deity 365 is named “Guide of the [solar] barque”.[73] (Plate 343) He is the one entrusted with the responsibility to successfully steer the solar barque, keeping it on course. That is to say over the course of the 365 day solar year of the Egyptian civil calendar. Deity 384 is “Horus who belongs to the double Heqa-scepter [*ḥqɜ*]”. [74] (Plate 343) In a lunar context, it could be interpreted as a veiled allusion to the dual nature of the lunar year. The word Heqa, *ḥqɜ*, means 'to rule'. Horus in his manifestation as Horus-Moon, by virtue of carrying the double Heqa-scepter rules i.e. measures and marks off time for the two separate but distinct twelve and thirteen month lunar years, symbolized by the two scepters.

Consistent with the Amduat text that states that the solar barque does not touch the water of the Lake of Fire surrounding the island in the Central Hall, the decorated architraves above the island represent the solar path, the middle register of the fifth hour, where the solar barque is depicted being towed over and above the mound i.e. the island. (Plate 337) In the Central Hall, the solar barque is replaced by the seventy six images of the sun god in the Book of Praising Re and Praising the United One in the West, concerning the union of Re with Osiris. [75] (Plates 319, 326) At the far end of the middle register of the fifth hour stand four gods and Isis, goddess of the West. The text tells us:

> “They are like this.
> It is the assembly which distributes offerings in this cavern.” [76]

71 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 151.

72 J. P. Allen, Review of Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten in JNES 61 (2002), 63.

73 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 154.

74 Ibid., 162. Most intriguing is the possibility suggested by Allen that this might be the unknown name for the thirteenth lunar month. Private conversation with J. P. Allen on October 4, 2014 in Boiceville, New York.

75 Seventy four figures of which two have two names for a total of seventy six. See E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 137-138. See below 5.5 for my commentary on the significance of the Litany of Re.

76 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 163.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The five deities headed by the goddess of the West, Isis, by the number five signify that this takes place in the *ḏuat.* On the architraves of the Central Hall this same function of provisioning is carried out but by a different group of deities, who are also located at the far end. (Plate 317) They are Re-Horakhti, the seven cows and their bull along with the four steering oars of the sky from Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead, a spell for making provision for a spirit in the God's Domain.[77]

Having demonstrated that the Sloping Passage, Central Hall and Second Transverse Hall closely parallel and, in fact, are architectural renditions of the lower part of the fourth, the fifth and the sixth hours of Amduat, i.e. the lower *ḏuat*, why then was the complete composition of Amduat, the Book of the Hidden Chamber, seemingly excluded? This is especially puzzling given the encyclopedic collection of cosmographic compositions found in the Osireion, fulfilling part of Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* for the "re-formation of the universal order".[78] Given the lack of any remaining textual evidence, Roberson has proposed an ingenuous solution. In the Eighteenth Dynasty royal tombs "without exception, it [Amduat] appears on the walls surrounding the perimeter of the pillared sarcophagus hall … [It depicts] the shores of the Underworld (upper and lower registers) flanking a central, subterranean waterway (middle register) – when placed around the four walls of the pillared hall, the Amduat 'transforms the perimeter' of the chamber into that subterranean waterway … In the corresponding pillared sarcophagus hall from the cenotaph [Osireion], what is the most glaringly obvious architectural feature that sets it apart from the 18th Dynasty tombs (and everything else)? [It is] the underground waterway that surrounds the perimeter of the room. I think that what we are seeing in the cenotaph is a transference of the concept of the circular, underground waterway from a two dimensional image into a three dimensional architectural model … The architecture of the cenotaph is modeled on the architecture of the 18th Dynasty [Amduat type] royal tombs; however, the most characteristic 'architectural' feature of the cenotaph is its watery moat – not present in the tombs; by contrast, the most characteristic 'decorative' feature of the tombs is the Amduat – not present in the cenotaph. Both features recreate an underground, watery perimeter around the main, pillared sarcophagus hall, one in two dimensions, the other in three."[79] His explanation is perfectly in keeping with the ancient Egyptians' apparent design for the lower half of the Osireion as an architectural rendition of the fourth, fifth and sixth hours as they are depicted in the Book of the Hidden Chamber (Amduat). This represents the lower *ḏuat*, specifically where it meets the watery abyss of the Nun – nonexistence and at the same time the place of cosmic regeneration deep within the Place of Destruction and of Annihilation.

However, there is also good reason to suggest that the complete composition was part of the original decoration of the Central Hall. The most compelling evidence to support this hypothesis is the presence of the Amduat texts in the corresponding areas of the tomb of Ramesses VI, for which the

77 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 35.

78 A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte" BSFE 136 (1996), 7 and 19. For the list of most of the compositions see above 1.2.

79 J. Roberson in a private communication May 23, 2011.

Osireion served as the template.[80] Secondly, as in the tomb of Thutmose III and "the cenotaph's nearest architectural relative [which] is the tomb of Amenhotep II,[81] the Amduat is found in close association and proximity to the litany of Re. Both Richter and Manassa have identified specific relationships between certain figures and verses of the Litany of Re and individual hours of the Amduat.[82] With the final five manifestations of the Litany of Re engraved on the architraves surrounding the island, it increases the likelihood that the Amduat was also found in the Central Hall. Finally, it would seem that the Central Hall was originally fully decorated at least in polychrome cartoons. This can be derived from the state of the existing decoration. The notional northern wall is completely decorated and carved. (Plate 298) The architraves at the notional northeastern end are already carved. (Plate 317) This would imply that there were existing drawings waiting to be completed, although no traces actually remain today. One of the ten granite columns on the island had remaining traces of a red ink drawing of a kneeling male figure in all probability of that of the king also waiting to be carved.[83] Thus, like all the other rooms and passages in the Osireion which were completely decorated including the ceilings, the Central Hall was no different and was also originally completely decorated like its completed notional northern wall. The Amduat composition as in the tombs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II in my opinion was reserved for the remaining undecorated wall space above the seventeen doored niches surrounding the pillared island, despite the absence of any remaining traces.[84] If this is correct, then the Central Hall embodied both a two and three dimensional representation of the *ḏuat*, specifically that of the lower *ḏuat*.[85] In short the apparent absence of any traces of the Amduat in the Central Hall is most probably an accident of preservation, especially since Seti used this composition in his own tomb and therefore must have been part of his program of *wḥm mswt* for the re-formation of the universal order.

80 See Appendix A.

81 J. Roberson, private communication May 23, 2011. See also H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 26.

82 B. Richter, "The Amduat and its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers" JARCE 44 (2008), 73, 87-92; C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005).

83 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 17-18.

84 The number seventeen signifies the necessary dismemberment to start the regeneration process.

85 J. Roberson in a private communication on May 23, 2011. "I think there is another, and much better parallel [to the Osireion]: the tomb of Pedamenopet at el-Assif in Thebes (TT33). The actual burial chamber of Pedamenopet is a tiny adjunct to the main structure. The clear focus of the monument is its central burial chamber, built in the form of a gigantic, monumental sarcophagus (sound familiar?), surrounded by Hall XIII, which is inscribed with the various Underworld Books (Amduat, [Book of] Caverns, [Book of] Gates, [Books of the] Earth) + the Book of the Night. Because these texts line both sides of Hall XIII, which extends tube-like around all four sides of the giant, monumental sarcophagus, we basically have both a 2- and 3-dimensional recreation of the subterranean waterway, made up not only of the Amduat but of all the various cosmographic books. The encyclopedic collection of UWBs [Underworld Books], the idea of using the creating a watery perimeter around the subterranean burial, and the concept of a giant, monumental sarcophagus all point to the cenotaph of Seti I as the nearest parallel to the tomb of Pedamenopet. This is not to downplay the obvious architectural et al. differences between the two monuments – there is no 1:1 correlation in terms of specific placements of texts, or architectural features – but these correspondences/similarities I have outlined suggest that TT33 was a Late Period re-interpretation of the most important ideas of the cenotaph (underground waterway surrounding divine burial), just as was their more humble cousin, the Osiris shaft at Giza (incidentally, dated to Dynasty 26, roughly contemporary with Pedamenopet)."

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Because of the clearly laid out sequential order of the decoration conforming to the progression in the rituals to be enacted in the Osireion, similar to that in Amenhotep II's tomb, its closest architectural relative, the hours of Amduat would have been found to have been sequential.[86] In the Central Hall, the first hour began at the left of the entrance doorway and ran through the end of the sixth hour to the left of the entrance of the Second Transverse Hall. (Plate 31) Most probably, the end of the sixth hour would have been arranged similar to that in the tomb of Thutmose III so that 'the awakening scene of Khepri' was placed nearest to and above i.e. at a higher level than the entrance to the chamber to which it was directly related.[87] (Plate 345) To the right of the entrance to the final Transverse Hall began the seventh hour which ran to the twelve hour to the right of the entrance of the Central Hall. The abridged version of Amduat would have been found immediately preceding the entrance doorway on the same wall.[88]

86 However, the starting point for the sequence was different in the tomb of Amenhotep II precisely because it is a tomb and therefore is orientated to the sarcophagus. The first hour is on the rear wall behind the sarcophagus. The progression of the hours looking outward unfolds from the left to the right and ends with the twelve hour and the abridged or short version opposite the king's face.

87 See below 5.5.

88 See below 5.5.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.2 THE THIRD RITUAL CYCLE – ITS SCOPE

In the Osireion, the architecture and decoration unite to replicate and thereby form or better still re-form the first occasion, *zp tpj*, thus enabling through ritual action the continuous unfolding of creation up to and including the mechanism for legitimate royal succession. This was a matter of considerable concern to the earliest of the Ramesside kings after the disruptive Amarna Heresy and their obvious lack of royal blood. The creation of the cosmos especially the cycles of the sun and the moon were the chief concern of the first two ritual cycles. The third cycle covers the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries and the conception of Horus. Its enactment results in the creation of divine kingship in 'the birth house of Isis'. It is the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process. The prime act was the first sunrise, its completion is Horus as the tenth member of the Heliopolitan Ennead. It occurs on *zp tpj* as Tatenen, the rising land, emerges from the Nun, the primeval abyss of nonexistence. On top of Tatenen are ten massive granite columns which form the support for the newly created heavens above. Ten is the number sacred to Horus and dynastic rule.

This third ritual cycle begins in the Entrance Passage on the left (lunar) wall and unfolds throughout the entire Osireion complex. It is clear that kingship arises out of the creation of the lunar cycle and Osiris-Moon. The lunar treatise, the Book of Caverns, opens this two night ritual cycle. Here too Parker's hypothesis for a lunar origin of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son finds strong support.[89] These two nights mark the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries on 30 Khoiak and the king's coronation celebration with the feast of Nehebkau on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day, where the king as the living Horus will witness his own conception on the night of the Blacked-out Moon in 'the birth house of Isis', the Central Hall.

The annual ritual cycle begins with the setting sun on the night of 30 Khoiak (IIII *ꜣḫt* 30), which on the ideal calendar is the night of last crescent visibility.[90] After passing through the 32 meters of

89 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80 n. 23.

90 Like the next night that of the Blacked-out Moon (new moon), the moon on the night of last crescent visibility actually is also not visible in the night time hours. It appears at twilight shortly before sunrise.

undecorated mud brick forming the beginning of the Entrance Passage which symbolizes the pitch-black primordial abyss of the Nun, the king as the living Horus and chief ritualist, suddenly bursts into the created cosmos where he encounters the falcon-headed son of Osiris. (Plates 48, 50, 173) This key episode foretells the successful outcome that will be achieved through the proper performance of this ritual cycle. The king is depicted making an offering of Maat to the son of Osiris. This act has a specific significance here. Maat is being reestablished on several different levels. By the offering of her to the son of Osiris in this ritual context, the king as the living Horus is acknowledging that Horus, son of Osiris, is in fact the legitimate heir and rightful ruler of the Two Lands and no other. Doubtless this is a subtle allusion to the denial of the legitimacy of the reign of Akhenaten, son of the sun disk, the Aten. Simultaneously, the king is establishing his own claim to the right to rule in his role as the son of Osiris. In return his mythic prototype the son of Osiris provides him with the sweet breath of life causing the king to live and confirming his role as the living Horus, Ruler of the Two Lands. At the same time, the king is being equipped to fulfill his mythical role as Horus, Avenger/Protector of His Father so that he may in this ritual cycle bring the sweet breath of life to his father Osiris in order to revivify him. Revivified , Osiris can and does impregnate Isis with the help of the goddess' magic so that she conceives Horus, confirmed by the fact that the son of Osiris is standing before the king in the opening scene of this ritual cycle. This is a complex interplay of the begotten becoming the begetter so that he can become the begotten, a prominent theme in the creation compositions in the Osireion. This can only occur in *ḏt* time and before the creation of *nḥḥ* time that arose out of the first occasion. It is the only time mentioned in this text, where it appears twice – once in association with the living king and the other for his mythic prototype, the son of Osiris. (Plate 173) It too is another prime example which we have already encountered in the first episode second scene in the Book of Gates, where the ancient Egyptians employed a magical technique in the opening scene to insure the desired successful outcome; in this case the existence of Horus, son of Osiris, the legitimate heir and rightful ruler of the Two Lands.

The focal point of the first episode and the ritual cycle is the son of Osiris. In a solar context, “the 'dead' Osiris is revivified by Re, and Re is reborn in the morning as Osiris' posthumously born son and reincarnation Horus.”[91] That is to say in his manifestation as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons (Re-Horakhti). Whereas in the lunar context, which the structure of the Book of Caverns suggests begins in *ḏt* time, it is the conception of Horus son of Osiris[-Moon] who will be born into the night sky as the new crescent moon in *nḥḥ* time. For this to occur the *ɓa* of Osiris must first be revivified and rejuvenated which is the object and goal of the first night of this ritual cycle, the culmination of the

91 J. van Dijk, “The Symbolism of the Memphite Djed-Pillar” ORMO 66 (1986), 7-8.

Mysteries of Osiris on 30 Khoiak. Its successful completion was signaled by the raising of the Djed-Pillar on that night, symbolizing Osiris' successful resurrection.[92]

The alteration of the opening scene of an offering by the king to the son of Osiris in the tomb of Ramesses VI attests to its ritual significance in the Osireion. Instead of the king offering to Horus, he is depicted making offerings to Re-Horakhti and Osiris, paralleling the opening scene preceding the Book of Gates on the opposite wall of Corridor A in the tomb.[93] The deceased king has been transfigured and rejuvenated through the royal funerary rituals such that Ramesses VI no longer embodies the living king i.e. Horus, son of Osiris aspect but is now identified directly with Osiris, Foremost of the West, Lord of Abydos, Great God, Lord [of Eternity] and with Re-Horakhti, Lord of the Sky and as his fathers in their visible manifestations of the sun and the moon.

In the following episode, the first scene of the Book of Caverns, is also different from those found in the royal tombs including the tomb of Ramesses VI in two very important aspects.[94] The king as ritualist and consequently 'true of voice' is shown accompanying the ram-headed form of the nocturnal sun god at the approach to the first cavern. (Plate 174) At the same time, the ram-headed Atum-Re is being greeted by the son of Re, the king wearing the Osirian-lunar white crown, *ḥḍt*, of Upper Egypt who is in the first cavern. (Plate 175) Neither of these figures of the king is depicted in any of the royal tombs.[95] The dual presence of the king in the Osireion version apparently was mandated by his ritual function as well as in the context of *zp tpj*. Here, as in the invocation of Atum by the king on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage, both aspects of kingship are being expressed.[96] The king, son of Re, is the living Horus and ritualist accompanying the sun god into the first cavern, where the king as Osiris and also the son of Re greets them. The totality of kingship in life and in the Hereafter is subtly but effectively conveyed. It is at the heart of the third ritual cycle, where the transmission of royal power is the key focus through the posthumous conception of Horus, son of Osiris, on the night of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day and annual celebration of the coronation of

92 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 173; L. Mikhail, “Raising the Djed-Pillar The Last Day of the Osirian Khoiak Festival” GM 83 (1984), 51-69; and J. van der Vliet, “Raising the Djed: A Rite de Marge” BSAK 3 (1988), 406 n.5.

93 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), plates 6 and 7. Part of Osiris is clearly still visible behind the traces of the arm of Re-Horakhti in plate 7. Also see above 3.1, 4.1, and Appendix A.

94 See above 4.3.

95 This is because in the royal tombs the king has been already transfigured through the rituals performed at his death and is now Osiris.

96 See above 3.1.

the king. Here the king witnesses and participates in his own and his mythic prototype's mysterious conception in the fifth through eighth hours of the deep night at the depths of the Underworld, where the lower *ḏuat* meets the primordial abyss of precreation, the Nun. (Plate 35) These rites were reenacted and through which are renewed in the Central Hall and its core the Second Transverse Hall. Following his conception by Isis, the king as ritualist with the twin *ḫas* of Re and Osiris return from the depths as they ascend the Sloping Passage in the ninth hour as preparations are made for the impending sunrise from the eastern akhet, the Antechamber. As we have already seen with the conclusion of the second ritual cycle,[97] the third also ends with sunrise now on the second day of the lunar month, I *prt* 2, with the birth of Horus, confirmed by his return to visibility in the night sky as the new crescent moon on the ideal calendar.[98]

97 See above 4.7.

98 The ideal calendar, the template of the Egyptian civil year that arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion to initiate *nḥḥ* time is appropriate in the Osireion's context of its function as a creation chamber. First crescent visibility would actually occur on I *prt* 2 every twenty five civil years 72% of the time and on I *prt* 3, the second arrival day, on the other 28%.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.3 THE DESCENT TO MY FATHER OSIRIS

Not only were the texts carefully chosen for the Osireion as Gestermann has suggested, [99] their placement appears to have been as well. At the top of the Sloping Passage on the soffit of the lintel are traces of a star table still in situ. (Plate 266) As will become apparent, it was skillfully and strategically placed and is pivotal to the determination of both the timing and the location of the performance of the two nights of the third ritual cycle. Neugebauer and Parker identified it as a diagonal star clock but rearranged into a table. "Since the length of the Sloping Passage is 14.34 m. (47.0 ft.), with 47 cm. (1.5 ft.) before the beginning of the text, 13.87 m. (45.5 ft.) of ceiling remains for more text. As the average width to the column is 12 cm. (0.4 ft.), the space required for all of I *prt* would be 13 x 12 or 1.56 m. (5.1 ft.). Eight tables, one for each month of the seasons of *prt* and *šmw*, would require 8 x 1.56 m. (5.1 ft.) or 12.48 m. (40.9 ft.) A table for the epagomenal days, if based on the same model as the others, would require but seven columns, or 84 cm. (2.75 ft.). The total text would then be 13.32 m. (43.7 ft.), leaving 55 cm. (1.8 ft.) for a margin at the end. At the beginning, we have seen, the margin was 47 cm. (1.5 ft.). While this arrangement of nine tables, including one for the epagomenal days, is thus possible and even probable, it is not at all certain. There may have been only eight, with a small space between each one. The tables for the four months of *ꜣḫt* must have been placed on the ceiling of the end room of the entrance passage [Antechamber], although for this there is no evidence [because the roof no longer exists]." [100] The ceiling of the Antechamber originally had a pitch-roof providing 5.0 m. (16.4 ft.) of additional space. [101] The proposed reconstruction, however, is not without problems. The space required keeping the average column width of 12 cm. (4.7 in.) would require 6.24 m. (20.5 ft.) for the four months of *ꜣḫt*. According to Frankfort, the Antechamber is 10.5 m. (34.5 ft.) by 4.75 m. (15.6 ft.) wide. [102] To fit the available space on the pitch-roof and continue running in the same direction, the average column width would have to be reduced to 9.6 cm. (3.8 in.) in the Antechamber portion of the text of the star table. While is is not ideal it certainly was doable. The difference in column widths would also be less noticeable because

99 L. Gestermann, "Einige Anmerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm im Osireion von Abydos" in W. Waitkus (ed.), Diener des Horus Festschrift fur Dieter Kurth (2008), 119.

100 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 34-35.

101 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 15. "Finally, there is at one point on the east [notional north] wall of the [Entrance] passage a minute fragment of a roofing-block left cemented on the wall, which shows that the roof sloped upwards at an angle of 71 degrees with the horizontal, the same angle, in fact, as the triangle on the south [notional east] wall of the small room [Annex] shows."

102 Ibid., 15.

of the door separating the Antechamber from the Sloping Passage. This arrangement of the reconstructed star table would have the placement of IIII *ꜣḫt* directly above the entranceway to the Sloping Passage and I *ꜣḫt* beginning with New Year's Day directly above the Litany of Osiris. In front and below the star table on either wall were the two depictions of the king making offerings and burning incense. These ritual actions serve to call into existence not only the year but also the seasons, decades and hours but also the decanal stars whose movements in the night sky marked the unfolding of cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, that arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion.[103]

The intentional division of this star table between the two ceilings of the Antechamber and Sloping Passage subtly served to mark the division for the performance of the two night annual ritual cycle and importantly, the period for the ritual use of the lower chambers of the Osireion. "The Osireion star table represents a very important piece of evidence… providing the only explicit link between diagonal star tables and time periods. In addition to the month name [I *prt*], the third cell in the first row of the surviving portion also contains the text *rn n wnwt* 'name of hour'. In the rest of that column, (Plate 267) there are some labels which apparently give names to certain hours of the night, using *sp* 'period' in most cases and numbers two, three, and four in some of the cells: enough to show that the time periods following sequentially from top to bottom are related to each of the 'rows' in the diagonal star table.... Whoever added the hour names to this type of document did so on the understanding that hours were what the rows represented, and perhaps had always represented...[104] Any theory which states that the rows or 'vertical axis' in the diagonal star table does *not* represent time over the course of the night would have to explain why this representation certainly *does* make that relationship....

103 Depuydt sees that the star clocks/tables "may just have been an iconographic and textual rendering of the yearly motion of the star sky. They are not necessarily more than an attempts to depict a natural phenomenon of which motion is a key ingredient.... even if some Egyptians thought that they were clocks, even if they were designed to serve magically as clocks in the afterlife, none of this makes a star clock a functional clock. A symbolic clock is not a clock." L. Depuydt, "Ancient Egyptian star clocks and their theory" BiOr 55 (1998), 8. More recently he stated: "The Earlier [diagonal star table] and the Later ["Ramesside Star Clocks"] star tables represent the yearly motion of the star sky basically in the same way, in spite of the different modes of representation. The focus is on selected nights and what happens in them from evening to morning. The nights in question occur at fixed intervals, either 10 or 15 days, and spans the entire year. I am personally convinced that the star tables never served as clocks, but it would not be easy to prove this positively." L. Depuydt, "Ancient Egyptian star tables: A reinterpretation of their fundamental structure" in A. Imhausen, T. Pommerening (eds.), Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Rome, and Greece (2010), 251.

104 As is the case with all compositions in the Osireion, as part of *wḥm mswt*, the context is always a recreation of the first occasion, *zp tpj*, deemed to be necessary by Seti I to restore *mꜣꜥt* after the Amarna Hersey. (See 1.2 above.) Therefore in the Nineteenth Dynasty the inclusion of the hour column in the star table in the Sloping Passage reflected its purpose and association with time periods. By its presence there, it was considered to be an essential element and thus a necessary part of the recreation of the first occasion. The fact that "the decan list used was more than 600 years out of date" [S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy (1999), 54.], it nevertheless had a role in the rituals to be enacted in that part of the Osireion complex. (See below in 5.2.) It may be that the star table functioned much like the depiction of the empty scales in the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (scene 33) which represented the creation of the mechanism for determining the requirements of the Eye of Horus, so that the Udjat-eye can be refilled as well as all future "weighings of the heart". (See above 3.3.) The star table represents the creation of a mechanism for the measurement of time reflected by the movement of the decanal stars across the sky which marked the hours of the night, the days of the year and the seasons as they were formed on the first occasion.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Accepting that the rows of a diagonal star table related to the hours of the night does not necessarily mean that the tables are clocks. Despite the New Kingdom use of the word 'hour' in connection with these tables, it is not the present author's [Symons'] current understanding that they should be considered 'clocks' in the sense of objects being designed and used primarily to tell time". [105]

The column of hour names for IIII *ꜣḫt* which would have been located directly above the entranceway to the Sloping Passage must have been on some level symbolically connected to the performance of the rites on the first night of the annual ritual cycle which concluded in the eastern akhet, the Antechamber. Specifically, it would have related to the rites on the night of IIII *ꜣḫt* (30 Khoiak), the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries and the last night of the season of *ꜣḫt*. Importantly, it did not include entering the Sloping Passage which by the star table's location indicates that it was reserved for the night of I *prt* 1. On the ideal calendar, it was the Day of the Blacked-out Moon, the first day of the lunar month and of the second season, the Second New Year's Day that arose out of *zp tpj*. There the in situ text of the star table at the top of the Sloping Passage begins with the first decade of I *prt* in the first hour of the night, "Her first period [*sp*] of *ḫꜣwy*". [106] This marked the starting point for the rituals on the second night, I *prt* 1, of the third ritual cycle. Sequentially it is followed by hours two through six as the progression of the hours leads the ritualist down the Sloping Passage deeper into the lower *ḏuat*, (Plate 266, 267), as do the retrograde texts written along the left wall detailing the king's descent to see his father Osiris. [107] Recall too the zigzagged downward path of the fourth hour of Amduat to which the Sloping Passage is its architectural equivalent also invokes this image of descent into the lower *ḏuat*. While the lunar symbolism has already been discussed, [108] it should be noted that on another level the divine symbols before the goddess Maaty at the bottom of the fourth hour of Amduat appear also to allude to a specific time of the year as well, tying it directly to the star table on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage. (Plate 332) There are fourteen human heads with solar disks above and stars below which are depicted above the three-headed serpent, *mnmnw*, 'the One Who Moves'. If they are interpreted as each symbolizing a ten-day period measured by a decan, then together they would represent a 140 day period. This has significance. According to Wallin: "After 140 days [following its helical rising] it [Orion, *sꜣḥ*] rose in the east at sunset and set in the west at sunrise, imitating the path of the sun [god]." [109] This appearance of Orion in the east at sunset and his setting in the west with sunrise, imitating the path of the sun, is expressed visually and quite literally by the depiction of the two gods adjacent to the fourteen figures. (Plate 332) Khepri is shown in his form as a winged solar disk, Behedet. The inscription reads:

105 S. Symons, "A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 18-19.

106 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Timekeeping and Cosmography in the New Kingdom (1999) PhD Dissertation, 52.

107 See below 5.3.

108 See above 5.1.

109 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 116.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

"He remains in his shape of the multicolored plumed god (Horus of Edfu)." [110]

Directly below the winged sun disk and therefore following in his path is 'He Who Is in the Sky' depicted as a striding man with his left arm raised,[111] a pose frequently assumed by Orion. "... Orion has freedom of movement striding across the sky in the same way that Osiris, according to the Coffin Texts, will not be hindered in his rule over Upper Egypt."[112] Following in the sun god's path, Osiris-Orion is in sync with Re by the end of the fourth hour of the night with whom he will unite in the sixth hour. In the annual cycle marked by the Osiris Mysteries and the conception of Horus, Orion is also in sync with the movements of Re, rising at sunset and setting at sunrise, following in his path. On the ideal calendar which was created with *zp tpj*, it was timed to occur during the enactment of the Osiris Mysteries,[113] celebrating his rejuvenation which was clearly visible for all to see as Osiris-Orion traversed the night sky from sunset to sunrise.

Interestingly according to Symons, there are two different families of diagonal star tables: those that begin with the decan *ṯmꜣt*, the T group; and those that begin with the decan *knmt*, the K group.[114] The reason for two separate groups is not yet clearly understood.[115] She has proposed a new theory that the T group of decanal stars records rising stars, whereas the other group "perhaps intended to be a complimentary twin",[116] the K group records setting stars. If this does indeed prove to be the case, then it becomes immediately clear why a K group star table was chosen for inclusion in the Osireion. Setting stars, that is to say stars entering the *ḏuat* are appropriately depicted on the ceiling of the descending Sloping Passage entering the lower half of the Osireion complex, the lower *ḏuat*, and with

110 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 55.

111 Ibid., 55.

112 G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986), 151.

113 The heliacal rising of Rigel the 'toe star' of Orion from which the constellation *sꜣḥ* may have derived its name occurs thirty days (three decans/decades) before the heliacal rising of Sothis-Sirius opening the Egyptian New Year on I akhet 1. It takes 140 days from its heliacal rising before Orion starts to imitate the path of the sun god crossing the sky. This would begin to occur on IIII akhet 20 during the celebration of the Khoiak festival (Osiris Mysteries). It also seems to lend support to the hypothesis that Rigel was in fact part of the Egyptian constellation Orion.

114 S. Symons, "A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 1-22.

115 For example see: S. Symons, "A Star's Year" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007); C. Leitz, Alteaegyptische Sternuhren (1995); K. Gadre, S. Roques, "Astronomical dating proposals of the ancient Egyptian stellar clocks" (2009) www.academia.edu ; L. Depuydt, see references in n. 103 above.

116 S. Symons, "Comparison of Near-horizon Astronomical Events Recorded in the Ancient Egyptian Diagonal Star Tables", Biennial History of Astronomy Workshop (2011), Abstract. www.3.nd.edu/histast/workshops/2011ndx/abstracts.shtm

the added column of the names of the hours are used at least symbolically and perhaps more probably magically to mark off and cosmically align the rituals being enacted at their correct time in order that they will become efficacious. [117]

In conclusion, the star table positioned as it is in the Osireion functioned primarily as a means for the determination of ritual performance, which was probably its main function there along with the bringing of the decanal stars and the hours into existence in the context of *zp tpj*, necessary to achieve that purpose. That is to say specifically the timing of its performance and the designation of the location for the enactment on each of the two nights of the third ritual cycle.

The division into two distinct halves for the performance of the third ritual cycle mirrors that of the structure of the Osireion, which is itself an architectural rendering of the lunar cycle. The rites on the first night clearly correspond to the waning phase of the lunar cycle as is made apparent in the Final Scene of the Book of Caverns where the *ɓa* of Osiris enters the solar barque on the night of last crescent visibility ending the waning phase to travel with the sun god on the ensuing Day (and Night) of the Blacked-out Moon. [118] It concludes in the Antechamber with the Way of Osiris. The goal was to be in the presence of the revivified Osiris as is depicted on the notional southern wall of this room. (Plate 224) These rites for the first night parallel those for the New Moon discussed in detail above and therefore only briefly reviewed here. [119] Recall that on the night of 30 Khoiak (IIII *ꜣḫt* 30), the night of last crescent visibility and culmination of the Osiris Mysteries, the performance of the rites began at sunset with the king making an offering of maat to the falcon-headed Horus, son of Osiris, who in return provides the king with the sweet breath of life in order that he, as the living Horus may rejuvenate their father. (Plate 173) This opening scene magically insures the successful outcome of the ritual cycle. [120] He then joins the aged ram-headed sun god to accompany him in his role as the chief ritualist. Together they enter the first of six caverns. [121] (Plate 174) The journey on foot through the six caverns rejuvenates both the sun disk and the dismembered limbs of the moon. [122] As the sun god and the *ɓa* of Osiris i.e. his revivified potency emerge from the sixth division of the Book of Caverns, the final scene at the end of the Entrance Passage informs us that they are entering the Eastern Mountain. [123]

117 Symbolically and more likely magically because the Sloping Passage is, of course, underground.

118 On the ideal calendar, the thirtieth of the month was the night of last crescent visibility that arose on the first occasion, creating cyclical *nḥḥ* time.

119 See Chapter 4.

120 Specifically 4.1

121 Specifically 4.3.

122 Specifically 4.3.

123 Specifically 4.5.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

This is the eastern akhet, the place of sunrise, and is represented in the Osireion by the Antechamber. A gate must be passed through to enter the place, signaling that a new transitional zone is being entered.[124] (Plate 215) Entering the Antechamber, the king is depicted making offerings before the "false door", that separates the lower *ḏuat* from the Antechamber. But he does not enter, following the cues in the star table overhead. He then addresses the second gate of BD 145B on the opposite side of the doorway into the Antechamber, which begins the rites for the Way of Osiris.[125] These rites lead to the rejuvenation of Osiris with the sweet breath of life by the living Horus, the king, who has assumed his form as the mythic prototype Horus, Protector of his Father. (Plate 224) It is the goal both of the Way of Osiris and the Osiris Mysteries that culminated on 30 Khoiak, the night of last crescent visibility on the ideal calendar.

It is unlikely, however, that these rites for the first night were actually physically conducted by the king in the Antechamber for a number of reasons. The two large depictions of the king at the entrance to the Antechamber, one for the Way of Osiris and the other for the Way of Re, were fully capable of carrying out the rites magically as manifestations of his *ḳa*.[126] We have already seen that there are two distinct ritual sequences in the Antechamber and that their particular placement make a physical enactment of these rites improbable.[127] Furthermore, the "stage directions" all indicate that the offerings were to be made on the earth. Of greater importance is that this was the night of the Great Procession out to the tomb of Osiris in Poker, *pqr*, at Abydos, an event the king's presence would have been required in all probability as it was the last day of the Cycle of 76 for the annual renewal of kingship at the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries. However, as will be shown, this was not the case for the second night of the annual ritual cycle.

The goal of the rites for the second night of the third ritual cycle is the conception of Horus, now possible by Osiris' rejuvenation and renewed potency. With his conception the means for the legitimate transfer of royal power have been (re)established on the first occasion, *zp tpj*. This was to be the ultimate purpose for the Osireion. It embodied the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process, the conception of its tenth member following the prime act of creation, the first sunrise. It marked the beginning of the new cycle, that of Dynastic rule on the earth of which Seti I was the seventy sixth king, the begotten and the begetter.

124 Specifically 4.6.

125 Specifically 4.6.

126 K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual Performance, Pattern, and Practice (2013), 30. "Although the living, breathing, physical body of the pharaoh could not be in more than one place at a time, this physical limitation need not have prevented the presence of the king's *ḳa*-spirit. Priests brought in statutes, living images (*twt ʿnḫ*) of the king, in which his *ḳa*-spirit could reside. Moreover, the priests themselves may have served as vessels for the royal *ḳa*-spirit at critical moments in the ritual." The same would hold true for the carved depictions of the king on the Antechamber's walls.

127 See above 4.6.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The rites began at sunset with offerings and the opening of the door to the Sloping Passage, Rosetau, the entrance to the lower *ḏuat*. (Plates 30, 31) On its ceiling, the hours of I *prt* 1 in the star table point to the way of the unfolding of the ritual sequence. (Plate 35) They begin with the recitation of BD 99, the "Spell for bringing [a ferryboat in the God's Domain to] king Merenptah".[128] (Plates 274 bottom, 275 top) According to Lippiello, "the underworld ferry boat acts as a source of power during the liminal period after death but before the individual is admitted into the afterlife [when used in a funerary context]."[129] In its ritual context here, it is also equated to a specific time period and space. "The first hour of the night is an interstitial realm preceding the actual netherworld which begins at the first gate" in the second hour of the night.[130] Thus, the Ferryman's Spell (BD 99) at the top of the Sloping Passage initiated the ritual sequence of the king's descent to see his father Osiris. It is inscribed on the left wall starting directly under the first hour of the night on I *prt* 1, the beginning of the first decade of the season of *prt* on the star table overhead. (Plate 266) As the *mḫnt* (ferryboat) is being magically constructed by the king's naming of all its parts, in the vignette above the text to this spell, the barque is shown being dragged by three deities toward the king for his ritual journey across the Shifting Waterway and down the Sloping Passage of Rosetau, the place of sledging, to the Field of Reeds and the House of Osiris.[131] (Plate 269 top left) Of the three deities towing, the one in the center is jackal-headed who is in all likelihood Anubis.[132] In the fourth hour of Amduat only Anubis is said to have "access to the roads of Rosetau, in order to conceal the body of Osiris".[133] Importantly, "Anubis figures in our text [The Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land as well as here in the Osireion] not only in his well-known capacity as *psychopompos* who conducts the deceased [here the king as ritualist] to the underworld, but also as guardian who protects Osiris in lunar form."[134] This association at the beginning of the rites to be enacted on I *prt* 1 hints at their underlying lunar nature.

Knowledge holds the key to opening the way for the king. Foremost in this opening rite is the act of naming all of the parts of the *mḫnt*-boat in order that the king might achieve his stated goal:

> "...I have come in order to see my father..."[135]

128 Author's reconstruction. As is generally the case, Merenptah replaced his grandfather's cartouche with his own.

129 L. Lippiello, "An Explanation of New Kingdom Ritual Watercraft: Embodied mimesis", Paper represented at the 56th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt (2005) Abstract.

130 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 59, referring to the Book of Gates.

131 For the place of sledging see: T. DuQuesne, Anubis Master of Secrets (*ḥry-sšt3*) and the Egyptian Conception of Mysteries" DE 36 (1996), 27.

132 Anubis is the Lord of Rosetau and was most likely followed by 'the opener of the ways', Wepwawet, the Lord of the Sacred Land, who are both depicted further down in the Central Hall assisting the king.

133 T. DuQuesne, "Guide to the Ways of Ro-setawe" DE 31 (1995), 107.

134 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 70 n. 16. For the latter role see R. Ritner, "Anubis and the Lunar Disc", JEA 71 (1985), 149-155.

135 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111.

In the full version of this lengthy spell, the ritualist declares himself to be a magician, complete and equipped, skills necessary to undertake the task of of assembling the *mḫnt*-boat. “Frazer's Law of Similarity states, 'the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it', in other words, like produces like.[136] This is one aspect of mimesis. Taussig defines mimesis as 'the magical power of replication, the image affecting what it is an imagine of, wherein the representation shares in or takes power from the represented.'[137] In the truest form of sympathetic magic this implies a physical object like a voodoo doll or a model boat, but in Spell 99 like affecting like is manifested in a different manner. The secondary associations used by the deceased [the living king as ritualist] to build the vessel [depicted in the vignette directly above the text of the spell (Plate 269 top left)] are based on a relationship of similar forms; the boat part has the same appearance and in some cases function, as the god part. This then is the first application of mimesis: like god parts produce like boat parts, endowing them with the characteristics of particular divinities. Taussig summarizes, 'this notion of the copy, in magical practice, affect the original to such a degree that the representation shares in or acquires the properties of the represented.'[138] Indeed, through carefully constructed analogies by the deceased [the king] the boat part becomes the representation of and therefore acquires the properties of the represented god/god part.

The power of mimesis goes much further than like affecting like. Another aspect of mimesis refers not to the physical representation but to a psychological image. Taussig writes, 'here there is no embodiment of image, carved figurine or body paint, but the ephemera of a memory of a purely mental image reminding us that even so, such an image counts as an entity.'[139] In this second application of mimesis the deceased [the king] becomes the perceiver and is able to 'enter into the picture and become one with it, so that the self is moved by the representation into the represented'.[140] Taussig labels this 'active yielding of the perceiver in the perceived'.[141] If the deceased [the king] acts as the perceiver, then the *mḫnt*-boat is the perceived. In Spell 99 the deceased [the king] is an active participant [as the ritualist] on the watercraft, as shown by one of the question and answer sessions with Ma-ha-ef. The Ferryman asks, 'What have you done to her?' and the deceased [the living king] responds,

> I have trodden on her back, I have guided her...aright. My right side was at her starboard, my front was towards her bow, my left side was at her larboard, my back was towards her stern. At night her bulls were slaughtered and her geese cut up.'[142]

136 J. Frazer, The Golden Bough (1922, reprinted 1966), 13.

137 M. Taussig, Mimesis and Alterity A Particular History of the Senses (1993), 2.

138 Ibid., 47-48.

139 Ibid., 61.

140 Ibid., 61.

141 Ibid., 61.

142 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 110.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The deceased [the king] describes himself standing on the deck [the text identifies him as Horus of the Rulers], [143] steering and consecrating the watercraft. Moreover the purpose of the ephemeral vessel is to carry the deceased [the king] across the firmament to the eastern side of the sky. Taussig refers to the process of active yielding as 'a narrative journey of images', in other words, the deceased [the king] participates in the image that he creates. [144]

In regards to Spell 99, mimesis serves two functions, to infuse boat parts with characteristics of the divine and to provide the deceased with power. This second effect of mimesis, the procurement of power, is described by Taussig,

> 'What is faithfully captured is a *power*...invested in a montage of abutted likenesses...this power can be captured only by means of an image, and better still by entering into the image. The image is more powerful than what it is an image of.' [145]

By actively yielding the deceased [the king] is able to achieve power over that which he creates, the *mḫnt*-boat and all its endowed supernatural properties. The deceased [the king as ritualist] now is equipped to travel over the Winding Waterway into the realm of the gods [specifically here the House of Osiris in the Field of Reeds]." [146] The king accomplishes this through a dialogue with that which he wishes to create, which is carefully inscribed at the top of the Sloping Passage on the left wall beginning this ritual sequence. (Plates 274 bottom, 275 top) It is the only portion of BD 99, a lengthy spell, which is recorded in the Osireion. He recites out loud the name of the god associated with each of the parts of the magically crafted *mḫnt*-boat. But it was not just the *mḫnt*-boat that he had to bring into existence. "Before he could set out on his journey he was obliged to tell the river [which he desires to cross], and the river-bank, and the ground their mystical names." [147] Importantly, so too the wind:

> "Tell me my name says the wind, since you are carried thereby.
> 'North wind which went forth from Atum
> to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners' is your name." [148]

It is this statement that provides the key to understanding the underlying meaning of the Ferryman's Spell. Jacq's short discussion of the ferryman includes two very astute observations. First is that the

143 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 110.

144 M. Taussig, Minesis and Alterity A Particular History of the Senses (1993), 64.

145 Ibid., 62.

146 L. Lippiello, Symbolic Perceptions of New Kingdom Watercraft: Building Boats from Gods (2004) MA Thesis, 59-60. It should be noted here "that *mr nḫꜣ*, usually read as 'Winding/Shifting Waterway' should instead be read as *mr n ḫꜣ* '*ḫꜣ*-canal', and be interpreted as the 'ekliptikalen Streifen' [the ecliptic], the path of the sun as traced through the night, as well as the day sky." P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 122. However for clarity, I used these terms interchangeably.

147 E. A. W. Budge, Egyptian Magic (1901, reprint 1971), 169.

148 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111.

disassembled ferry boat is analogous to a dismembered Osiris.[149] The king must and does reassemble the pieces of the *mḫnt*-boat just as he must reassemble the limbs of his father in order to transfigure and revivify Osiris. The process is identical. At the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries, the king as the living Horus and the son of Osiris first calls into existence all the 'pieces of his dismembered father' by the naming of 'Osiris in all his names' recorded in the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber. Only then does he revivify his father with the sweet breath of life from Atum, aka the north wind. In the exact same fashion, the king calls the ferry boat into existence by the naming of the names of all its pieces. Conceptually the magically conceived *mḫnt*-boat will be used by Horus in an analogous manner as that god is depicted in vignette 14 of the Books of the Earth, utilizing the body of Osiris. (Plates 362-364) "The text states unambiguously: 'Behdetite (i.e. Horus), he emerges from the corpse of his father."[150] His father's body is his vehicle for his coming into existence. The ferry boat, essential for the crossing of the Shifting Waterway, like the body of Osiris acts as the king's vehicle for his coming into existence. It transports him to the place where he will witness his own conception in the birth house of Isis (the Central Hall). Subtle in its depiction, the king carries the vital sweet breath of life along on this journey. Here the north wind is symbolized by the ankh held by the king depicted at the bottom of the Sloping Passage. (Plate 271)

Jacq's second observation about the 'Ferryman's Spell' is even more revealing in its scope and very subtle. It is based on the concluding dialogue between the king, here addressed as the magician, and the second ferryman Iqen:

> "O Iqen, as you are endowed with life, bring me this, for see I have come.
>
> Have you power over what I have not brought to you, magician?
> That august god will say:
> 'Have you ferried over to me a man who does not know the number of his fingers?'
>
> I know how to count my fingers:
> take one, take the second, quench it, remove it, give it to me, be friendly towards me;
> do not let it go; have no pity on it; make the Eye bright, give the Eye to me."[151]

"He [Iqen] demands mathematical knowledge from the magician, by showing his ability to count on his fingers. [Recall that it was Thoth who restored the six pieces of the injured Eye of Horus with his own fingers.[152]] Each finger, each 'numerical act' has a deep meaning. (This very detailed 'counting' demands long study. In our opinion, it is the origin, not yet recognized, of the numerical Kabbala.)

149 C. Jacq, Egyptian Magic (1985), 39.

150 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 173.

151 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111.

152 Ibid., plate 8 Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

This is not a question of ordinary mental arithmetic, but of the creation of the world by Numbers, not by figures."[153] As I have demonstrated throughout, number symbolism is embedded in the structures of all of the creation compositions and texts in the Osireion, including the structure of the portion of the 'Ferryman's Spell' inscribed in the Sloping Passage. (Plates 274, 275) After the introduction to BD 99 III in the first eleven columns,[154] there follows twenty one more columns naming the deity associated with each of the twenty one parts of the *mḫnt*-boat. Technically speaking, there are actually seventeen separate parts listed for the *mḫnt*-boat including its skipper. The final four are: the 'north wind which went forth from Atum to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners', who is Osiris, (Column 29 on Plate 275); the river, i.e. the Winding Waterway or the *ḥꜣ*-canal; the river bank to which the *mḫnt*-boat will travel; and the ground, associated with the Field of Reeds, (Column 32 on Plate 275). The number symbolism should be quite obvious by now. Seventeen is the number sacred to Osiris representing his state of dismemberment. Here it serves to tie the seventeen parts of the *mḫnt*-boat directly to the dismembered limbs of Osiris, confirming Jacq's linking of the disassembled ferry boat to the dismembered Osiris, to which it should be remembered represents the waning phase of the lunar cycle. Four is the number signifying totality and completeness through its relation to the four cardinal directions of the created cosmos.[155] In BD 99, the final four relate to the goal of the Ferryman's Spell and its completion, the successful crossing of the Winding Waterway. In a lunar context it represents the beginning of the restoration to completeness for the Udjat-eye, i.e. the waxing phase of the monthly lunar cycle. Furthermore, the number twenty one embodies the very essence of ancient Egyptian lunar symbolism. It is the sum of its six parts (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 = 21); six being the number of pieces of the left lunar eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye. In addition, like the six chambers and passages of the Osireion and the six divisions in the lunar treatise, the Book of Caverns, they are each divided into two halves which on one level can symbolize the waxing and waning phases of the monthly lunar cycle. But there is also a deeper numerical significance through this division into two halves. The first half represented by the numbers 1 + 2 + 3 totals six, the number of pieces constituting the Udjat-eye. The second half represented by the numbers 4 + 5 + 6 equals fifteen. The Udjat-eye is the sound eye because it is complete, that is to say full. There are fifteen days from the New Moon to the Full Moon, the time it takes to restore the eye of Horus by reconstituting the Udjat-eye and represents the waxing phase of the lunar cycle. Thus, through the use of the number twenty one in BD 99 III we find a subtle expression of the ancient Egyptians' mythology underlying the monthly lunar cycle. The waning phase is symbolized by the seventeen parts of the *mḫnt*-boat. The waxing phase hinted at through the names of the final four and is expressed through the structure of the number twenty one itself - six parts in two halves – numerically symbolizing the six parts of the Udjat-eye to be restored (1 + 2 + 3) and its

153 C. Jacq, Egyptian Magic (1985), 39.

154 Faulkner's designation for the section of BD 99 that is found in the Osireion. See R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111-112.

155 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 144-145. "By virtue of its association with the cardinal directions, four is the most common symbol of 'completeness' in Egyptian numerological symbolism and ritual repetition." R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1995), 162 n. 750.

reconstitution over fifteen days (4 + 5 + 6).

At yet another level, the number twenty one can be expressed as 7 x 3. "At about more than a dozen times in the RV, the number 21 is mentioned in various contexts as 3 x 7, not 21... In most of the cultures [Indian], including the Vedic one, the numbers 3 and 7 denote divine – and spiritual – perfections respectively, and hence, the number 3 x 7 should be looked at as interplay of the both simultaneously ..." [156] Ritner noted that "the significance of seven as the 'number of efficacy' in Egyptian theology and magico-religious ritual is unmistakable.... Perhaps influenced by these associations with deities of creation and authority, the number [seven] abounds in religious and magical literature from the Pyramid Texts through the Coptic period."[157] Dawson has demonstrated that the number seven is frequently associated with Osiris. [158] Therefore, the number seven, the number of efficacy, would also be applicable to his manifestation as Osiris-Moon. To the ancient Egyptians the number three signified plurality. "From the earliest times the hieroglyphic script used a group of three pictorial determinatives (later three orthographic strokes I I I) as the indicator of plurality.... Egyptian religion also used the number three to signify a closed system which was both complete and interactive among its parts. The many triads of deities which developed from New Kingdom times provide clear examples of this [specifically here that of Osiris, Isis, and Horus].... Perhaps the earliest known reference to the idea of a trinity in Egyptian religious literature states that the primordial god Atum gave birth to Shu and Tefnut 'when he was one and became three'." [159] It is this aspect of the number three which provides the key to understanding the meaning behind the equation 7 x 3 embedded in the structure of the Ferryman's Spell and highlighted by the twenty one cartouches in a row of the king in the text. (Plates 274 bottom, 275 top) The 'one becoming three' is an expression of the process of creation, in particular, that of procreation and of regeneration. The interplay of the numbers seven and three sum to ten. Ten is the number sacred to Horus as the tenth member and fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process. Seven here symbolizes Osiris, the begetter. The number three signifies the process of procreation. The outcome, the sum of seven and three, is Horus, the begotten, symbolized by his sacred number ten. Therefore, embedded in the opening rite of the ritual sequence on the night of I *prt* 1, the number symbolism serves to subtly allude to a successful outcome to the performance of this annual ritual cycle - the conception of Horus. In a lunar context, the number seven symbolizes Osiris-Moon. Here the number three signifies the process of regeneration. Their sum is ten symbolizing Horus-Moon, who is conceived on the night of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1. The conception of Horus-Moon symbolizes the lunar nature of divine

156 S. Murthy, "Number Symbolism in the Vedas" at: www.ejvs.laurasianacedemy.com/ejvs1203/ejvs1203article.pdf

157 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1995), 161 and 161 n. 749.

158 W. Dawson, "The number 'Seven' in Egyptian Texts" Aegyptus VIII (1927), 97-107. For example: "Seven Uraei are associated with [the protection of] Osiris and with Nehebkau [whose feast was celebrated on I *prt* 1] in a Coffin Text. The gods Horus and Mont are also met with sevens...and at Dendera seven forms of Osiris. Seven sacred boats were employed in one of the ceremonies performed in connection with the Mysteries of Osiris at Dendera. In the temple of Dendera there was a shrine of Osiris with seven doors. In the text in the tomb of Horhotp; three groups of seven [3 x 7 = 21] repasts are referred to, seven in the heavenly Heliopolis from Re, seven on Earth from Geb, and seven from Osiris [in the Underworld]. These seven repasts are associated with the Fields of Reeds in the Coffin Texts and with Heliopolis in another."

159 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 131-132.

kingship and with it the means for the legitimate transmission of royal power. Born with first crescent visibility on the second day of the lunar month, I *prt* 2, is the vindicated Osiris in his visible manifestation as Horus-Moon. Recall that the tutelary deity of the second day of the lunar month, is appropriately Horus, Avenger/Protector of his Father.

The aforementioned group of twenty one cartouches in a row, each associated with a god in BD 99 at the top of the Sloping Passage are symmetrically balanced by the group of forty two cartouches in a row at the bottom end of the Sloping Passage which are also each associated with a god in the so-called Negative Confession of BD 125, here serving as the final purification rite before the king can enter into the presence of his father Osiris. Noteworthy is that the use of this symmetrical relationship between the numbers twenty one and forty two is paralleled in the papyrus of Ani, also from the early Nineteenth Dynasty. In that papyrus, the forty two gods of the tribunal in the Hall of Two Truths who are depicted seated before the enthroned Osiris are immediately followed by another group of twenty one gods who deify each part of Ani so that "no member of mine is devoid of a god" in BD 42.[160] Recall that the standard version of BD 42 has nineteen deities, where this sacred number to Osiris symbolizes regeneration and rebirth and therefore would be clearly a desired state for Ani's body. Yet is has been deliberately altered here to create the symmetrical relationship between twenty one and forty two and thus must have been thought to possess a special magical power of its own. In the case of its use in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion, a transitional zone and entryway to the House of Osiris, it served an important, better still a vital protective function. The two numbers sum to sixty three, which together form a series of nine groups of seven (7 x 3 x 3) . Many of Dawson's associations of the number seven with Osiris are of a protective nature. For example, there are the seven uraei who protect Osiris, the seven doors to the Osiris shrine,[161] as well as the seven portals and their guardians to the House of Osiris in BD 144/147, which follow in the Sloping Passage after BD 99, the crossing of the Winding Waterway to the Field of Reeds. The magical protection afforded by the numerical sequence of 7 x 3 x 3 is further reinforced by the vignettes depicting seven portals, seven *sbꜣ*-gates and three *sbḫt*-gates to the House of Osiris and their guardians. (Plate 269) Magical power resides in the king's cartouches , the images, the hieroglyphs themselves and the gods that they name and of course in the magician, the king. The power to unlock it rests in the knowledge of their names and the recitation aloud of the spells at their proper time.

As to the Ferryman's Spell that was to be recited in the first hour of the night on I *prt* 1, it initiates the ritual sequence of 'the descent to see my father Osiris'. The goal of this portion of the journey is to cross the Shifting/Winding Waterway. To accomplish this, the king must magically assemble the *mḫnt*-boat by naming all of its parts, of which twenty one are listed on the wall at the top end of the Sloping Passage. As a well-equipped magician, the king would know that there are actually twenty two. The missing part of the *mḫnt*-boat from the list in the Osireion is vital to a successful crossing

160 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 31 and 32.

161 See above n.158.

and as such would appear to be no accident that it was omitted. Its absence served an important function here as an additional protective measure. The missing part is the mast-step or mast support without which the mast and sail could not be secured and “the wind, 'since you are carried thereby'”, [162] would not be able to propel the *mḫnt*-boat across the Winding Waterway effectively thwarting the mission. The deity associated with the mast-step is the earth god Aker, *ꜣkr*. [163] Recall from the fifth hour Amduat that it is Aker who guards/forms the entrance to the Cavern of Sokar in the depths of the Underworld, where the watery abyss of the Nun meets the lower *ḏuat*. (Plate 340) Appropriately, the mast-step and earth god Aker form the fifth part of the list of twenty two. Five is the number that signified the *ḏuat* for the ancient Egyptians. In an elegant display of the magical power attached to and underlying ancient Egyptian number symbolism is the use of the number nineteen in the Ferryman's Spell, in the full version of BD 99. The nineteenth item of the twenty two that must be created by the ritualist through his naming its name is the wind. As stated above, it is this statement that provides the key to understanding the underlying meaning of the Ferryman's Spell and so repeat it here:

> “Tell me my name, says the wind, since you are carried thereby.
> 'North wind which went forth from Atum
> to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners' is your name.” [164]

Recall that nineteen is the sacred number to Osiris that symbolizes his rejuvenation. This nineteenth item is that very act which causes his revivification. It is the north wind which went forth from Atum to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners, exactly as Horus, Avenger of his Father, is shown performing on the Foremost of the Westerners in the final scene of the Way of Osiris in the Antechamber. (Plates 224, 225) In the context of this ritual cycle and of *zp tpj*, without this vital act of rejuvenation, the conception of Horus could not have occurred and the created cosmos would not have come into existence and without its annual ritual repetition it would cease to exist.

The star table on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage suggests that the king was allotted one-twelfth of the night, the first interstitial hour, for the assembling of his magical *mḫnt*-boat for the journey to the Field of Reeds on the opposite bank of the Winding Waterway. It has also been noted that a part of this process was deliberately omitted, suggesting a pars pro toto approach be taken for BD 99. Given the length of time that the king spends at this stage, the other omitted sections from the Ferryman's Spell, namely the dialogues with each of the two ferrymen to which the vignette would seem to refer, would likely have been recited also. However, there is nothing in the Sloping Passage to suggest that BD 153A, the chapter for escaping from the net and BD 153B, the chapter for escaping from the catcher of fish, spells often accompanying the Ferryman's Spell in the Books of the Dead of private individuals played any role in the ritual sequence of 'the descent to my father Osiris', where a series

162 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111.

163 L. Lippiello, Symbolic Perceptions of New Kingdom Watercraft: Building Boats from Gods (2004), 21.

164 See above 5.3, page 405.

of seventeen gates from BD 144/147, 146, and 145B immediately follow the Ferryman's Spell. [165]

BD 99, “Chapter for bringing a ferryboat in the God's Domain” begins with a dialogue with the ferryman Mahaf, 'Backward-looker'. [166] “The ferryman involved in this crossing [of the Shifting Waterway] is described as both 'looking/facing backward' (*mꜣ-ḥꜣ.f* [aka Mahaf], *ḥr.f-hꜣ.f*) and 'facing forward' (*ḥr.-f-m-ḫnt.f*). ...Krauss makes the persuasive argument that these descriptions refer to the moon, whose crescent faces away from its direction of travel when waxing and toward it when waning.” [167] I *prt* 1 on the ideal calendar and at *zp tpj* is the Day of the Blacked-out Moon, the first day of the lunar month, which begins the waxing phase of the monthly lunar cycle and explains why the dialogue is appropriately with Mahaf. Given this rare relatively overt reference to the waxing phase of the lunar cycle in BD 99, the underlying numerical structures for the dialogues with the two ferrymen may also prove to be informative. The first section of BD 99 begins with the opening invocation of the ferryman and by its recitation calls him into existence:

> “O Ferryman, bring me this which was brought to Horus on account of his Eye
> and which was brought to Seth on account of his testicles;
> there leaps up the Eye of Horus which fell in the eastern side of the sky
> so that it may protect itself from Seth.” [168]

According to Willems' interpretation of the earlier Coffin Text parallel (CT 398), “the deceased opens his speech with what I consider to be a series of epithets of the ferryman. These describe him as 'one who brings Horus to his Eye, who brings Seth to his testicles, and who brings the barque to Horus when it flies and falls down into his garden, it being saved from the hand of Seth. [CT V 120b-121b] Chr. Jacq is probably right in assuming that the Eye of Horus here designates the ship [ferryboat]. As a matter of fact, the barque mentioned in CT V 120c [CT 398] is in some versions designated as 'Eye of Horus'. This casts some light on what appears at first sight to be a highly obscure passage. It has been pointed out that the presentation of the Eye of Horus is occasionally mentioned in parallelism with the testicles of Seth, and one might add that this happens with particular frequency in the ferryman spells. Therefore the deceased probably means to say that, identified alternately with Horus and Seth, the ferryman brings him to the ferry, which is symbolically referred to as the eye of one deity and the testicles of the other. [Te Velde argues that these vital parts of Horus and Seth represent opposed elements of the created universe. [169]] According to the ferryman's third epithet, he brings the barque to the deceased, but as we have already seen that some versions of the text do not read 'barque' but 'Eye of

165 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2005), 158-165; H. Milde, The Vignettes of the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1991), 175-179.

166 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 110-112.

167 J. P. Allen, Review of Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten JNES 61 (2002), 63.

168 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 110.

169 H. Te Velde, Seth God of Confusion (1977), 50-58.

Horus', On the evidence of earlier parallels, this is obviously the more original reading. The succeeding passages of [CT] spell 398 is none to clearly formulated, a characteristic it shares with the precursors just cited. However, the latter apparently state that the Eye of Horus (i.e. the ferry) jumped across the Winding Waterway to escape Seth, and fell down at the eastern side of the sky. This refers to the ferry's navigation to the Fields of Reeds , which later may be identical with the 'garden' mentioned in [CT] 398." [170] Willems in his discussion of the CT versions of BD 99 adds a footnote. "There may also be a relationship with the texts about the moon, i.e., the Eye of Horus, being freed from the hand of Seth, an event which provides the mythological explanation for the moon's reappearance [in the night sky]..." [171]

The opening invocation of the 'Backward-looker' is followed by nine discourses between the king and Mahaf. Each begins with:

> "O Mahaf, as you are provided/endowed with life,
> awaken Iqen for me, for see, I have come." [172]

In each dialogue, Mahaf responses with a question or series of questions to which the king provides the correct answers, demonstrating his commanding knowledge. For example:

In the first exchange:

> "Who are you who comes?
> I am the beloved of my father,
> one who greatly loves his father,
> and I am he who awakens his sleeping father." [173]

In the eighth exchange:

> "Do you know the road on which you must go, magician?
> I know the road on which I must go.
> Which is the road on which you must go?
> It is 'Power of Earth', and I shall go to the Field of Reeds.
> Who will guide you?
> The Royal Twins will guide me.

170 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 161-162.

171 Ibid., 162 n. 808.

172 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 110.

173 Ibid., 110. A reaffirmation of the king's mission in this sequence of ritual cycle.

Who will tell your name to this august god?
He who is content, the elder brother of Sokar." [174]

In the ninth exchange:

"He [Iqen] does not wake for me.
You shall say: O Vulture-god who rebuilds a courtyard,
I will break your box, I will smash your pens,
I will tear up your books
because of him who is in the Primordial Water.
If I see, Shu will see;
If I hear, Shu will hear;
I will give orders to the Imperishable Stars,
and it will be well with me on earth." [175]

The second series is a dialogue with the now awakened ferryman Iqen, who opens it by asking the first of fifteen questions:

"What is it? Says Iqen; I was asleep." [176]

The remaining fourteen questions form six discourses which all begin with:

"O Iqen, as you are endowed with life,
bring me this [ferryboat]
for see, I have come." [177]

In the first exchange:

"Who are you that comes?
I am a magician.
Are you complete?
I am complete.
Are you equipped?
I am equipped.

174 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 110. The eldest brother of Sokar is probably a reference to Ptah in the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris triad.

175 Ibid., 110-111. The king's reply is in the form of a typical threat-formulae used by the magician to provoke Iqen to awaken.

176 Ibid., 111. The magical threat was effective as Iqen is now awake.

177 Ibid., 111.

> Have you taken care of the two limbs?
> I have taken care of the two limbs.
> What are the two limbs, magician?
> They are the arm and the leg." [178]

In the sixth and final exchange:

> "Have you power over what I have not brought to you, magician?
> That august god will say: Have you ferried over to me
> a man who does not know the number of his fingers?
> I know how to count my fingers; take one, take the second, quench it,
> remove it, give it to me, be friendly towards me; do not let go of it;
> have no pity on it; make the Eye bright; give the Eye to me." [179]

This last exchange holds the key to unlocking the underlying lunar meaning behind both groups of dialogues with the ferrymen and is revealed by the number symbolism on which they are structured. The magician here the living Horus, the king, has accepted the challenge from the august god. Upon close examination, his response to it is a very carefully crafted one indeed. Its structure is based on the number ten, the number sacred to Horus, divine kingship and Horus-Moon, expressed by his ten fingers. Its meaning is better understood when read in parallel rather than sequentially as presented here:

I know how to count my [ten] fingers;

(1) take one,	(6) be friendly towards me;
(2) take the second,	(7) do not let go of it;
(3) quench it,	(8) have no pity on it;
(4) remove it,	(9) make the Eye bright;
(5) give it to me,	(10) give the Eye to me.

In a lunar context, (1) 'take one [the first], (6) be friendly/favorable towards it;' can be interpreted as references to the waxing moon. (2) 'Take the second, (7) do not let it go;' would appear to allude to the second half of the monthly lunar cycle. (3) Quench it [in the sense of diminishing its light], (8) have no pity on it [the necessary dismemberment before rejuvenation can begin];' is to be understood as the waning phase. (4) 'Remove it [the moon is not visible in the night sky, the Blacked-out Moon], (9) make the Eye bright;' can be interpreted as the beginning of the new waxing phase of the monthly lunar cycle starting with the first day of the lunar month, the Day of the Blacked-out Moon. (5) 'Give it to me, (10) give the Eye to me [Horus] refers to the restored eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, the Full Moon.

178 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111. The arm and the leg are to be interpreted in a lunar context as the waxing and waning phases of the moon.

179 Ibid., 111.

This response to the august god in the form of a recitation of ten short cryptic statements by the king, as the living Horus, serves to magically call into existence and creates certain key aspects (waxing, waning, new and full, i.e. what the moon does) of the monthly lunar cycle. It also serves to restore the Eye of Horus to its rightful owner, where the Eye is at the same time the moon and the ferry boat. At this stage of the ritual cycle on the night of the Blacked-out Moon, the moon is in a dismembered state as are the parts of the *mḫnt*-boat, which are to be assembled by the recitation of their names inscribed at the top of the Sloping Passage. (Plates 274 bottom, 275 top)

As discussed above from its beginning, BD 99 has a subtle but distinctive lunar undertone.[180] The numerical structure underlying the two sets of dialogues between the ferrymen and the king reinforce this lunar interpretation. Both the start and the finish of the dialogues embody the number ten, the sacred number to Horus and Horus-Moon. The opening invocation of the 'Backward-looker', that is to say Mahaf the ferryman, is followed by nine discourses between the king and Mahaf. Together they total ten mirroring the structure of the ten short cryptic statements by the king about his fingers at the end. The opening request to the Ferryman, “bring me this which was brought to Horus on account of his Eye”,[181] and the following series of exchanges in the form of a Q&A in the nine discourses between the king and Mahaf total thirty six. The grouping of the exchanges suggest a structure of fifteen and twenty one, which as already has been shown are numbers embodying important lunar symbolism.[182] The second series of exchanges is the dialogue with the awakened Iqen, who opens it by asking the first of fifteen questions. The remaining fourteen questions form a set of six discourses. Again each of the numbers have been shown to have important lunar connotations. Fifteen is the number of days from new moon to the full moon. Fourteen is the number of visible phases of the waxing and waning lunar cycles. Six is the number of pieces of the Udjat-eye, the sound Eye of Horus, which when complete symbolizes the full moon on the fifteenth day. Recall too that the sum of the value of the six fractions represented by the six pieces of Udjat-eye is 63/64. When placed in relationship to the fixed thirty-day month of the Egyptian civil calendar, it yields a precise measure of the length of the synodic lunar month.[183] Finally when the exchanges with the two ferrymen are viewed as a whole, there are a total of fifteen discourses, nine with Mahaf and six with Iqen. When the opening request to the Ferryman and the first question of Iqen which are both outside of the fifteen discourses are included, they total seventeen. Seventeen is both the sacred number to Osiris and Osiris-Moon, representing his dismembering and death, and the number of pieces of the *mḫnt*-boat which must be assembled by the

180 See above 5.3, pages 411-412.

181 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 110.

182 See above 5.3, pages 407-408. On another level the number thirty six in general was associated with the thirty six decanal stars. If this is the case here probably then in reference to their use to measure the hours of the night as do the stars above in the star table on the ceiling. However despite this general association, it probably was not intended here given the extent of the lunar symbolism embodied throughout the Ferryman's Spell and the fact that this portion of BD 99 was not actually inscribed here and if used at all would have been recited from a papyrus roll.

183 G. Priskin, “The Eye of Horus and the Synodic Month” DE 53 (2002), 75-81.

king to cross the Winding Waterway. Seventeen days is the maximum period of covering, *ḥbs*. That is to say "the entire period when the moon first gradually became covered [waning phase] and then remained totality covered [invisible] during conjunction." [184]

Having crossed the Winding Waterway or better still the *ḫȝ*-canal to the Field of Reeds, [185] in the second hour of the night the king is confronted by a series of seventeen gates through which he must pass. [186] There are the seven portals of BD 144/147 and seven gates of BD 146, followed by another three gates from BD145 depicted in the vignettes above the retrograde texts leading the king deeper into the Underworld on the night of the Blacked-out Moon of I *prt* 1. (Plate 269) The numerical symbolism of the seventeen gates highlights the lunar nature of this ritual sequence. It is reinforced by the depiction of exactly thirty one gatekeepers, guardians and heralds. Recall that the number thirty one signifies the number of all combinations possible in any single monthly lunar cycle. [187] Not surprisingly, they are depicted as a group of twenty eight which symbolize the number of visible phases in the waxing and waning of the moon and are followed by a group of three representing the maximum period of the Blacked-out Moon. [188] They form 'a special group of demons belonging to the chapters of the Book of the Dead dealing with the secret knowledge of the netherworld and in particular of the names of its doors and inhabitants, namely Ch. 144 to 150. In particular, Ch. 144-147 show a series of creatures guarding the doors of the netherworld, which may be defined as more than genii, and as demons in the very Egyptian sense of the term: potentially they are harmful for whoever is not provided with the appropriate knowledge to face them, and at the same time they have a protective, positive function for the sacred place they guard, namely the doors and portals of the netherworld." [189] Lucarelli also points out that "the importance of representing these demons pictographically is motivated by the fact that the deceased [or here the king as ritualist] must be ready not only to know their names, but also recognize them." [190]

"Spells BD 144 and 147 are two variants of the same text, which refers to the seven '*ꜥrrt*-pylons of the house of Osiris in the west and the gods who are in their caverns.... The pylons are guarded by

184 G. Priskin, "Coffin Texts Spell 155 on the Moon" Birmingham Egyptology Journal 1 (2013), 37.

185 See above n. 146 on 404.

186 In the Papyrus of Ani also from the early Nineteenth Dynasty, there is a similar arrangement where seventeen gates are depicted through which Ani must pass on his way to see Osiris. See R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11.

187 See above 4.7.

188 Recall from the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the Annex, tenth cavern bottom register, that the '*ḥȝs* who manifest as the limbs of Osiris'-Moon i.e. the phases of the monthly lunar cycle are depicted in a similar fashion. There are two groups of fourteen recumbent deities, twenty eight in total, that are led by a group three recumbent deities, the maximum period for the New Moon. See above 4.7.

189 R. Lucarelli, "Demons in the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stoher (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 209-210.

190 R. Lucarelli, "The guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead" in The British Museum, BMSAES 15 (2010), 86.

triads of demonic beings for each *ꜥrrt*: an *jry-ꜥ3* 'doorkeeper', a *s3w* 'watcher', and a *smj* 'herald'... (Plate 269) BD 145 and 146 are also variants of the same spell, which deals with the passage through the *sbḫt*-portals, each of them guarded by one demon.... Since they originally belonged to the imagery of the Beyond, it is especially notable that the door-guardians can also be found in the ritual context of the Ptolemaic temples, where they contribute to strengthen the army of temple protectors. Apart from excerpts from BD 144 in the temple of Abydos of Ramesses II, and BD 146 in the temple of Hibis at el-Kharga, it is in the so-called Osiride chapels of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor at Dendera that the function of these demons as temple guardians can be better analyzed. More exactly, it is on the walls of the second western chapel that BD 144, 145 and 146 occur. Within the complex of the six chapels, those of the middle (second east and second west) have a liminal function and represent the dynamic and sensitive moment of transition between the rituals devoted to the mysteries of Osiris during the month of Khoiak (performed in the first chapels) and the process of death and resurrection of the god in the third chapels.... the text in Dendera temple is a faithful copy of the Book of the Dead version, with the exception of a few variants for the names of the last three guardians. Moreover, the fact that in Dendara as well as in the ritual papyrus the guardian-demons remain connected to the domain of Osiris, namely to the realm of the dead..." [191] Conceptually, this arrangement in the Osirian chapels at Dendera mirrors that of the Osireion, built some thousand years earlier, where the Sloping Passage serves as the liminal zone. It separates the Antechamber, the western and eastern Akhet, from the Central Hall complex representing the lower *ḏuat*. The rites for the last night of the month of Khoiak are depicted in the Antechamber and thus correspond to the first chapels of the Osirian complex of six chapels at Dendera. Recall too that the Osireion also consists of six main passages and chambers. The Central Hall complex of three chambers corresponds to the third chapels at Dendera, where the rituals devoted to the process of death and resurrection of the god were enacted. [192] It should be noted here that Rodriguez has suggested that there is a link to the lunar cycle in the decoration program of the Osiris chapels at Dendera, where he sees "the process of change of the Osiris-Moon from the New Moon (in the first East Chapel) to the Full Moon (in the first West Chapel) finishes." [193]

"As usual during a moment of transition, the forces of chaos are particularly active, and this may explain why a consistent part of the decoration of the middle chapels [and the Sloping Passage] has an apotropaic character. In particular, it must be remembered that the second western chapel precedes the tomb of the god (namely the third western chapel). Therefore, the spells of the Book of the Dead recorded on it may be associated with the entrance to the realm of the dead. The function of the guardian-demons here is that of opening the gates of the netherworld for Osiris, therefore the private funerary sphere to which the Book of the Dead spells refer gains an amplified cosmogonical and ritual dimension, concerning the rebirth and power of Osiris in the realm of the dead. What is especially

191 R. Lucarelli, "The guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead" in BMSAES 15 (2010), 87-88 and 90.

192 The resurrected form of the vindicated Osiris is the newly conceived Horus on I prt 1, the night of the Blacked-out Moon, and is symbolized by the appearance of the new crescent moon on I prt 2, the second night of the lunar month.

193 D. Rodriguez in a private communication 12/16/13 discussing the presence of the Book of the Twelve Caverns or so-called BD 168 in the Osiris chapels at Dendera.

interesting is that, in the version attested in Dendera only, the textual section concerning the description of the gates and their keepers occurs, while the introductory and final texts, as well as other recitative passages, occurring in the papyrus version in between the names of the gates and doorkeepers, are omitted [which is not the case in the Osireion version of BD 147 and 145, but is for BD 146].... One of the reasons why these figures of door-watchers of the netherworld have been introduced among the legions of the temple genii is to be found in their skill in 'opening the way' (*wn wꜣ.t*), granting passage through the gates and doors separating different domains (earth/netherworld, pure/impure, sacred/profane). Both funerary magic (opening of the gates of the netherworld) and temple ritual (giving access to the most hidden spaces where the rituals were performed) are based on this skill; the guardian demons become therefore the ideal, dynamic link among funerary and daily ritual magic. It is not a coincidence that in BD 145 a recurrent declaration pronounced by the deceased [the king as ritualist] in front of the gates is:

'Make way for me, since I know your name,
I know the name of the god who guards you.'

In the Ptolemaic period the theme of 'opening the way' is also highlighted in what we may call 'ritual papyri', containing royal and divine temple rituals adopted for private, funerary use. These kinds of documents, which are typical of the Ptolemaic period, may include the elaboration of earlier funerary texts such as the Book of the Dead spells on the guardian demons mentioned above....it is clear that the knowledge of the names of these guardians is crucial for granting the passage into the netherworld for Osiris/the deceased."[194] It is also clear that demons were genuinely feared in ancient Egypt as is attested by one of the graffiti from the Twenty Second Dynasty in the Entrance Passage quoted above, where a scribe prays to Re-Horakhti to save him from "the demons, *ḫꜣytw*, that are in this place".[195] (Plate 52, no. 2) The *ḫꜣtjw* are now more precisely defined as 'the slaughters'.[196]

The Osireion version of BD 147 is unusual in a number of respects. Although published in 1933, the text has only recently been correctly identified as a variant of BD 147 by von Lieven more than seventy years later.[197] The depiction of each *ꜥrrt*-pylon of BD 147 is followed by a *sbḫt*-gate of a variant text of BD 146. (Plate 269) They should be viewed as being in parallel rather than considered as simply mixed which is also the case in the papyrus of Nebseni.[198] It is more clearly expressed in the papyrus of Ani where the vignettes and texts of BD 147 and BD 146 are placed one above the other

194 R. Lucarelli, "The guardians-demons of the Book of the Dead" in BMSAES 15 (2010), 88-89.

195 See above 3.1, 79 and n.51.

196 R. Lucarelli, "Demons (benevolent and malevolent)" UEE (2010), 3.

197 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.) 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 167-186.

198 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 164 n. 1160. In the papyrus of Nebseni BM EA 9900, the pylons and gates are depicted in a similar fashion. See E. Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie 1. Band Text und Vignetten (1886 reprint 1971), plate CLV.

with BD 147 in the upper register. [199]

The introduction to BD 147 is unique and again appears to be specifically tailored for its ritual use in the Osireion. (Plate 275 columns 33 and 34)

> "Said when arriving at the first gate/Duat, *sbȝ/dwȝ(t)*,
> Words spoken by the son of Re Merenptah, true of voice:
> Hail to you! Foremost of the Westerners, Osiris, Ruler of Eternity.
> I have come to you, my body under truth, my heart without falsehood.
> You are pure. You are *aḫ* (effective) for your *ḳa* eternally. (recite two times)" [200]

Only in the Twenty First Dynasty papyri does a title first appear for BD 147 in the private Books of the Dead. It reads:

> "Spell for knowing the *ʿrrt*-pylons of the house of Osiris in the West and
> the gods who are in their caverns while offerings for them are upon earth." [201]

It is significant that the version of the Osireion introduction does not make mention of offerings on earth. This reflects the fact that the ritual was to be physically performed in the earth i.e. the *duat*, the Osireion. Unlike in the canonical version of BD 147 for the seven *ʿrrt*, here the more generic name for pylons/gates of *sbȝ* is used in the introduction to the spell(s). This would seem to subtly suggest that both the *ʿrrt*-pylons of BD 147 and the *sbḫt*-gates of BD 146 are meant. Interestingly, the gates of this obscure variant of BD 146 are depicted differently from the *sbḫt* of BD 145. [202] (Plate 269)

The most unusual aspect of BD 147 and one which is possibly unique is the order of the seven gates. In the vignettes, they are depicted in their proper order beginning with the first and ending with the seventh. However in the text below, this order is reversed. It begins with the seventh gate and ends

199 See R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11.

200 Author's translation and transliteration:

> *ḏdwt ḫft spr r sbȝ/dwȝ(t) dpj*
> *ḏd mdw in sȝ Rʿ Mr-n-ptḥ mȝʿ-ḫrw*
> *ʾInḏ ḥr.k ḫntj-jmntjw Wsjr ḥqr ḏt*
> *jj.n.j n.k ḫt.j ḫr mȝʿt ḥȝty.j n(j) grg jm.f*
> *wʿb.k ȝḫ.k n kȝ.k ḏt zp* 2

201 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 164.

202 I have tentatively identified this group of seven gates as a variant of BD 146 based on two of the remaining four names of the doorkeepers although admittedly not in the standard order. 'Longhorn', *ng*, is the name of the doorkeeper of fourth *sbḫt* in BD 146 and 'Terror', *nrw*, from the sixteenth gate. (Plate 269) See T. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 134-135. Furthermore, BD 146 is an abbreviated version of BD 145 which only provides the name of the gate and its doorkeeper. In the obscure variant of BD 146 in the Osireion only the name of the doorkeeper is provided in the vignettes with no mention of the spell in the text section below it.

with the first. "The age-long habit of making puns on words found ample scope in the homophonous words *sfḫ*[*t*], 'seven' and *sfḫ*, 'put off' or 'unloose'. The goddess of writing, Seshat is frequently alluded to by her epithet *šfḫt-ʿby*, 'she who puts off the two horns'. Now the emblem which usually surmounts the head of this goddess is merely a rebus-writing of this title. It consists of two horns inverted, and underneath the horns is a seven-rayed star or rosette. This rosette here stands for *sfḫ* 'put off', its seven rays making the homophonous word *sfḫt* [fem.] 'seven' and the inverted horns indicate that they are put off, i.e. in the reverse of their normal position [as are the retrograde text in which the reverse order of the seven gates of BD 147 are written]. This play upon the word *sfḫ* [and *sfḫt*] occurs frequently elsewhere. The seven companies of gods about Osiris are frequently mentioned in a long Middle Kingdom Spell, in which the barque of the god is invoked. This boat is sometimes personified as a goddess [fem.]. Seven sacred barques were employed in one of the ceremonies performed in connection with the Mysteries of Osiris at Dendera..." [203] Note also here the close association of the number seven with Osiris.

Importantly, BD147 ends as it begins with Osiris in the solar barque with Re and thereby, in effect, creates a continuous cycle. [204] This text is a subtle but clear statement elucidating the monthly lunar cycle. It begins on Blacked-out Moon day, the first day of the lunar month, with the *ḥa* of Osiris in the solar barque together with Re. It ends on the day of last crescent visibility, the last day of the lunar month, with the *ḥa* of Osiris entering the barque of Re as we have already seen in the Book of Caverns. The star table overhead points to a specific day, that of I *prt* 1, when this ritual was to be performed in the Sloping Passage. It marks the start of the new cycle with the conception of Horus and Horus-Moon, as the manifestation of the vindication of Osiris, following the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries on 30 Khoiak, the night of last crescent visibility. To highlight the continuous nature of this cycle in the Osireion, the order of the seven gates have been inverted i.e. reversed. At the same time this also expresses the upside down/inverted nature of the *ḏuat* where the rites were performed. The seventh gate begins the text portion of BD 147 in the Sloping Passage. (Plate 275) The king, true of voice, recites:

> I have come before you, Osiris,
> that I (may) be cleansed (through your) efflux
> and to praise/adore you and cause your efflux to increase.
> May you circle the sky (facing) Re....
> O unique one, you are in the night barque [of Re]
> as he circles the horizon of the sky....

203 W. Dawson, "The number 'Seven' in Egyptian Texts" Aegyptus VIII (1927), 100.

204 This point was recognized by J. Naydler, The Temple of the Cosmos The Ancient Egyptian Experience of the Sacred (1996), 259, but failed to make the lunar connection. "The journey that Ani makes through these halls is a journey undertaken in relation to Osiris. Ani himself is formally referred to as 'Osiris Ani'. From a spiritual perspective, what he goes through is not simply a series of halls but a series of states of consciousness, each of which reflects – as with the gateways to the pylons – a condition of Osiris in the cycle of his death, putrefaction, and rebirth. Before the first hallway Ani describes how 'Osiris goes round heaven sailing in the presence of Re'. This is significant because this is also how Osiris is described when Ani comes before the doorway to the seventh and last hall. Osiris begins, in other words, as he will end. But between the first and seventh halls, Osiris (or Osiris Ani) must endure his own disintegration and reconstitution, with all that this entails."

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

> Make way for king Merenptah, true of voice,
> that he may perform the purification of Osiris.
> Son of Re, Merenptah, has protected Osiris as a justified one;
> King Merenptah has united for him his bones and
> Son of Re, Merenptah [assembled] his limbs. [205]

Osiris in the solar barque together with Re alludes to the first day of the lunar month, the Blacked-out Moon day, specifically here on I *prt* 1. The efflux of Osiris which is also the life giving Nile inundation purifies the king and in return he enhances the efflux. The king further purifies Osiris and assembles his limbs. The limbs as we have seen in a lunar context symbolizes the phases of the moon.

The section of the text for the first gate ends the Sloping Passage version of BD 147 as it began. The king, true of voice declares:

> Son of Re, Merenptah, great one who makes his own light (*sšp*).
> King Merenptah has come before you Osiris,
> that I may praise/adore you,
> the one purified by the efflux within you
> from which the name of Rosetau was made.
> Hail to you, Osiris!
> Raise yourself up in your power and might of Rosetau [i.e. the efflux of Osiris]
> that you may become mighty in Abydos
> so that you may circulate around the sky and that
> you may row facing Re, so that you may see the folk....
> The arm of Merenptah shall not be repulsed from it by the wall of charcoal.
> Open the way in Rosetau, so I may cure the sickness of Osiris,
> so that I may embrace the one who cut his own divine standard,
> who made his way in the great valley.
> Make way for the light (*sšp*) of King Merenptah, true of voice,
> that it/he may pass. [206]

The text identifies this realm as Rosetau to which the Sloping Passage is its architectural equivalent. Long ago, Naville astutely remarked: “The Osiris of the first gate whom the deceased addresses seems to be the moon.” [207] Son of Re, the king as the living Horus, has come to Rosetau to cure the sickness

205 Author's translation of the Sloping Passage text (Plate 275 columns 35-40) is based on T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 139 and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11.

206 Ibid., (Plate 275 columns 63-70).

207 E. Naville, “The Book of the Dead” PSBA 24 (1902), 271.

of his father Osiris by his embrace. The king's embrace brings the light (*sšp*) of the great one, i.e. the light of Re which is embodied in the Son of Re to Osiris-Moon, signifying a union of Re with Osiris and thereby regenerates all three. Then Osiris-Moon is urged to raise himself up here in Abydos so that he may enter the solar barque and circulate around the sky with Re again as he did on I *prt* 1, the day of the Blacked-out Moon .

The texts for each of the pylons in between hint at the various aspects or stages of Osiris' transformation. That is to say his reintegration and renewal. In its lunar context, it is the renewal of Osiris-Moon. At the sixth pylon, the second section of text in the Osireion version, the king declares:

> King Merenptah has come today. King Merenptah has come today.
> Make way for the son of Re, Merenptah, that I may proceed.
> Begotten of Anubis, King Merenptah, venerated Lord as true of voice.
> King Merenptah, true of voice, august one of magic, protector of Maat.
> Son of Re, Merenptah, true of voice who has protected his (Osiris') eye.
> I have rescued it and given the eye of Osiris to him.
> Make way for King Merenptah, true of voice,
> so that Osiris may go (with me) in triumph. [208]

Anubis mummified Osiris and Osiris-Moon by remembering his limbs, a function that the king assumes here as the begotten of Anubis by rescuing and protecting the eye of Osiris and restoring it to him. At the fifth gate, the third section of the text in the Osireion version, the King declares:

> King Merenptah, true of voice, has come and
> brought for him (Osiris), the two jaws that are in Rosetau;
> Son of Re, Merenptah, true of voice, fetched the backbones
> that were in Heliopolis;
> [King] Merenptah has united his many parts thereby.
> I, King Merenptah, true of voice, have repulsed Apophis
> and spat for him (Osiris) upon his wounds.
> Make way for the son of Re, Merenptah, true of voice,
> that he may pass among you.
> King Merenptah, true of voice, is the eldest of the gods.... [208]

The king, the living Horus, has collected his father's scattered divine body parts and reunited them and healing them by the magical action of spitting on his wounds. Importantly, he has repulsed Apophis, the archenemy of creation, who would stop the reappearance of the moon in the night sky on I *prt* 2. In the context of *zp tpj,* by the performance of this ritual the king, the begotten, becomes the begetter and

208 Author's translation of the Sloping Passage text (Plate 275 columns 40-44 and columns 44-47) is based on T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 138 and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11.

is called the eldest of the gods. At the fourth gate, the fourth section of the text in the Osireion version of BD 147, the king proclaims:

> I am the Bull, the son of the Kite of Osiris.
> Behold, you witnesses for his father, the possessor of his grace.
> King Merenptah, true of voice, have cut off harm from him.
> Son of Re, Merenptah, true of voice, has brought life for him [at his nose] for eternity.
> King Merenpath, true of voice, am the beloved son of Osiris.
> Make a path for king Merenptah, true of voice, so that I may pass by. [209]

Importantly, Isis is identified here as the Kite of Osiris. This is the manifestation she will assume in her central role when she conceives Horus on the island in the Central Hall. This marks the moment of the creation of dynastic rule on the first occasion. The Bull, symbol of regenerative power, brings the sweet breath of life revivifying his father as the beloved son of Osiris. At the third gate, the fifth section of the Osireion version, the king states:

> Son of Re, Merenptah, true of voice, [knows] the secret of the deficiency of Nun, [210]
> [and is] the one who separated the Two Companions.
> It is in order that I may drive evil away from Osiris that I have come.
> King Merenptah, true of voice, am the one who clothed his own standard,
> who emerges in the *wrrt*-crown.
> Son of Re, Merenptah, true of voice, has established offerings in Abydos [for Osiris].
> Open the way for me in Rosetau
> because king Merenptah, true of voice, have relieved the sickness in Osiris...
> Make a path for me in the great valley.
> Make a path for the light (*šsp*) of king Merenptah.... [211]

The king assumes the role of Thoth in knowing the secret of the deficiency and in separating the now reconciled Two Companions, Horus and Seth. Again the king protects and restores his father Osiris' dismembered state i.e. the sickness of death in Rosetau (the Sloping Passage). For these acts he emerges wearing the *wrrt*-crown of kingship, the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The light (*šsp*) of king Merenptah is different from that of the light (*sšp*) of the Son of Re at the first pylon.

209 Author's translation of the Sloping Passage text (Plate 275 columns 48-51) is based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11.

210 Here (Plate 275 column 52) I translate gb.s nnw, 'her/its deficiency of Nun' quite literally as an expression of the very nature of the Nun, the primordial watery abyss of nonexistence, i.e. deficient, void.

211 Author's translation of the Sloping Passage text (Plate 275 columns 51-56) is based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 11 with the exception of the beginning of the first column. See above n. 210.

It is now that of the moon. "The word *šsp* is often used in speaking of the pale and silvery light of the moon." [212] This is the light of the new crescent moon that will appear low in the western horizon shortly after sunset on the second day of the lunar month on I *prt* 2. The return of the moon to the night sky is a visible sign of both the vindication of Osiris in his manifestation as Horus-Moon and the birth of Horus, Avenger/Protector of his Father. At the second gate, the sixth section of the Osireion text, the king declares:

> "Sun's Son, Merenptah removes hurt and eases pain from Osiris.
> King Merenptah, justified, sits making the standards of judgment as a second of Thoth.
> Look, stop, you killers with stabbing faces who live on their Maat.
> King Merenptah, justified, is one powerful of mind [*jb*],
> endowed with striking power, who makes his way with fire,
> for King Merenptah, justified, has been bequeathed Osiris's property.
> Make way for King Merenptah, justified, that he might pass.
> King Merenptah, justified, has saved Osiris from the evil-doers,
> so that he may see the Sole One [Re] who circulates every day." [213]

Here too the king is associated with Thoth and proclaims his own might. Further efforts are made by the king to heal his father so that Osiris may see Re, whose rays will bring about their mutual regeneration.

Having successfully passed through the seven *ꜥrrt*-pylons, the king must now enter the *sbḫt*-gates by recognizing each of the gatekeepers and knowing their names. [214] "The procurement of power through use of a name is an aspect of sympathetic magic, known as the Law of Similarities." [215] The power obtained here by knowing the name and reciting it is over the gatekeeper, who controls the access for passing through the *sbḫt*-gate. While there can be as many as twenty one gates in BD 146, [216] only seven were selected to be depicted, complimenting the canonical seven *ꜥrrt*-pylons of BD 147. (Plate 269) From the perspective of the actual performance of this ritual, the placement of each of the *ꜥrrt*-pylons followed by a *sbḫt*-gate suggests that the names of the gate attendants were to be recited in

212 E. Naville, "The Book of the Dead" PSBA 24 (1902), 271.

213 J. P. Allen in a private communication 11/22/14. I am indebted to him for providing me with this translation of columns 57-62 on Plate 275, that I might pass through the second gate.

214 BD 146 is an abbreviated version of BD 145 where at most the names of the gates and their gatekeepers are listed. Here only the names of the gatekeepers are provided and there is no associated text for this group of gates unlike those for the seven *ꜥrrt*-pylons of BD 147 and the three *sbḫt*-gates of BD 145 that follow it. "Limiting the 'text' [of BD 146] to the bare names means focusing on knowing about them, and this is confirmed by the fact that in some variants the title includes the verb *rḫ*: 'spells for knowing the portals'." R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 162.

215 L. Lippiello, Symbolic Perceptions of New Kingdom Watercraft: Building Boats From Gods (2004), 58.

216 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 159.

tandem. It is possible, in deed, probable as in the case of the mast-socket and god Aker in the Ferryman's Spell before it, that the names of the seven associated gates in the canonical version of BD 146 were deliberately omitted from the Sloping Passage. This would serve the function of providing added protection,[217] with the intent to prevent the uninitiated from gaining entrance into the House of Osiris, because he would not know that the names of the gates, which are not given, needed to be recited as well. This was followed by the recitation of the text of BD 147 for each appropriate *ꜥrrt*-pylon, describing the actions of the king on behalf of Osiris and Osiris-Moon, whereas the names recited for the twenty eight gate attendants subtly refer to the visible phases of the full lunar cycle. Nearing the end of the second hour of the night, having passed through fourteen of the seventeen gates, the king encounters the final three gates protecting the realm of Osiris. They are the first three *sbḫt*-gates of BD 145B, which are closely associated with the *sbḫt*-gates of BD 146 preceding it.[218] Yet in the vignettes in the Sloping Passage, the *sbḫt*-gates are depicted in two distinctly different forms. (Plate 269) The reason for this becomes apparent when it is viewed in its lunar context. Recall that seventeen days is the maximum period of covering, *ḥbs*. That is to say "the entire period when the moon first gradually became covered [waning phase] and then remained totality covered [invisible] during conjunction [the Blacked-out Moon]."[219] The first fourteen gates can be equated to the visible phases of the waning moon. The final three gates and their gatekeepers represent the maximum period of invisibility for the Blacked-out Moon. Thus, the descent down the Sloping Passage symbolizes this seventeen day period of the lunar cycle represented by the seventeen gates, the number sacred to Osiris and Osiris-Moon signifying his dismemberment and death. Yet the presence of the thirty one gate attendants, where the number thirty one symbolizes every possible combination for any single monthly lunar cycle, subtly alludes to a successful rejuvenation.[220] By passing through the last three gates, the king will enter the lower *ḏuat* where the moon is to be rejuvenated in the Central Hall, the birth house of Isis, through the ritually induced posthumous conception of Horus, son of Osiris and the son of Re, who will reappear in the night sky on I *prt* 2 in his celestial manifestation as Horus-Moon.

At each of the three gates of BD 145B, the texts indicate that the king is to shout/cry out aloud, *sbḥ*, the name of the gate and its gatekeeper, demanding: Make way for me, for I have come! (Plate 275 columns 73 and 78) "The ancient Egyptian practice of reciting in a loud voice their magico-religious writings, for which purpose was required a proper intonation in order to produce or to obtain the expected result.... The result or effect of this vocal music [i.e. the proper intonation] consists in 'to articulate or utter words or sounds in succession with musical inflexions or modulations of the voice, so as to produce an effect entirely different from that of ordinary speech'. It is such sounding

217 Should the uninitiated have somehow managed to assemble the *mḫnt*-boat and drifted across the Winding Waterway without the benefit of the mask-socket to the Field of Reeds, another obstacle for safe measure was added to prevent his entrance into the House of Osiris.

218 BD 146 is actually an abridged version of BD 145.

219 G. Priskin, "Coffin Texts Spell 155 on the Moon", Birmingham Egyptology Journal I (2013), 37.

220 As we have seen in the Book of the Twelve Caverns and elsewhere, in a "creation text" all possibilities for the lunar cycle being created had to be accounted for – the reckoning.

combinations where the supernatural power of the Sacred Word takes root. The emissions of sounds – chained in intentional and tuneful sequences, according to the particular power of each single word or phrase and to the purpose expected in their employment – conforms the 'spell' so-called; precisely, the words 'enchantment' and 'incantation' express the great value ascribed to the recital of the magical formulas: both of them proceed from the Latin *incantare*, lit., 'to be under (the influence of) the chant (of someone)', so as to define the state of 'being charmed/bewitched'. Therefore, the action of singing is acknowledged to influence upon the capabilities or feelings of the hearer, up to the point of suspending them and of putting the latter in a state of rapture or trance. Such is the power of the Sacred Word when properly intoned by the wise speaker."[221] It would seem then that this '*sbḥ*' would create the desired effect necessary to pacify the Dangerous Goddess in order to pass through each of the three gates of BD 145B. "M. Stadler has convincingly shown that the names of the netherworld gates strongly suggest they themselves are forms of the Dangerous Goddess as well.[222] This interpretation is corroborated by the choice of gates in Deir el-Medineh [on the inside door of the northern chapel, a chapel devoted to Hathor and importantly to the Osireion context, Maat]: *ḫwjt-nbt-ḥkn* 'Protectress, Lady-of-praise' and her guardian *ḥntj-rḳw* 'Slaughterer-of-the-crooked' (gate 5); *sḫm-ṯs-ḥnwt-wˁ* 'Mighty-of-knife, Dame-of-command' and her guardian *ḥwj-ngꜣ* 'Beater-of-the-bull' (gate 4); *ḥnwt-pt-nbt-tꜣwj* "Dame-of-the-sky, Lady-of-the-earth' and her guardian *Ms-ptḥ* 'Child-of-Ptah' (gate2) [of BD 145B in the Osireion]; and finally *nbt-sṯꜣṯ* 'Lady-of-trembling' and her guardian ***Rry*** [*nry*] 'Rearer' ['Terror'] (gate 1) [in essence that of BD 145B in the Osireion]. From the way these gates are arranged on the door jambs, it becomes obvious that they start with gate 1 on the upper left register, continue with 2 on the lower register and then on the right side with 4 on the upper and 5 on the lower register. As there is just one gate in between, namely gate 3, it is tempting to think that this gate is intended to be the actual temple gate on the sides of which the others are inscribed. Indeed, the name of the missing third gate as given in the contemporary Book of the Dead papyri would be more than fitting for a temple gate, linking the chapel for a wider range of gods and an offering hall. For example in P. Turin Museo Egizi 1791, the full name of this gate is *nbt ḫꜣwwt ˁꜣt s: nˁmn nˁr nb jm=s hrw ḥntjt r ꜣbˁw* 'Lady of the offering tables, with great offerings, in which every god makes himself comfortable on the day of sailing to Abydos' [third gate of BD 145B in the Osireion]. The name of her guardian is *sbꜣḳ* 'Illuminator' [as in the Osireion version]. The abundance of offerings also connects with the subject of the Nile flood [the efflux of Osiris], the source of all agriculture in Egypt."[223] There follows at each gate in the Osireion a dialogue with the guardian gatekeeper. The dialogue is the same at each gate to insure that the king is properly equipped and is pure so that he may pass through. At the first *sbḫt*, the king responds that he has been purified by the waters in which Re had purified himself, Osiris at the second *sbḫt*, and Ptah at the third gate.

221 J. Ogdon, "Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Thought, V. A New Look at the Terminology for 'Spell' and Related Terms in Magical Texts" DE 40 (1998), 137.

222 M. Stadler, Weiser und Wesir: Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im agyptischen Totenbuch (2009), 295-319. He proposes understanding BD 145/146 as a ritual of pacification of the Goddess, which would fit the context in Deir el-Medineh well.

223 A. von Lieven, "Book of the Dead, Book of the Living, BD Spells as Temple Texts" JEA 98 (2012), 260.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Kemp has drawn an interesting analogy that may be applicable to the passage through the seventeen gates and the encounters with the thirty one gate attendants in the Sloping Passage. "Here perhaps is an echo of the protocol of the living kings. Access to the king in his palace was regulated, and to reach the king a visitor would pass along passageways, halls and through many doorways until, after much questioning and inspection by the palace guards and officials, the throne room [in the Osireion it would be the Central Hall] was reached." [224]

While there are only three of the gates of BD 145B depicted, it should not be taken as a pars pro toto for the canonical version with its eighteen gates. What is paramount here is the number seventeen symbolizing the seventeen day period of the lunar cycle for the waning phase and that of the Blacked-out Moon. [225] Recall that on the ideal calendar and that of *zp tpj*, I *prt* 1 is the Day of the Blacked-out Moon, the new moon. The annual rites here are for the conception of divine kingship and dynastic rule. But it is also at the time of the new moon, where Horus as the vindication of Osiris and Horus-Moon are conceived on this night to be born anew on I *prt* 2, appearing in the night sky as the new crescent moon low in the western horizon shortly after sunset. [226] Recall too that BD 99, which precedes the seventeen gates along the notional western wall of the Sloping Passage, was also carefully crafted so that there are exactly seventeen parts to the *mẖnt*-boat by deliberately omitting the mast-socket and its god Aker. This sacred number to Osiris is found again in the Central Hall embedded in its architectural design with seventeen niches surrounding the central island, where Horus is conceived on the night of the Blacked-out Moon.

With the passage through the final three gates, the second hour of the night ends and the rituals for the third hour begin. (Plate 35) According to Lapp, the texts that are found on the notional western wall of the Sloping Passage, i.e. BD 99, BD 147, BD 146, BD 145B and the final one BD 125, all belong to the same thematic organization. "Knowing the souls of the sacred places: The texts of this thematic circle may be treated as a connected composition, since they are almost always grouped together." [227] At the bottom of the Sloping Passage, the king is depicted wearing the blue crown standing before an open door shrine carrying the *hqꜣ*-scepter, a royal symbol of rulership, and an ankh representing the sweet breath of life, the north wind that comes forth from Atum. (Plate 271) There at the very entrance to the lower *ḏuat*, the king stands at the threshold between time and space. Recall that this is the location that equates to the end of the lower register of the fourth hour Amduat. [228]

224 B. Kemp, How to Read the Book Of the Dead (2008), 35.

225 It is obvious that I take exception to the widely accepted opinion that "the number [of gates] is not important" as is expressed by J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 191.

226 It should be noted that in a like manner, the sunrise on I *prt* 2 is the rebirth of the sun god as Re-Horus of the Horizons and at the same time also the birth of Horus, son of Osiris, emphasizing here the solar rather than its lunar aspect. See J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 10, 20-21.

227 G. Lapp, The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477), (1997), 40-41.

228 See above 5.1.

(Plate 332) Only this shrine separates him from the Place of Destruction, where the lower *ḏuat* meets the Nun of nonexistence and where creation and renewal begin. Here the final purification rites will allow him to cross over into *ḏt*-time, where he will witness the birth of his mythic prototype, Horus, and his own conception. This ritual passage through the open door shrine and into the broad hall of Two Truths, the First Transverse Hall, will consume a full two hours of the night. (Plates 35, 31) In the shrine are forty two seated deities who await the king's arrival.[229] Standing before the shrine, the king is to recite the text inscribed directly below the vignette.

> To be recited on arriving at the broad hall of the Double Maaty (Two Truths).
> Spoken by king Merenptah, true of voice. He says:
> Hail to you! You gods who are in the broad hall of Double Maaty,
> who have no falsehood in their bodies, who live on truth,
> who gulp down truth on this day of reckoning.
> Speech in the presence of Wennefer that I have made.
> I have the knowledge of you,[230] lords of the place of Two Truths.
> I have brought truth for you. I have expelled evil (*jsft*) for you.[231]

This is an abbreviated variant of the introduction, consisting of only five columns of text, compared to those found in the papyri of the Book of the Dead for Chapter 125A. Gee notes that "the first series of declarations of innocence demonstrates a thematic organization that centers largely on general cultic matters."[232] This series is not found in the Osireion version of BD 125A. Presumably, the king as chief ritualist and who is true of voice would have been completely aware and indeed responsible for these cultic matters so that their recitation would be redundant. The king does address each of the forty two divine judges by name and the individual declaration that is associated with each of them. These forty two "Negative Confessions" in the Declaration of Innocence, in essence, define the actions, deeds, and psychological thoughts that define *jsft* and must be purged.[233] "The magical character of much of the BD indicates that a magical or ritual purgation is the most likely purpose of Chapter 125."[234]

229 The number of figures depicted is not certain but would correspond to the number of deities in the text addressed by the king directly below it and the row of forty two cartouches. See Plates 276, 271.

230 That is to say the king knows the names of each of the forty two divine judges and of the individual declaration/law of *mꜣʿt* that is associated with each of them.

231 Author's translation of columns 89-93 on Plate 276.

232 J. Gee, The requirements of Ritual Purity in Ancient Egypt (1998), 243. For this group of declarations of innocence in BD 125A see: T. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 97; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 115.

233 Similarly, Assmann views BD 125 as a codification of maat. J. Assmann, Ma'at Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Agypten (1995), 136-140.

234 O. Goelet, Commentaries in R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 167.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

According to Hornung, “it [BD 125] is the great purification that alone enables man [here the king] to enter the Beyond, and thus the world of the gods.”[235] This great purification on the first occasion in the mythic realm “assumes the character of a case at law that is conducted at Heliopolis, in the 'Hall of Geb' or the 'House of the Noble', before the two Enneads as a panel of magistrates with Geb (or Atum) as Chief Justice and Thoth as clerk of the court.”[236] The suit was to settle the conflict between Horus and Seth.[237] The verdict would decide who will be the legitimate heir to the throne of Osiris and the right to rulership of the Two Lands. “The judgment pronounced on Horus in this suit – *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, 'true of voice', that is, that he was right in his statement – was an obligatory addition to the name of every deceased person from the Middle Kingdom on. Just like Horus in his lawsuit with Seth, every deceased person was to emerge 'justified' from the examination that decided his fate in the afterlife. The suit over the succession to the throne constituted the mythic prelude in whose light the present situation, the 'now' of the decease's arrival in the realm of the dead, was explained, notwithstanding the fact that it had been about rule over Egypt and not about eternal life.”[238] It is important to recognize that this entire process was completely disrupted by the heretic Akhenaten and had to be restored. This was a major if not the major function of the Osireion where the first occasion, *zp tpj*, was created anew in order to restore maat. Recall too that these rituals were being performed for an auspicious occasion. It is I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day, the annual celebration of the coronation of the king, the living Horus, and of Osiris as Ruler of the West. It is at the time of the Blacked-out Moon and the conception of Horus. It marks the start of the planting season with the receding of the waters of the Nile inundation, the efflux of Osiris, which has brought renewed life to the Black Land.

In the Osireion the canonical version of BD 125B is inscribed beneath the shrine with its forty two assessors at the entrance to the First Transverse Hall. “Over the more than 1500 years of the spell's tradition, the set of negative confessions remained remarkably stable, varying from (BD) manuscript to manuscript only in sequence.”[239] The version of BD 125B “presented in Ani's papyrus [early Nineteenth Dynasty] consists of an address [also] to the forty two gods of the tribunal. Some commentators have tried to connect this number with the nomes of Egypt, those small city-states into which the country was divided administratively. Actually, the number of nomes varied throughout Egypt's history, yet the number of deities in the council of Chapter 125 remained constant. A more plausible explanation is that the number forty two was chosen because it is a multiple of seven, a number which had an important role in Egyptian magical thought.”[240] This is indeed correct. The significance of the number seven and its multiples has long been known as has its association with

235 E. Hornung, “Black Holes Viewed from Within Hell in Ancient Egyptian Thought” Diogene165 (1994), 136.

236 J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 135.

237 See the comprehensive study by G. Griffiths, The Conflict of Horus & Seth (1960).

238 J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001), 137.

239 M. Stadler, Judgment after Death (Negative Confession), UEE 2008.

240 O. Goelet, Commentaries in R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 167.

Osiris.[241] Less well recognized is the association of the number seven with the Moon. Among others, "the seventh lunar day also appears to have been important."[242] Then there are the fourteen visible phases of the waxing moon and of the waning lunar cycle. We have just seen that the number twenty one is the sum of six and fifteen where six represents the six pieces of the Udjat-eye and fifteen the number of days from the New Moon to the Full Moon, the restored and complete Udjat-eye.[243] Then there are the twenty eight visible phases of the monthly lunar cycle. That is to say the limbs of Osiris. Forty two is the sum of six, seventeen and nineteen. Six is the number of pieces of the Udjat-eye. Seventeen is the sacred number to Osiris symbolizing Osiris-Moon's dismemberment and death.[244] Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris signifying his rejuvenation and renewal. Said another way, the six pieces of the Udjat-eye which are dismembered over seventeen days are made complete by Thoth, symbolized by the number nineteen. Therefore, the number forty two can be interpreted as representing the complete monthly lunar cycle.[245] In the context of *zp tpj* to which the rituals in the Osireion are directed, it symbolizes the creation of the monthly lunar cycle. At another level, forty two can also be interpreted as signifying the limbs of Osiris. This interpretation refers to the "myth of the dismemberment of Osiris, whose body is said to have been torn apart after his death and his limbs dispersed throughout Egypt, each nome receiving one of them.[246] The myth seems to anticipate not only the cult of relics so widespread in Early Christianity, but also the Christian idea of 'ecclesia' – a new form of association and collective identity that constitutes the body of Christ in much the same way as the forty two nomes of Egypt constitute the body of Osiris."[247] The fact that it is not known at what point before the Ptolemaic period that there were a total of forty two nomes is not as problematic as it first might seem for linking the forty two magistrates of the divine tribunal in BD 125B to the body of Osiris, symbolizing the entirety of the land of Egypt. It is known that in the Fifth Dynasty, the twenty two nomes of Upper Egypt were already established.[248] Recall that there are a total of thirty one limbs of Osiris that constituted the monthly lunar cycle as depicted in the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the Annex, yet no individual lunar month is thirty one days in length. What the number thirty one signifies is every combination possible for a given lunar month of twenty nine or thirty days.

241 For example W. Dawson, "The number Seven in Egyptian Texts" Aegyptus VIII (1927), 97-107.

242 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 59.

243 See above 5.3.

244 See above 5.3.

245 The arrangement of the forty two divine judges in BD 125B in the tomb of Ramsesses VI supports such a division. They are depicted in two rows with twenty five magistrates in the top register and seventeen in the lower register. Using the Osireion version as the template for the order of the deities in the royal tomb, after the sixth judge the order for the sequence of the judges was disrupted but restored later so that the final seventeen judges in the lower register again follow the same order as in the Osireion. In essence, this arrangement falls into groups of six, nineteen and seventeen.

246 H. Beinlich, Die Osirisreliquien. Zum Motiv der Korperzergliederung in der altagyptischen Religion (1984).

247 J. Assmann, "Semiosis and Interpretation in Ancient Egypt" in S. Biderman, B. Scharfstein, Interpretation in Religion (1992), 98.

248 D. O'Connor, private communication on 11/21/14.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Similarly, if the kingship of Egypt was connected to the lunar cycle so too would be the land that they governed, there being a maximum number of forty two nomes even if there were at some point a few less. As we have seen in the myth, the panel of magistrates were the two Enneads. Isis is said to have created and equipped the Greater and Lesser Enneads for the benefit of the sound eye, the Udjat-eye in the passage from p.BM 10208.[249] So here again is another link between the magistrates of the tribunal, who number forty two in BD 125B, with the monthly lunar cycle, the limbs of Osiris, and the forty two nomes. According to Assmann, "the most astonishing and wide-reaching instance of sacramental explanation was the political interpretation of the rites of Khoiak in the temples of the Graeco-Roman Period. We do not know how early this tradition reached back.... The decisive theme was the transformation from disunity to restored unity, which was celebrated in the form of a 'canopic procession'. In the Osiris chapels at Dendera, this procession is depicted in the middle room of the western chapel [itself a transitional zone]. Here, we see personifications of the forty two nomes of the land, led by great and superordinate deities, each bringing a vase with a decorated lid (*canopus*). Each vase contains a limb from the body of the slain Osiris [and as Osiris-Moon], out of which the body will be ritually put back together. Among the directions for carrying out the festival of Khoiak, there are exact instructions for preparing the limbs of Osiris' body. They were made of a special dough that was baked in wooden molds. We may thus presume that along with Nile water, each of the vases contained one of these limbs. The accompanying texts repeatedly make mention of the 'discharges' of Osiris. In the late stages of Egyptian history, the Nile and its inundation were ever more closely connected with Osiris. In each case, the offering is subjected to a double sacramental explanation. One explanation refers the offering to the specific limb of Osiris' body that is brought in it as a contribution by the respective nome to the restoration of the god's body. On the second level, the limb is explained as the nome and its capital, with the result that the body of Osiris, restored and brought back to life, represents the entirety of the land of Egypt. This point is expressed clearly in the speeches of the king, who accompanies this procession:

> I bring you the cities and the nomes as your limbs.
> The gods are assigned to your body as your mystery.
> The divine limbs are the nome gods in their true form.
> I bring you the company of the gods of Upper Egypt in their entirety;
> Your divine limbs are gathered in their place.
>
> I bring you the capitals of the nomes: they are your limbs,
> they are your *ḳa*, which is with you.
> I bring your name, your *ḅa*, your shadow, your form (*qj=k*),
> your image, and the cities of your nomes.
> I bring you the chief gods of Lower Egypt, united together.
> All the limbs of your body, they are united.

249 M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 122. See above 4.6.

(speech of the *meret* of the north:)
I bring you the forty two cities and nomes: they are your limbs.
The entire land is founded for you as the place of your body,
you go there, you come there.
I bring you the limbs, that you may live.

(speech of Wepwawet of the north:)
I bring you your nomes, the forty two are with you: they are your body.
Your bones are joined together for you,
your name is 'Ruler-of-the-capitals'
the entire land preserves your grave.
As Re lives, you rest daily in your name 'He-who-lives-and-rests.

Here, the embalming ritual is applied to the entire land of Egypt in order to heal its disunity, to unite it, to endow it with life, and to renew it [like the Moon]. The festival period begins with the finding and embalming of the forty two scattered limbs of the slain Osiris, which are brought from the forty two nomes of the land and ritually joined together and brought to life, and it ends with the funeral of Osiris and the coronation of Horus, his son and avenger [on I *prt* 1]." [250]

We have already seen at the fifth pylon of BD 147 that the limbs of Osiris come from different nomes in Egypt with the jaws from Rosetau (part of the ninth nome of Lower Egypt, Busiris) and the backbones from Heliopolis (capital of the thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt). On the opposite wall of the Sloping Passage in a speech by Thoth (BD 1), he says "so that I might be with Horus as the protector of the arm of Osiris who [which] is in Letopolis." [251] Letopolis is the capital of the second nome of Lower Egypt. From this, it would appear to be quite clear that the different limbs of the slain Osiris were already associated with individual nomes and suggests that they represented Egypt in its entirety by the early Nineteenth Dynasty. The greater and lesser Enneads who formed the tribunal subtly tie it to the lunar cycle and that aspect of divine kingship, as does the number forty two, the number of magistrates who are in the hall of Two Truths. Since "the Declarations of Innocence first appear in the Book of the Dead early in the reign of Thutmose III, [252]... [and] Thutmose III was buried with a copy of Book of the Dead 125 containing the negative confession", [253] it would seem to hint at an

250 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2001), 363-365.

251 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 5. T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 5, translates it as the left shoulder that is in Letopolis. The point being that a specific body part of Osiris was from the capital of the second nome of Lower Egypt.

252 "The earliest example is the tomb of Senenmut, which is securely dated; P. Dorman, The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353, (1991), plates 30-34" and it should be noted that "there is no particular connection with the judgment of the dead. In fact, there is no consistent association of the vignette depicting the Judgment of the Dead with Book of the Dead 125 until after the Nineteenth Dynasty." J. Gee, The Requirements of Ritual Purity (1998), 71 including n. 300.

253 J. Gee, The Requirements of Ritual Purity (1998), 86. For the texts on his shroud see I. Munro, Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Agyptischen Museum Cairo Textband (1994), 41-45, Photo Taf. 14-19.

even earlier origin for this connection.

By the ritual act of reciting the names of the forty two divine magistrates of the tribunal in front of the broad hall of Two Truths, the king calls them into existence. By reciting the declaration associated with each the king, in essence, creates maat by defining what it is not.[254] Having successfully completed the recitation, the king proceeds into the broad hall, where BD 125C would have been inscribed of the left, west side of the notional south wall. (Plate 31) It was "to be recited just at coming into the broad hall of Two Truths".[255] The wall decoration of the First Transverse Hall is completely destroyed. However in the main, it can be reconstructed by using the decoration of the corresponding hall of Two Truths, Hall H, in the tomb of Ramesses VI of which the Osireion was the template.[256] The group of spells are the same, but the sequence would have been read in the reverse order so that in the Osireion, BD 125A and BD 125B found immediately outside of the First Transverse Hall in the Sloping Passage started the sequence. They are followed by: BD 125C just inside the First Transverse Hall on the left side of the notional south wall and placed below a vignette of the king invoking the god Heka; then BD 124; BD 127; BD 129 (= BD 100); a hymn to the goddess Maat below a vignette of the king praising the goddess; and BD 126 with its vignette of the twin Lakes of Fire placed adjacent to the entrance to the Central Hall on the left side of the notional north wall of the First Transverse Hall, at the exit to the broad hall of Two Truths.[257] (Plate 287) Given the much larger size of the First Transverse Hall in comparison to Hall H in the royal tomb, this group of spells with the vignettes would have easily fit on the walls of the notional western half of the hall thereby keeping the unfolding of the progression of the performance of the rites of 'the descent to see my father Osiris' in the West, i.e. the left side where they began at the top of the Sloping Passage.

In the tomb of Ramesses VI, 125C, section 4, ends abruptly at the entrance to Hall H with:

"Come, come in peace! For King N has heard what the Ass has spoken to the Cat."[258]

The remaining lengthy sections are omitted completely. Interestingly, Abitz had astutely observed that "Ramesses IX continues with the final text of the spell [BD 125C] at the precise point Ramesses VI breaks off."[259] This would suggest that Ramesses IX had in all likelihood used the same original source

254 Interestingly, *jsft* is also created here by its aspects being named, but like Seth was understood to be a necessary part of the created cosmos with its characteristic dual nature.

255 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 100.

256 See Appendix A and A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 319-325, plates 104-111.

257 Similar to the reversal of the position of the Book of Gates in the entrance corridors of the tomb of Ramesses VI compared to its location in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion.

258 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 325.

259 Perhaps hinting at a connection between the two rulers and/or their tombs. F. Abitz, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX" in C.N. Reeves (ed.), After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes (1992), 169.

as Ramesses VI, which may well have been the complete version from the Osireion.[260] The scene of the king invoking the god Heka (placed above the text of BD 125C in the hall of Two Truths, Hall H) is otherwise unattested.[261] (Plate 285) However as the Osireion was its template,[262] it too was most likely taken from the First Transverse Hall. In the context of the first occasion, which Seti had to re-create in order to establish maat, the god Heka was an essential divine element for the unfolding of creation and explains why this god was depicted in the broad hall of Two Truths, the place of the re-establishment of maat. Furthermore, invoking Heka served to endow the king with Heka's own essence as his *ḳa* to insure that the final stage of his purification and entry into *ḏt* time are magically assured and thereby accomplished. "Running through these texts [creation accounts], however, is a secondary theme of creation by means of the spoken word. CT 335/BD 17 [also found in the creation accounts of the Osireion] seems to describe the creation as a development of the word, and relates the process of Atum's self-realization to this concept by explaining how he 'created the identities ('names') of his parts'. More specifically, Atum's self-realization begins as a *concept* and is given reality through being *expressed*: 'It was as I wished, according to my heart, that I built myself'; 'He created me in his heart, he

260 "The decoration of the tomb of Ramesses VI differs from that traditionally employed since the time of Seti I [because he chose instead to use the Osireion as his template as discussed in Appendix A].... The decoration plan in the tomb of Ramesses IX is, in important parts, a development of that in the tomb of Ramesses VI [and thus that of the Osireion].... The decoration schemes of the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX correspond as follows:

Scenes at the beginning of the first corridor: in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, the king appears in front of Re in a richly decorated shrine.
Book of Caverns: first-fourth division in the first and second corridor (right), parts of the fifth and sixth division in the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: complete representation of the Book [of Caverns] over the entire right wall in the upper part of the tomb.
Imy-duat [Amduat]: starts with the second division in the second corridor, with the second division and the beginning of the third division in the third corridor. Ramesses VI: first-eleventh division in the fourth and fifth corridors.
The Book of the Earth: a few scenes in the sarcophagus chamber [including that of the scene still remaining in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion]. Ramesses VI: the entire decoration in the sarcophagus hall consist of this Book.
Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead: Ramesses IX continues with the final text of the spell at the precise point Ramesses VI breaks off.
Spell 126 of the Book of the Dead: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the anteroom.
The astronomical ceiling, including the decans, planets, the northern constellation, and the Ramesside star clock: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the second and third corridors.
The Book of Day and the Book of Night: employed by both Ramesses IX and Ramesses VI on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber.
The scene depicting the resurrection of Osiris: rear wall of the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: ceiling of the anteroom....
For the ceiling of the fourth corridor of Ramesses IX has taken the newly structured scenes from Ramesses VI. They are shown in the center, famed by parts of the Book of Day and the Book of Night, the awakening of the blessed on their mummy biers and the Mehen-snake. In the third corridor of Ramesses IX the scenes with the appearance of Re and the barges for the journey of the king are missing.

The above comparisons serve to establish the fact that Ramesses IX copied essential elements of his tomb decoration from his predecessors. Parts of his tomb are a continuation of the program newly developed by Ramesses VI. On the other hand, there exists a surprising number of innovations in the texts and scenes [that perhaps could also have been taken from the Osireion's Final Transverse Hall]."
F. Abitz, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX" in C.N. Reeves (ed.) After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes (1992), 168-169.

261 Ibid., 166-167. A similar scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX (KV 6) is also found alongside BD 125C and BD126 with its vignette of the twin Lakes of Fire. However, it has been modified such that the king is depicted with raised arms in adoration rather than a pose for invoking the god. (Plates 290 and 285). Furthermore, the god is no longer Heka but is instead the hawk-headed Khons-Neferhotep-Shu.

262 See Appendix A.

made me in his efficacy'; 'I surveyed in my heart myself' and 'I used my own mouth – my identity is Magic'. The last term, 'Magic', is the principle through which a spoken command is translated into reality. Like other forces, it is an element of the Egyptian world, and is not limited to speech alone. Anything that produces an effect can be thought as having this force. Its role in the creation is described in Spell 261 of the Coffin Texts.

> Becoming Magic [Heka, *ḥkꜣ*]
> O noble ones who are before the lord of totality!
> Behold, I am come to you.
> Be afraid of me, in accordance with what you have learned.
> I am the one who the Sole Lord made
> before two things had developed in this world,
> when he sent his sole eye,
> when he was alone,
> when something came from his mouth,
> when his million of *ḳa* was in protection of his associates [limbs],
> when he spoke with the one who developed with him,
> than whom he is mightier,
> when he took Annunciation in his mouth.
> I, in fact, am that son of the one who bore all,
> being in protection of that which the Sole Lord commanded.
> I am the one who gave life to the Ennead.
> I am Acts-As-He-Likes, father of the gods,
> high of stand,
> who made the god functional in accordance with that which he who bore all commanded,
> a noble god, who speaks and eats with his mouth.
> . . .
> All was mine before you developed, gods.
> Go down, you who came at the end!
> I am Magic!

CT 261 identifies the deceased [here the living king] with the force of Magic, a role that enables him to command the gods and function as a living being. The value of this identification is the priority that Magic has over all created things, including the other forces of nature. Magic itself, however, is [only] subordinate and subsequent to the creator himself: 'I am the one whom the Sole Lord made', 'that son of the one who bore all'. It came about at the creator's first utterance, 'when something came from his mouth, in the 'dialogue' between potentiality and nonexistence that initiated the development of creation: 'when he spoke with the one who developed with him'.” [263]

263 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts (1988), 36-37.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

In the tomb of Ramesses VI, stands a god with a *wꜣs*-scepter and ankh who is identified as:

> "Magic [Heka], the Eldest of the *Ḳaꜥ* of Re.

At the entrance, above the text [BD 125C], the king is represented raising his arm as if to address [invoke] the god Magic. (Plate 285) Above the king are his two names and an inscription:

> Protection and life like those of Re for ever [eternity, *ḏt*]."[264]

The focus here is not on being in cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, but transitioning back into *ḏt* time, so that the king can witness the mysteries of the first occasion. But first he must become equipped with the eldest *ḳa* of his father Re, Heka, to complete the final purification rites in the broad hall of Two Truths which will enable him to gain access to *ḏt* time and the mysteries of the first occasion. In this particular case, the Two Truths would appear to refer to the two times of *nḥḥ* and *ḏt* with the ritual journey through the hall representing the transitioning from the realm of cyclical time, *nḥḥ*, to *ḏt* time of *zp tpj*. "The epithet 'eldest', given to the Magician in the Amduat and elsewhere [i.e. the Book of the Night] is a reference to the creation. On the Sphinx stela of Thusmose IV the epithet is explained with the words 'concerning the holy [sacred] place of the first time' (creation)."[265] Recall that the king in this ritual sequence has already announced to the ferryman Iqen that he is the Magician [BD 99]. "We know that the Magician is himself [also] one of the 14 *ḳaꜥ* of the king. In a Coffin text he is even called Lord of the *ḳaꜥ* (*nb kꜣw*)."[266] Thus it would seem here that by ritually invoking the god Heka, the king is acting to strengthen this particular aspect of his essence necessary, in deed, vital for the task of the transition to *ḏt* time so that he will not only witness but also participate in the mysteries of the first occasion. Heka, the son of the one who bore all and who gave life to the Ennead, provides the power for the king to function as a creator in creation on the first occasion, which includes witnessing the conception of Horus and his own conception in the birth house of Isis, the Central Hall.[267] Interestingly, the role of the god Heka, who as He-who-Acts-as-He-Wishes, which is the epithet of one of the forty two divine assessors, appears to play only a comparatively minor role in the hall of Two Truths in BD 125 of private individuals compared to that god's prominence in Hall H in the tomb of Ramesses VI and therefore in the broad hall of Two Truths in the Osireion. Presumably this most likely reflects a different function that the hall of Two Truths and the god Heka serve for private individuals; for the king as Osiris in his royal tomb; and the king as the living Horus on the day of his annual coronation celebration, I *prt* 1, with its re-creation on the first occasion in *ḏt* time.

264 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 320.

265 H. Te Velde, "The God Heka in Egyptian Theology" JEOL 21 (1970), 180. For the Sphinx stela text see: Urk IV, 1542,3.

266 Ibid., 179.

267 Similar to the function of the divine birth scenes in Luxor temple (room IX) and Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahari from the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Central Hall as the birth house of Isis served to legitimatize Seti's claim to the right to rule as the living Horus, son of Osiris, and the rightful heir to his throne. See below 5.4.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

This broad hall of Two Truths, Double Maaty, was itself considered to be a living sacred entity, located at the threshold to or in *ḏt* time. This is quite evident from the dialogue that the king has with each of the parts of the hall in BD 125C. In the context of *zp tpj,* this dialogue serves to call the hall of Two Truths into existence by naming and thus activating its components as the king had done earlier with the parts of the *mḫnt*-boat in BD 99. Following a lengthy speech by the king demonstrating his knowledge of obscure mythical allusions and cultic acts in which the king repeatedly affirms his purity, he is granted permission to enter through this gate of the broad hall of Two Truths, for you know us.[268] To do so the king must first enter into a dialogue with with the parts of the gate and the hall itself.

"'We will not let you enter by us', say the doorposts of this door, 'unless you tell our name'.
'Plummet of Truth' is your name.
'I will not let you enter by me', says the right-hand leaf of this door, 'unless you tell my name'.
'Scale-pan which weighs Truth' is your name.
'I will not let you enter by me', says the left-hand leaf of this door, 'unless you tell my name'.
'Scale-pan of wine' is your name.
'I will not let you pass by me', says the floor of this door, 'unless you tell my name'.
'Ox of Geb' is your name.
'I will not open to you', says the doorbolt of this door, 'unless you tell my name'.
'Toe of his Mother' is your name.
'I will not let you enter by me', says the hasp of this door, 'unless you tell my name'.
'Living Eye of Sobek, Lord of Bakhu' is your name.
'I will not open to you', says this door, 'unless you tell my name'.
'Breast of Shu which he placed as a protection for Osiris' is your name.
'We will not let you enter by us', say the cross-timbers, 'unless you tell our names'.
'Children of uraei' are your names.
'I will not open to you nor let you enter by me', says the doorkeeper of this door,
'unless you tell my name'.
'Ox of Geb' is your name.
'You know us; pass by us'.
'I will not let you trend on me', says this floor of this Hall of Justice [Two Truths].
'Why not? I am pure'.
'Because I do not know the names of your feet with which you would trend on me.
Tell them to me'.
'Secret image of Ha' is the name of my right foot;
'Flower of Hathor' is the name of my left foot.
'You know us; enter by us'.
'I will not announce you', says the doorkeeper of this Hall of Justice, 'unless you tell my name'.
'Knower of hearts, searcher-out of bodies' is your name.

268 See T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 99-100 for this portion of BD 125C, sections 4, 5 and 6. See also R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 115-116.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

'To which god shall I announce you?'
'To him who is now present. Tell it to the Dragoman of the Two Lands'.
'Who is the Dragoman of the Two Lands?'
'He is Thoth.'
'Come!' says Thoth. 'What have you come for?'
'I have come to report.'
'What is your condition?'
'I am pure from evil, I have excluded myself from the quarrels of those who are now living,
I am not among them.'
'To whom shall I announce you?'
'You shall announce me to Him whose roof is fire, whose walls are living uraei,
the floor of whose house is the waters [of the Nun].'
'Who is he?'
'He is Osiris.'
'Proceed; behold, you are announced.
Your bread is *wḏ͗ȝt*, the Sacred [Sound] Eye,
your beer is *wḏ͗ȝt*, the Sacred [Sound] Eye;
what goes forth at the voice for you upon earth is *wḏ͗ȝt*, the Sacred [Sound] Eye'." [269]

The number symbolism of the structure for this dialogue, which forms the end of BD 125, is carefully crafted. It consists of exactly seventeen sets of questions and answers. [270] It serves to reinforce the underlying lunar aspect of 'the decent to see my father Osiris' over its seventeen day cycle, in essence, mimicking the nightly movement of the visible manifestation of this god as the waning moon, the dismemberment, and new or Blacked-out Moon, the death. Osiris is the answer to the seventeenth and final question by Thoth. Thoth is both the regulator of the cycles of time and also he who reassembles the six parts of *wḏ͗ȝt*, the Udjat-eye, with his own fingers to make it sound and complete. The message here is made clear at the end by the repetition three times of the goal of this ritual sequence: Sound Eye, Sound Eye, Sound Eye. That is to say the left lunar Eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, who is conceived on this day of the Blacked-out Moon, I *prt* 1, and born anew on the day of first crescent visibility. This message is subtly reinforced by the division of the text into two distinct sections. The second part consists of the last six questions which begins with "to which god shall I announce you?" It concerns Thoth and Osiris, both well known for their lunar association. This sequence of six questions

269 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 116.

270 Interesting to note is that in Allen's translation of BD 125C which is from the earlier papyrus Ce, the Eighteenth Dynasty hieroglyphic papyrus of *Ywjw*, there are only16 sets of Q&A. See T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 100. They are divided into two groups of ten and six. Ten is the number sacred to Horus and Horus-Moon, the waxing phase of the monthly lunar cycle. Six is the number of pieces which constitute *wḏ͗ȝt*, the Udjat-eye, the restored left lunar eye of Horus, i.e. the full moon. Following the 16 sets of Q&A, Thoth grants *wḏ͗ȝt* 3 times bringing the total count to 19, the number sacred to Osiris signifying regeneration, renewal and rebirth. The number symbolism employed here would seem to suggest a shifted emphasis to the waxing and restorative phase of the lunar cycle from that of the later version translated by Faulkner with its seventeen sets of Q&A equating to the seventeen day period of the waning moon, the dismemberment, and the new or Blacked-out Moon, the death.

subtly refers to the six pieces of the Udjat-eye that Thoth will reassemble. Assembled the Sound Eye is the full moon which as we have seen, Osiris is said to enter the moon when it is complete i.e. full. [271] In the context of *zp tpj*, the complete lunar cycle of both the waning and waxing phases are being created on the first occasion. At the end of BD 125 in this broad hall of Two Truths, the verdict is pronounced by Thoth and expressed in cultic terms.

> "Proceed [with the unfolding of the lunar cycle]; behold you [the king] are announced.
> Your bread is the Sacred [Sound] Eye,
> Your beer is the Sacred [Sound] Eye,
> What goes forth at the voice [the reciting of the ritual]
> for you upon earth is the Sacred [Sound] Eye
> [the reappearance of the moon to the night sky as the start of its waxing phase]." [272]

The cultic actions of offering bread and beer symbolically represent the two component halves of the Sound Eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye. The recitation of the ritual itself by the living Horus, the king, will cause or at least assist in the moon's reappearing in the night sky. Recall the words of Ramesses IV:

> "I have not been forgetful on the day of *my* new moon festival
> for (I) pacify the Moon-god
> [by the offering of bread and beer as its two ritual component parts],
> so that he may shrine forth [at first crescent visibility]." [273]

The waxing moon to the ancient Egyptians was a manifestation of the living Horus, the king, which is why Ramesses IV referred to it as the day of *my* new moon festival.

As in Hall H, the hall of Two Truths in the tomb of Ramesses VI, there would have been no Weighing of the Heart in the First Transverse Hall of the Osireion. Thoth has already rendered the verdict on this day of the great reckoning. The living Horus, the king, true of voice has been granted permission to proceed. What follow are a series of spells related to 'the descent to see my father', beginning with BD 124 for entering the Council of Osiris. Next comes:

> "Book of praising the gods of the caverns (*qrwt/qrrwt*),
> which a man pronounces after having reached them
> in order to enter and see this god [Osiris] in the great mansion of the *ḏuat*." [274]

271 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 135. "You [Osiris] will enter the sound eye [the full moon] and unite with it. Your hue will illuminate the land at night, when you come into being as Osiris the moon."

272 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 116.

273 Year 4 Abydos Stela of Ramesses IV. See above 4.3 at n.217.

274 Author's translation based on A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 322 and plate 106 = my Plate 286.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Known as BD 127, it was taken directly from the Litany of Re.[275] In it, the king states: "Open for me the gates of the *ḏuat* for I am the *ḫa* of Osiris".[276] Recall that in the final scene of the Book of Caverns, the *ḫa* of Osiris is depicted in the solar barque, having been rejuvenated with renewed potency for the task at hand, the conception of Horus which will occur on the island in the Central Hall. The passage from the Litany of Re is followed by BD 129:[277]

> "Book of initiating an effective one/of making perfect
> and causing him to descend into the barque of Re
> with those who are in his following."[278]

In it is the statement: "If I [the king] am powerful, the Sound Eye [the Udjat-eye] is powerful and vice versa."[279] Clearly it is another reference to the king in his lunar aspect and as the *ḫa* of Osiris. At the end of this spell, the king is said to raise the Djed-pillar and to set up the *tjt*-amulet and the gracious remark Thoth had made to Re was with the approval of the *ṯnnt-pr*.[280] All are found in the adjoining Central Hall of the Osireion.

A large vignette of the king in adoration of the goddess Maat, Daughter of Re residing in Thebes, (Plate 286) is followed by a lengthy hymn of praise to Maat, this Eye of Re, appropriately placed in her broad hall of Two Truths.[281] Finally at the entrance to the Central Hall would have been another large vignette of the king, arms raised in adoration, before the twin lakes of fire, part of BD 126. (Plate 288) The spell ends with the reply to the king by the four guardian baboons of each of the two lakes of fire:

> "Come then, Osiris king, Lord of the Two Lands, son of Re, true of voice.
> We have done away with the evil, we have annihilated the sins.
> That which had to be cut off from you is on the ground;
> We have removed all the evil which was on you.

275 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 137. Niwinski called attention to a possible relationship between BD 127 and the contents of BD 168, the Book of the Twelve Caverns, making the link through the word *qrrt* 'cavern', used in both the title of BD 127 and for the twelve caverns. See A. Niwinski, Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C. (1989), 162-163. This same connection could also be made with the *qrrt*-pylons of BD 147 which preceded BD 127 in the Sloping Passage.

276 Author' translation based on A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 322 and plate 107 = my Plate 289.

277 BD 129 is the same as BD 100.

278 Author's translation based on T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 82 and A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 321 and plate 106 = my Plate 286.

279 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 82.

280 Ibid., 82.

281 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Rameses VI (1954), plates 105, the hymn consisting of twelve columns plus one with the kings names, and 106, the vignette.

Enter Rosetau, pass by the mysterious portal(s) [*sbḥ*(*w*)*t*] of the West!..." [282]

The twin lakes of fire form the final purification rite for the king on entering Rosetau and the presence of his father Osiris. Notably, the use of the twin lakes of fire is restricted. They are only attested in the tombs of Ramesses IX and Ramesses VI and by extension in the Osireion, their original source. In the numerous other instances on papyri and in non royal tombs, there generally is only a single lake of fire. Furthermore, the royal representations of the twin lakes of fire occur only in the context of the hall of Two Truths. [283] This would seem to suggest that the dual representation of the lake of fire in some manor, which is unclear, was tied to the dual nature of the hall of Two Truths itself. Perhaps analogous to the two pans of the scale used in the weighing of the heart often shown in the Hall of Two Truths, the twin lakes of fire served the same purpose, the purging of *jsft*. [284] It has already been suggested that the Two Truths in the context of *zp tpj* refer to the two times of *nḥḥ* and *ḏt*. [285] The ceiling decoration of the First Transverse Hall, the Osireion's hall of Two Truths, further points to another aspect underlying and defining the Two Truths, that of the night time and the day time, which are intimately connected to *ḏt* and *nḥḥ* time. The one remaining roofing stone in the notional northwest corner is decorated with parts of the opening scenes of the Book of the Night. [286] Using the decoration of the tomb of Ramesses VI for its reconstruction, it would have been paired with the Book of the Day. [287]

282 Author's translation based on A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 320, plates 104 and 105 = my Plates 285, 288.

283 In the case of the much smaller tomb of Ramesses IX, it was the section of the second corridor which corresponds to the hall of Two Truths, where the texts of BD 125, BD 126, its vignette of the twin lakes of fire, and the scene of the transformation of the king to a god in front of Khons-Neferhotep-Shu, a deity not otherwise attested in the Valley of the Kings, are grouped together. See F. Abitz, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX" in C.N. Reeves (ed.), After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes (1992), 166-169, 176 and fig. 28 = my Plate 290 .

284 For the lake of fire as an alternative to the weighing of the heart see J. Taylor (ed.), Journey Through the Afterlife Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (2010), 217. For an analysis of the lake of fire see E.S. Abbas, The Lake of Knives and the Lake of Fire (2010) and M. el-Weshahy, "Studying Representation of the 'Flame Lake' in the Egyptian Underworld" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007), 641-652.

285 See above 5.3, 436.

286 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 16.

287 See Appendix A. A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.) 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 167-186. She has concluded with some confidence that originally there wound have been another copy of the Book of Nut in the First Transverse Hall. Thus, the ceiling configuration of the First Transverse Hall would be consistent with that of the Second Transverse Hall in the rear. She bases this on her investigation of the positioning of the known compositions of the Books of Nut, the Night, and the Day. She found that it is regularly the case that the Book of the Night when it is combined with the Book of the Day, occupies the west side as expected. However, when it is put together with the Nut Book, it moves to the east side. Because in the present case the Book of the the Night is on the eastern side, the Nut Book may be reconstructed for the west side. Unfortunately, it is not nearly this clear cut. First of all, the configuration for the ceilings of the First and Second Transverse Halls are not the same. The Book of the Night is preceded by the very important composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques in the Second Transverse Hall but is provably absent from the First Transverse Hall. Secondly,the small size of the sample makes it statistically difficult to form hard and fast rules. Thirdly, in the Osireion the two attested Books of the Night are on a east-west axis with the goddesses' head in the west, not a north-south as Parker and Neugebauer had demonstrated. This is discussed in greater detail in 5.7 below in the discussion of the ceiling decoration of the Second Transverse Hall. Suffice it to say in the unfolding of creation as it is portrayed in the Osireion, the First Transverse Hall represents a later stage in that process where the Book of the Day needed to be called into existence so that the sun may rise from the the eastern akhet, the Antechamber, on the first occasion. Nor would it allow for the two Books of the Day as found in the tomb of Ramesses VI, for which the Osireion was the template.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

From CT 335 and its descendant BD 17 the relationship is clarified:

> "I am the great Phoenix [*bnw*-bird] that is in Heliopolis,
> the accountant of that which exists [*ntt wn*].
> Who then is he?
> It is Osiris.
> As for that which exists,
> it is Eternal Recurrence and Eternal Sameness.
> As for Eternal Recurrence [*nḥḥ*], it is day;
> as for Eternal Sameness [*ḏt*], it is night." [288]

The location of the hall of Two Truths between the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat, signals that the dominion of Maat includes the *ḏuat*, as it does on the earth and in the heavens, day and night, Eternal Recurrence (*nḥḥ*) and Eternal Sameness (*ḏt*). In short, she rules throughout the created cosmos.

The vignette of the twin lakes of fire at the entrance to the Central Hall points to their location within the Central Hall. As we have seen the lake(s) of fire are in Rosetau, fifth hour Amduat, and surround the cavern of Sokar deep in the core of the man made island of the Central Hall. Having passed through the hall of Two Truths in the third and fourth hours of the early night, *bkɜt*, the king, now purged of all impurities and true of voice, has transitioned out of *nḥḥ* time and entered *ḏt* time of the fifth hour Amduat where the lower *ḏuat* meets the watery abyss of the Nun of preexistence where creation begins. [289] (Plate 31) He will not only witness but also participate in the mysteries of creation in the birth house of Isis, which culminate with his own conception as the living Horus and symbolizes the start of dynastic rule. It is the beginning of *wšɜw*, the deep night, and the mysteries will consume all four hours of *wšɜw*, the fifth through eighth hours of the night. [290] Inscribed on the lintel and the doorjambs of the entranceway leading into the Central Hall is the important text known as BD 183. [291] This chapter is first attested in the hieroglyphic papyrus of the Royal Scribe and Steward of King Seti I, Hunefer, BM EA 9901. [292] Given its content and apparent early Nineteenth Dynasty origin, it may well have been originally written for ritual use in the Osireion. The chapter relates to key aspects of the

288 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 34.

289 Ibid., 27. Using Allen's analogy: "The Egyptian notions of Order and Eternal Sameness [*ḏt*], Life and Eternal Recurrence [*nḥḥ*], reflect a view of the world that is like a play on the cosmic scale. Like a play, the characters and script are always the same. Yet each performance of the play is different, with different actors and different settings. The Order of the world, its Eternal Sameness [*ḏt*], was written in the beginning and remains fixed; its acting out [unfolding], in the Eternal Recurrence [*nḥḥ*] of Life, is new each day." In the context of the Osireion and *wḥm mswt*, it is the script and characters of the cosmic play of the first occasion, *zp tpj*, that are being rewritten by Seti I in order to restore maat after the Amarna Hersey.

290 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 35 and 50.

291 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 66.

292 J. Taylor (ed.), Journey Through the Afterlife Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (2010), 310.

rituals to be enacted in the Central Hall. Its title is:

> Worshiping Osiris, giving praise to him.
> Kissing the earth before Wennefer.
> Touching the forehead to the earth/doing obeisance
> to the Lord of the Sacred Land;
> exalting Him who is on his sand. [293]

The final section from the later Twenty-first Dynasty version in the Greenfield papyrus ends with:

> "Exultation and rejoicing are made for you [Bull of the West]
> in White Walls (Memphis);
> praise is showered on you within Mendes,
> (you) Pillar-Ram, Lord of the Blacked-out Moon Day,
> for whom the 6th-day feast is celebrated." [294]

The Lord of the Blacked-out Moon Day, the Bull of the West, aptly describes the ithyphallic reclining figure of Osiris, the Pillar-Ram on his lion-headed bier, who on this day of the Blacked-out Moon, I *prt* 1, will impregnate Isis and conceive their son Horus, legitimate heir to the throne of Geb on the island in the Central Hall. (Plates 432, 426, 427, 434)

The underlying numerical symbolism embedded in the structure of the text of BD 183 can on one level be interpreted in a lunar context. There are eight sections to be recited by the king on behalf of the Lord of the Eight, Thoth, who was closely associated with the moon and the dynamics of the lunar cycle. The Nineteenth Dynasty version of this text can be divided into 103 statements, which opens with three statements by the king.

> "I have come to you,
> O son of Nut, Osiris, Ruler of Eternity [*ḥḳꜣ ḏt*, Eternal Sameness];
> I am in the suite of Thoth and
> I am joyful because of all that he has done [for you]." [295]

The introductory three statements, in effect, divide this text into two parts and establishes a ratio of 100 to 103. We have seen this numerical relationship in the structure of the Book of the Gates in the first ritual cycle and again in the ninth *qrrt* of the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the second ritual cycle.

293 Author's translation based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 133-134. He who is on his sand is an epithet of both Osiris and in the fifth hour Amduat, Sokar.

294 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 202.

295 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 133.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The significance of the ratio 100 to 103 lies in its function of reconciling the Egyptian solar based civil calendar with the lunar cycle. Recall that there were 300 months in twenty five civil years and exactly 309 lunations in that same period of *nḥḥ* time.[296] Recall too that in the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber, there are exactly 103 names of Osiris enumerated. The final one ends with the mark of plurality, III, subtly alluding to the 309 lunations in twenty five civil years.[297] Furthermore, the 103 statements comprising the text of BD 183 can be grouped into three major divisions of 42 + 19 + 42, all bearing important lunar numerical associations as we have seen. Briefly, 42 = 6 + 17 + 19, where six represents the six pieces of the Udjat-eye, the restored left lunar Eye of Horus. Seventeen is the number sacred to Osiris-Moon, symbolizing his dismemberment, the waning moon, and death, the Blacked-out moon. Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris signifying his regeneration and rebirth as Horus-Moon, who was conceived at the time of the Blacked-out moon and born on the day of first crescent visibility. Importantly, the lunar cycle is at the same time the cycle of the institution of divine kingship. The ancient Egyptian concept of kingship embodied two manifestations of the same god.[298] They are Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, *ḥqꜣ ḏt*, Eternal Sameness, and the living Horus, Ruler of the Two Lands i.e. *ḥqꜣ nḥḥ,* Ruler over cyclical time. In the context of the lunar cycle, Osiris represents the waning phase and Horus, the waxing moon. The Blacked-out moon is the time of the mysteries of the dead Osiris' posthumous conception by Isis of his legitimate heir, his son, Horus and Horus-Moon which are to be enacted on the night of I *prt* 1, during the four hours of *wšꜣw,* the deep night, in the Central Hall, the birth hall of Isis.

The first division of forty two statements in BD 183 contain aspects and key actions of the rituals to be performed in the birth house of Isis, and also include the announcement by the king of their successful outcome.

> "He [Thoth] brings to you sweet air for your nose,
> life and dominion for your face, and
> fair is the north wind which goes forth from Atum to your nostrils,
> O Lord of the Sacred Land.
> He causes the sun [Re] to shrine on your breast.
> He illumines the dark way for you.
> He removes the evil which is on your body
> by means of the power which is on his mouth [the spells he utters].
> He has pacified the Rival Gods for you.
> He has stopped the raging and the tumult for you.
> He has made the Rivals well-disposed to you, and
> the Two Lands are peacefully reconciled before you.

296 See above 4.7.

297 See above 4.6.

298 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus", JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22.

> He has driven anger from their hearts for you, and
> they fraternize with each other." [299]

This concludes the first section of the eight in Allen's analysis and translation of BD 183. [300] Here Thoth revives Osiris with the sweet breath and north wind which goes forth from Atum to his nostrils. He causes Re to shine on Osiris' breast, symbolizing the union of Re with Osiris, which rejuvenates them both. And the Two Lands have been peacefully reconciled. Next, the king tells Osiris:

> "Your son Horus is vindicated in the presence of the entire Ennead.
> The kingship over the land has been given to him, and
> his uraeus pervades the entire land.
> The throne of Geb has been allotted to him [Horus], and
> the potent [functional] office of Atum has been confirmed in writing [by Thoth]
> in a testament [*jmyt-pr*] which has been engraved on a block of sandstone,
> according as your father Ptah-Tatenen commanded from upon the great throne...." [301]

With this testament, *jmyt-pr*, written in stone by the hand of Thoth, the means for the royal succession has been reestablished from father Osiris to Horus as the son and legitimate heir after the Amarna Hersey that had abolished it. [302] It was necessary for Seti to reach back to the very beginning of time on the first occasion to restore *mɜʿt* and by so doing legitimatize his fledgling dynasty. With the recitation of these words by the living Horus to his father, Osiris, his vindication has been decreed and thereby magically assured. "As the son of Osiris and Isis, Horus is the 'tenth member' of the [Heliopolitian] Ennead. As 'heir of his father' (CT VI 185d) he is both the culmination and prime beneficiary of the great cycle of the natural elements incorporated in the Ennead.... This pivotal role places Horus at the focal point of the cycle represented in the Ennead, as the sun is the focal point of the created world. His 'kingship on earth' is the same natural principle that is manifest in the sun's domination of all creation." [303]

All of the remaining forty two statements in the first division of the text of BD 183 reinforce the harmony that has been restored to the Two Lands by the vindication of Horus. The final twelve are:

> Your heart [Osiris] is happy;
> your heart, O Lord of the Gods, possesses all joy.

299 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 133-134.

300 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 200-201.

301 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 134. In all likelihood, the Osireion version would have been in the first person.

302 See above 1.3 for the significance of the legal document, *jmyt-pr*, in the transfer of royal power.

303 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 11.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The Black Land and the Red Land are at peace,
while they serve your uraeus.
The shrines are made firm in their places,
towns and nomes are established by name.
They make presentation to you [Osiris] with god's-offerings.
Men make offering to your name forever;
men call out praises to you because of your name;
men present libations to your *Ka* and
invocation-offerings to the spirits [*aḫu*] who are in your suite;
water is poured over halved bread-cakes for the souls [*bas*] of the dead in this land.
Every design of yours is as effective as in its former state! [304]

The second and central division of the text of BD 183 consists of nineteen statements describing Osiris as Osiris-Moon, symbolizing his successful rejuvenation and renewal.

Appear [dawn, *ḥꜥj*], O son of Nut [Osiris-Moon]
like the Lord of All in his glorious appearings [dawnings].
For you are living, permanent, young and real.
Your father Re has made your body hale.
Your Ennead give you praise.
Isis is with you, not leaving you without felling all of your enemies.
The lords of all the lands worship your [Osiris-Moon's] beauty
like Re when he shines at dawn.
You appear/dawn as one upraised on his standard,
where your beauty becomes exalted and widespread.
The Kingship of Geb has been given to you,
for he is your father who created your beauty.
It was your mother Nut, who bore the gods,
who brought your body into being [visible moon in the night sky],
who bore you as the Greatest of the Five Gods, [305]
who made the White Crown [*ḥḏt*] firm on your head, [306] and
you grasped the crook and the flail while you were yet in the womb,
before you came forth on earth.

304 Author's translation based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 134 and T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974). 201.

305 A reference to the birth of Osiris on the first of the five epagomenal days which Plutarch said, Thoth had won in a game of draughts against the moon goddess, Selene. "He won the seventieth part of each of her illuminations, and having put together five days out of the whole of his gains, he added them to the three hundred sixty [days of the year]." E. Otto, Ancient Egyptian Art The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1967), 61.

306 For the *ḥḏt*, White Crown, as the full moon disk, see K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 167.

You have appeared as lord of the two banks,
while Re's Atef-crown is on your brow.
The gods come to you bowing down,
and the fear of you pervades their bodies.
They see you (imbued) with the dignity of Re,
and dread of your Majesty is in their hearts.
Life is with you,
Authority follows after you.
Truth is presented before you. [307]

The third and final division of the text of BD 183 can be grouped into a series of forty two more statements, pertaining to *mꜣʿt*. It ends with the words of Thoth himself.

I am Thoth, the skilled scribe whose hands are pure.
The Lord of Purity who drives away evil;
who writes what is true,
who detests falsehood [whose abomination is *jsft*], [308]
whose pen defends the Lord of All;
master of laws who interprets writings [lit. who make writings speak],
and whose words have brought order to the two banks.

I am Thoth, Lord of Justice/Truth [*mꜣʿt*],
who vindicated him whose voice is hushed;
protector of the poor man, who has suffered loss of his property;
who dispels darkness
and who clears away the storm.
I have (given) breath to Wennefer,
the fair breeze of the north wind
as (at) his coming forth from his mother's womb.
I have caused him to enter into the secret cavern
in order to revive the heart of the Insert One,
Wennefer, the son of Nut, the vindicated Horus. [309]

BD 183 began with the king announcing that he is in the suite of Thoth and ends with Thoth's speech. The vignette that accompanied this recitation would have shown the king, true of voice, behind the

307 Author's translation based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 134 and T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 201.

308 Exactly as the king stated to Horus, son of Osiris, in the opening scene to the third, the annual, ritual cycle in the Entrance Passage.

309 Author's translation based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 134 and T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 202.

ibis-headed god himself, offering symbols of life and dominion for Osiris at the entrance to the Central Hall, the birth house of Isis.[310] Thoth's presence is of paramount importance here because it is Thoth "who makes/creates Eternity", *ḏt*, and is said to be "the Ruler of *ḏt*", in two of his epithets.[311] Thus as "the *ɓa* of Re", "who has come forth from Re", and is "the representative of Atum", the creator god,[312] it is only he who is able to rewrite the script of the creation play of the first occasion for Seti's *wḥm mswt*, thereby restoring *mɜʿt* after the Amarna Hersey as "the Lord of Maat" and "the Lord of laws".[313] He is depicted again in the Central Hall and also has the epithet "He who is on his stairs" in the second hour of Amduat.[314]

The rituals to be enacted on I *prt* 1, the night of the Blacked-out Moon, in the Central Hall and the Second Transverse Hall behind it, will consume all four hours of the deep night, *wšɜw*, hours five through eight. (Plate 35) The key episodes of the rites are succinctly summarized by the three scenes in the innermost central and therefore most sacred chapel in the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years.[315] (Plates 426, 427, 428) In spite of their damaged condition, fortunately each of the scenes can be recognized from other similar scenes in Seti's Abydene complex and from his other Mansion of Millions of Years at Gurna.[316] As David rightly recognized, the scenes on the two side walls are the same identical scene.[317] They depict the conception of Horus. The fact that it occurs twice in the most scared chamber of the Osiris Complex underscores its extreme importance. "The main representation is concerned with life emerging from death, mythologically expressed as the posthumous procreation of the son: Osiris is lying on a bier decorated with lion heads and lion feet. On both sides stand, or rather squat, mourning women. On top of his body she hovers with outspread wings the female kite – Isis – and she receives from him the seed of the son."[318] Although largely destroyed, the scene between them on the rear wall can be identified with a high degree of certainty. All that remains are the lower part of a god with a goddess standing directly behind him. (Plate 429) The position of the god who is leaning forward and is holding the shaft of a staff in both hands provides the key. It is quite different from David's suggestion that "it is quite possible that this scene

310 Mirroring the opening scene in the Osireion version of the Book of Caverns, where the king is also depicted standing behind the Ram-headed Sun god and is part of this same ritual cycle. For a similar arrangement in the early Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus of Hunefer, Royal Scribe and Steward of Seti I in BM EA 9901 see T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 200 n. 305. For the vignette see E. Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbucb der XVIII bis XX Dynastie Bd. I (reprint 1971), plate CCIX.

311 P. Boylan, Thoth The Hermes of Egypt (1922, reprint 1987), 181, 192.

312 Ibid., 185, 186, and 180.

313 Ibid., 188.

314 Ibid., 194.

315 Room 11 in A. Calverley, The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos III: The Osiris Complex (1938), plate 62.

316 E. Otto, Ancient Egyptian Art The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1967), 58.

317 R. David, Religious Ritual at Abydos c. 1300 B.C. (1973), 238 and R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981)

318 E. Otto, Ancient Egyptian Art The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1967), 58. See also Temple of Dendera Conception of Horus scene = my Plate 434.

Calves', described elsewhere in the temple."[319] However, this is most unlikely for a number of reasons. Foremost is that in the rite of 'Driving the Calves' elsewhere in the temple, the king is shown holding a rope attached to the four calves in one hand and not a very long staff in both hands. (Plate 450) He is also depicted standing upright and not leaning forward. Furthermore, the depiction of the rite of 'Driving the Calves' in the corridor leading out to the Sacred Precinct at the rear of the temple makes perfect sense. The rite was to be performed outside in the Sacred Precinct, where the trampling of the earth was carried out to conceal the location of Osiris in the subterranean Osireion beneath it from his enemies. Moreover, in room 11 in the Osiris Complex, the rite of 'Driving the Calves' placed between two scenes of the conception of Horus makes no sense ritually or otherwise. However, what does make sense is a scene of Horus awakening Osiris by placing the staff of the breath of life, symbolized by the ankh sign at its tip, to the nose of his father. The angle of the staff held in the hands of Horus suggests that Osiris is uplifting from the prone position as he is being revived by the north wind from Atum, the sweet breath of life, placed at his nostrils.[320] (Plates 376, 375, 374, 371) Independently, von Lieven had also arrived at this same conclusion. "In spite of the enormous destruction, the remains of a *wꜣs*-scepter held by a slightly bent figure in an unambiguous position leaves no doubt as to the identification of the scene."[321] Importantly, this same scene is also found in the Second Transverse Hall behind the Central Hall of the Osireion in the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques which Roberson has called the "Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and the Sky",[322] where this sacred ritual awakening occurs after the union of Re with his corpse, Osiris, at the depths of the *ḏuat* in the Place of Destruction.

The king, standing in the entrance to the Central Hall will recite the Book of Praising Re in the West, Praising the United One in the West (Litany of Re). But first, much can be gained in the understanding of the rites to be performed from an analysis of the decoration of the notional northern wall of the Central Hall. (Plates 298, 299, 300) "Spiegel based his interpretation [of the texts in the pyramid of Unas] on the idea that architecture is often signified, in terms of symbolism and/or function, through the chosen decorative programs for its different elements. This relationship between space and decoration is known in Egyptology as the concept of Raumfunktion."[323] Its use will help clear up a number of misconceptions of the function of the Osireion and in particular that of the Central Hall.

319 R. David, Religious Ritual at Abydos c. 1300 B.C. (1973), 238. First suggested this tentative identification of the scene and reiterates it in her later A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 151.

320 Recall that at the beginning of the third ritual cycle, Horus, son of Osiris gives the king the sweet breath of life to carry to their father.

321 Author's translation of A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 181-183.

322 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in the Most Concise Book of the Underworld and the Sky (2013).

323 N. Billing, "The Corridor Chamber. An Investigation of the Function and Symbolism of an Architectural Element in Old Kingdom Pyramids" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Egyptologists II (2007), 183-184. For this concept see D. Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in agyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reich (1962).

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERTIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.4 ANALYSIS OF THE DECORATION – CENTRAL HALL REAR WALL

Like the six parts of the restored Eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, six cult statues of Osiris flank the vertical axis formed by the central column on the rear wall of the birth house of Isis. (Plate 303) Three on each side highlight the dual nature of his cult and of divine kingship. Osiris and Horus are one god, that of divine kingship, who rules over both the world of the living and the realm of the afterlife. In their visible manifestation as the moon, Horus, born on the night of first crescent visibility, represents the waxing phase and Osiris, who enters the moon when it is full, the waning phase, symbolizing his dismemberment. His death on the night of the Blacked-out Moon marks the start of the new cycle, when he posthumously conceives Horus on this night of I *prt* 1 in the birth house of Isis. The arrangement of the six cult statues mirrors the architectural design of the Osireion itself, with its six main chambers and passages divided into two halves.[324] Before each of the six cult statues of Osiris stands the king, the living Horus, performing rites for his father. Together they represent the dual aspect of the nature of divine kingship in its totality. These twelve royal figures plus the three sacred symbols of the cult of Osiris in the central column total fifteen, signifying the number of days for completion from Blacked-out moon to the full moon. It is the additional figures of the king which will complete the intended number symbolism.[325] Including the four smaller representations of the king on either side of the Abydene fetish and Djed-pillar, they total nineteen, the number sacred to Osiris signifying his successful rejuvenation,[326] that of divine kingship and of the lunar cycle, as does the upright Djed-pillar at its center which was raised at the end of the night before on 30 Khoiak at the culmination of the Mysteries of Osiris.[327] (Plate 303) The ten solar disks in these nine central scenes on one level can be interpreted as symbolizing the creation process represented by the Heliopolitan Ennead. The product of which is its tenth member Horus. As will be shown, it is Horus who is being conceived on the island in the Central Hall. This begins the new cycle, which marked the start of dynastic rule on the first occasion of which Seti is the seventy-sixth ruler. Following the culmination of the rites for the Cycle of 76, the annual renewal of kingship, the coronation of the king, *ḥʿw-nsw*, was celebrated, in both its aspects of the living Horus, the legitimate Ruler of the Two Lands, and of

324 The Entrance Passage, Antechamber, and Sloping Passage represent the upper *duat.* The two Transverse Halls and the Central Hall are the lower *duat.*

325 Recall the nineteen figures of the king added to the Osireion version of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168). See above 4.7.

326 Interestingly, the four figures of the king are grouped in two pairs such that 15 + 2 aside the Djed-pillar = 17 and signal the first phase of renewal that of dismemberment with the Abydene fetish at the top 17 + 2 = 19 rejuvenation.

327 The Djed-pillar was probably raised in the hour preceding sunrise, *ḥḏ tɜ*, given that it is surmounted by the solar disk. See A. Spalinger, “Night into Day” ZAS 119 (1992), 147 and 155.

the vindicated Osiris, the Ruler of the West, crowned on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day.[328]

The ten scenes that surround the six cult statues of Osiris refer to key aspects of his cult and divine kingship including the transfer of royal power, symbolized by the number ten, the number sacred to Horus. (Plate 306) In the third register of the five on the rear wall, there are four scenes where the king is depicted making offerings to two goddesses on either side of the central column. (Plate 310) Of the relatively few goddesses depicted in the Osireion reliefs, four are found in this register pointing to their importance. The two goddesses on the left are clearly identified as Shentayet, *šntꜣyt*, and Heqet, *ḥḳt*, both residing in Abydos. From the later period texts at Dendera , they indicate that Shentayet opened the final nineteen day period of the Cycle of 76 and the start of the Khoiak festival, the Mysteries of Osiris, with the molding of the body of (Osiris) Khentamenti (the corn mummy) on IIII *ꜣḫt* 12, as only Shentayet could prepare.[329] Heqet is the "frog goddess who assisted in fashioning the child in the womb and who presided over its birth."[330] This divine midwife was the goddess which "'hastened the birth' of the three kings who inaugurated the Fifth Dynasty [Westcar Papyrus].... Mythologically, Heqet's life-giving power caused her to be associated with the Osiride family of deities and the afterlife...."[331] As 'hastener of births', she was associated with and symbolized the final stage of the Osiris Mysteries with the rejuvenation and rebirth of Osiris. Together these goddesses, who are also depicted in portable shrines in the first hall of the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years,[332] (Plate 311) represent a pars pro toto for the entire ceremonial rites of the nineteen day Khoiak festival. The right side of the register paralleling the scenes on the left is largely destroyed. (Plate 310) However, enough traces remain of the goddesses' feathered headdresses and names to safely identify them as the same goddesses Shentayet and Heqet.[333] In all likelihood, it is Shentayet who resides in Busiris, Osiris' other major cult center in the north. Shentayet of Busiris was also associated with the

328 Second New Year's Day also marked the beginning of the planting season, *prt*, following the receding of the Nile inundation, the efflux of Osiris, which renewed the fertility of the Black Land. The seeds were planted throughout the forty two nomes of Egypt, the body of Osiris, for their germination and spouting to new life. On this auspicious day (I *prt* 1), the Feast of Nehebkau was celebrated. Nehebkau whose name literally means 'He who grants *Ḳꜣs*' was primarily a beneficial serpent deity associated with the providing of foods and as such was linked to the beginning of the planting season and the sowing of grain. See D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple (2006), 48-49. Importantly, Nehebkau as the 'Uniter of *Ḳꜣs*' of Horus and Osiris was also associated with the assumption of royal power by the new king on I *prt* 1. See H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1948 reprint 1978), 103-104.

329 E. Chassinat, Le Mystere d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak I (1966), 69 and D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 169 for an English summary of the festival.

330 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 229.

331 Ibid., 229.

332 A. Calverley, A Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos III (1938), plate 14. Here they are depicted in their zoomorphic forms.

333 They are not Isis and Nephthys, the other logical possibility. The scant traces of the goddesses' name wouldn't match. However, the "t" in *ḥqt* is still visible in the name of the goddess closest to Osiris and so is what appears to be the "n" in *šntꜣyt*. See also the EES excavation negative AB_13_0075 = my Plate 298.

opening of the nineteen day Khoiak festival on IIII *ꜣḫt* 12.[334] In the context of *zp tpj*, it would be essential to have her depicted here as well. Furthermore, there is also Heqet, who resides in Busiris, recorded in the Dendera texts as well.[335] In the second room of the eastern Osiris chapel on the roof of the temple of Hathor at Dendera, there is a scene. "Three figures gather around a bucket on top of a lion bed [bier], while Osiris stands to the left and is approached by the king. On top of the lion bed, Shentayet, wearing the Nephthys hieroglyph [i.e. Lady/Mistress of the House], kneels with hands over two containers of small round objects towards the bucket.[336] [The text reads:]

> 'The Shentayet residing in Busiris, mistress of the golden-seed,
> mistress and lady of the beautiful [Djed] pillar-town working with the golden-seed,
> make yourself entirely pregnant with the *ḥa* of the beloved Osiris.[337]
> Beautiful in appearance, mistress in the Gold-temple,
> for whom the two lands have become excited
> when you give birth to the god [Horus]."[338]

Clearly here the role of Shentayet is in the conception of Horus and lends support for my reconstruction of a statue on the island in the Central Hall of an awakening and aroused Osiris lying on a lion-headed bier impregnating Isis in her form as a kite as is depicted twice in the innermost and most sacred chapel of the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years.[339]

It is also possible, although less likely in my opinion, that the badly damaged scenes with the two goddesses on the right side of the third register could be a duplicate of the scenes on the left side as is hinted at by the king wearing the red crown in both of the offering scenes before Shentayet.[340] Presumably, the duplication of the scenes could have been deemed necessary because it was not only

334 "As for what is done there in Busiris, it is done on IIII *ꜣḫt* 12 in the presence of Shentayet residing in Busiris..." G. Graham, "The Mysteries of Osiris from the First Room of the Eastern Osirian Chapel on the Roof of the Temple of Hathor at Dendara" (2000), 3. Contact greg@egyptology.com

335 S. Cauville, Dendara Les chapelles osiriennes (1997) X/1, 208; X/2 plates 100 and 129.

336 In the parallel scene on the opposite side of the door, Shentayet wears the Isis hieroglyph. S. Cauville, Dendara Les chapelles osirienes (1997) X/2, plates 39 and 65.

337 Recall that earlier in this ritual cycle in the final scene of the Book of Caverns, it was the *ḥa* of Osiris that had entered the barque of Re to travel with the sun god on the day and the night of the Blacked-out Moon.

338 S. Cauville, Dendara Les chapelles osiriennes (1997) Vol. X/1, 81 and Vol. X/2 plates 41 and 67. For the translation of this text see G. Graham, "Procession of the Reliquaries of Osiris in the Second Room of the Eastern Osirian Chapel on the Roof of the Temple of Hathor at Dendara: Texts to the figures of the lowest registers" (2000), 8. Contact: greg@egyptology.com The hieroglyph which Graham translates as God is that of the Horus falcon.

339 See below 5.5.

340 In the other cases in the ten scenes under discussion on the rear wall of the Central Hall, the king on the opposite side of the register wears the white crown. (Plate 306)

the rejuvenation and rebirth of Osiris that was being represented but also the conception of Horus as the means for the legitimate transfer of royal power. Indeed at the Hathor temple at Dendera in the third western chapel of Osiris, Heqet is also present in a scene of the conception of Horus by Isis.[341] (Plate 312) Either interpretation for the scenes of the two goddesses on the right side of the register, point to the conception of Horus as the key event on this night of I *prt* 1, the night of the Blacked-out moon. As will be demonstrated, this was what the ancient Egyptians had portrayed on the island in the birth house of Isis, the Central Hall of the Osireion.

The placement of the dual scenes of the goddesses on either side of the sacred totem of Isis in the third register is of major significance. (Plate 310) First, recall the central role that Isis plays in the fifth hour Amduat.[342] (Plate 340) "In the center, the head of Isis is shown 'sealing' a deep and dark region of the netherworld which contains the representation of Sokar himself."[343] This image "unknown, unseen, imperceptible is this image of Horus himself [in the womb of Isis]."[344] Her head surmounts the pyramidal mound of the lower register and lies at the center of the vertical axis in that hour corresponding to her position in the Central Hall, the architectural equivalent and expression of the fifth hour Amduat. The head of Isis surmounts both the island in the Central Hall and the 'knot of Isis, the *tjt*-amulet. (Plates 299, 308) It symbolizes her vagina, the entrance to her womb and rests on or within a temple pylon, which is located directly above the entrance to the Second Transverse Hall, the most secret and sacred chamber of the Osireion. In a parallel fashion to her position in the fifth hour Amduat, she is sealing the deep, dark and mysterious chamber of the Second Transverse Hall, *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, out of which all life emerges on the first occasion including Horus himself. They are guarded and protected by the four sons of Horus. The *tjt*-amulet itself also provides the protection of the powerful goddess Isis, Great of Magic, *wrt ḥkꜣw*. It is the vignette for BD 156, the chapter for a knot-amulet of red jasper:

> You have your blood, O Isis;
> you have your power, O Isis;
> you have your magic, O Isis:
> The amulet is a protection for this Great One,
> which will drive away whoever would commit a crime against him."[345]

The arrangement and positioning of the figures of the king and the dual manifestations of Shentayet

341 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 229. For the scene see S. Cauville, Dendara Les chapelles osiriennes (1997) Vol X/2, plates 237, 253, and 276.

342 See above 5.1.

343 E. Hornung, The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I (1991), 17.

344 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat, The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 142.

345 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 32.

and Heqet suggest a progression inward towards the Isis totem at the center of the register and the base of the vertical axis. (Plate 299) Shentayet opened the rites of the Osiris Mysteries and Heqet hastened the rebirth of Osiris, whose cult statue stands renewed directly behind her. The king, having completed the rites for the revivification of Osiris, is depicted standing before his father wearing the khepresh (blue) crown, *ḫprš*, and offering Maat. (Plate 310) In return for the restoration of *mɜʿt*, Osiris responds:

"*dj.n.(j) n.k jst.j nst.j ḥrt.j jwʿ.j*

I have given you my place,
my throne, my possessions, my inheritance." [346]

This declaration by Osiris is of paramount importance and explicitly indicates what has transpired here at Abydos in the second half of the Cycle of 76, the Annual Renewal of Kingship. It is the transmission of royal power from father to son, the living Horus, the legitimate heir to his inheritance including rulership over the Two Lands. It was part of the coronation rites celebrated on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day (*wp rnpt*), at the time of the Blacked-out moon on the ideal calendar and on the first occasion. It should be noted that it also confirms Spalinger's perceptive remark in his study on the Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II at Abydos that: "Perhaps it is not stretching the evidence to conclude that Ramesses was 'crowned' in Luxor but also could have received his inheritance at Abydos."[347] During the ceremonies of the Opet Festival at Luxor, the king "kneels as Horus before Amun-Re to receive the khepresh (blue) crown (the only crown mentioned specifically by Horemheb in his coronation text)."[348] Importantly here, the blue crown "functioned as the symbol of coronation, and thus of legitimate successor, to be worn, as Leclant indicated, 'when they want to emphasize the character of the heir, successor of the Pharaoh'."[349] The fact that the king wears the blue crown while receiving his inheritance and that he is shown wearing it four times on this wall in the Central Hall,[350] the birth house of Isis, further links the timing of these events to I *prt* 1 and the annual celebration of the king's coronation, *ḫʿw-nsw*, and thus confirming what had been declared in the opening text [BD 183] in the entranceway to the Central Hall.

"Your son Horus is vindicated in the presence of the entire Ennead.

346 This short but important translation was kindly provided by J. P. Allen in a private communication on 1/23/15.

347 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 118. See above 1.4 for my analysis of the Cycle of 76: The Annual Renewal Of Kingship.

348 L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 276. Horemheb's actual coronation occurred during the Opet festival.

349 W. Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown" JEA 68 (1982), 75. Author's translation of Leclant.

350 In three of the cases the khepresh crown is clearly visible. The fourth scene is destroyed but can be reconstructed with some certainty both by the symmetrical pairing of the king wearing the red crown at the end of the same register (Plate 299) and the pairing of the king wearing the blue crown in the top register.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

> The kingship over the land has been given to him,
> and his uraeus pervades the entire land.
> The throne of Geb has been allotted to him [Horus],
> and the potent [functional] office of Atum has been confirmed in writing [by Thoth]
> in a testament [*jmyt-pr*] which has been engraved on a block of sandstone,
> according as your father Ptah-Tatenen commanded from the great throne..." [351]

This register as well as the one directly above it is bracketed by the king accompanied by the Royal *Ka*, embodying his Horus name. (Plates 302) "The *ka* may be shown [as it is here] following the king as a kind of double or twin. But the doubling was merely visual, an optical illusion. Conceptually, the *ka* and the king were understood to be united. The two were, in fact, one." [352] They connect the scenes in the two registers and place them in the context of the cult of the Royal *Ka*, highlighting the king's divine and immortal aspect acquired at his coronation and renewed through the annual rites for its celebration. The Royal *Ka* represents the office or institution of kingship, "while the individual king is viewed as a link in the chain of divine kingship which stretches back to the very dawn of Egyptian history [*zp tpj*]. As an incarnation of the Royal *Ka*, each king was *ex officio* a god." [353] In the first half of the Cycle of 76 at Luxor "during the temple's annual Opet festival, the reigning monarch was identified with the Royal *Ka*, divine kingship was reborn, and the individual king's right to rule was confirmed. At the climax [of these rituals], Amun-Re's powers were transferred to the king..." [354]

In the fourteen scenes comprising these two registers, (Plate 302) there are nine large solar disks adorned with the double uraei, depicted over the head of the king. "The sun is commonly drawn directly over the divine king's head. According to the conventions of Egyptian art, the sun is *one* with him, shining forth through him." [355] On one level in its context here, it may be meant to symbolize the

351 See above 5.4 n. 301.

352 L. Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor" in B. Shafer (ed.), Temples of Ancient Egypt (1997), 142.

353 L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 258.

354 L. Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor" in B. Shafer (ed.), Temples of Ancient Egypt (1997), 156. According to Darnell, "the Opet Festival [at Luxor] celebrated the renewal of the *ka* force of Amun, and the transmission of the spirit of kingship in the eternal present. As a festival of annual renewal, the Opet Festival could reconfirm the royal coronation, which under Horemheb actually occurred at the time of the Opet Festival." J. Darnell, Opet Festival (2010) UEE, 6. For this complex concept of the nature and role of the Royal *Ka*, see: L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44, 251-294 and L. Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor" in B. Shafer (ed.), Temples of Ancient Egypt (1997), 127-184. See also W. Waitkus, Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels (2008). "Deemphasizing the importance of the royal *ka* in the temple, he interprets the Opet Festival rather as an important seasonal ritual that allowed the king symbolically to travel back to the place of Creation, where both he and the god Amun of Karnak were born at the beginning of time [*zp tpj*], in order to unite with their progenitor, the Luxor demiurge, so as to seize control of the Nile at its source, to assume the personification of Hapy and to bring the fertilizing waters down to Egypt." T. Kendall "III. H. Jebel Barkal and Luxor Temple" (2010), 1. www.jebelbarkal.org

355 L. Bell, "The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor" in B. Shafer (ed.), Temples of Ancient Egypt (1997), n.9.

powers of Amun-Re which were transferred to the king at Luxor. There is a tenth solar disk directly over the upright Djed-pillar which is crowned with a solar disk and two feathers, signifying the successful union of Re with Osiris and their mutual regeneration. The large solar disks in these two registers relating to the Royal *Ka* total ten, the number sacred to Horus, emphasizing the crucial role that the king, in becoming the living Horus, plays in this process through the enactment of the sacred rites. In the register above the four goddesses, the king united with the Royal *Ka* and wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt offers wine to his father Wepwawet of Upper Egypt. (Plate 309) In return, he grants the king the lifetime of Re everlastingly, Dt. Wepwawet, as he who champions his father Osiris, played a prominent role in the Osiris Mysteries at Abydos where his procession "opens the roads for the subsequent processions, which lead up to the funeral of Osiris".[356] However here in this context, it refers to his equally important role in connection with the king's coronation (and also the Hb Sed).[357] This scene is followed by the king performing the ritual of *sqr-t-ḥḏt,* 'striking (consecrating) white bread' before his father Shu. To which the text says of Shu, the father of the gods:

dı̇.f pr m ḥr ꜥnḫ

He gives/grants the going forth/emergence of the living Horus.

In other words, Shu bestows on the king the divine right to rule over the Two Lands as the living Horus, thereby confirming and enhancing what Osiris had already done: I have given you my place, my throne, my possessions, my inheritance. But specifically here and of paramount importance, it is the divine aspect of kingship embodied in the living Royal *Ka* that Shu is bestowing. "As Barguet has shown, the role of Royal *Ka* for Shu appears already in the Pyramid Texts....[358] Amun[-Re] enables birth by 'providing the breath of life', which is precisely the role of the '*Ba* of Shu'. In this sense, it is through Amun[-Re]'s manifestation of the *Ba* of Shu that the Royal *Ka* is passed from generation to generation, and thus Shu is truly 'the bearer of the Royal *Ka* ' or the Royal *Ka* himself."[359] And that is why it had to be Shu who provides this divine aspect of kingship. With this mystical union effected by Shu, "the king became divine as 'one with the Royal *Ka* when his human form was overtaken by his immortal element, which flows through his whole being and dwells in it."[360] He is now a god-king. He *is* the living Horus, Ruler of the Two Lands and 'Protector of his Father'.

356 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 227.

357 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 225-228. See also T. DuQuesne, "Exalting the God processions of Upwawet at Asyut in the New Kingdom" DE 57 (2003), 21-45. "Words spoken by Wepwawet: I grant to you [Ramesses II] the seat of Geb, and the effective office of Atum." L. Baque, "On That Day When the Long-Horned Bull Was Lassoed" SAK 30 (2002), 50.

358 P. Barquet, "Au sujet d'une representation du ka royal" ASAE 51 (1951), 205-215.

359 D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple (2006), 35-36.

360 L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 258.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Flanking either side of the upright Djed-pillar surmounted by the solar disk, symbolizing the united Re and Osiris, the king is shown making an offering of *mnḫt*-cloth to the cult statue of Osiris and anointing his uraeus with *mḏt*-unguent. (Plate 302) These two key episodes can be found in a number of different rituals including the daily ritual and the embalming ritual, but more to the mark here is that when taken together "it symbolizes regeneration and is particularly a rite performed by the heir [Horus, Protector of his Father,] for his ancestors [usually Osiris as is the case here] which guarantees his right to his inheritance."[361] And, in essence, it seals the transfer of royal power after having been imbued with the Royal *Ka*.

At the far right end of this register (Plate 302), the king united with the Royal *Ka*, is again shown performing the ritual of *sqr-t-ḥḏt*, 'striking (consecrating) white bread' but now before Wepwawet, Lord of the Sacred Land. Complimenting Wepwawet of Upper Egypt on the opposite end of the register, Wepwawet of Lower Egypt gives/opens the beautiful ways of Rosetau and provides the king with all sustenance and provisions. Together these jackals of the south and of the north also serve as a powerful apotropaic function for their father Osiris through their association with the annihilation of his enemies and his successful postmortem transformation,[362] symbolized by the upright Djed-pillar in the center crowned with the solar disk. Furthermore, it should also be pointed out that the Royal *Ka* which embodies the king's Horus name carries a special scepter.[363] It is topped with a divine human head wearing a distinctive crown that is associated with the god Tatenen,[364] (Plate 302) who plays a prominent role throughout the third ritual cycle in the Osireion. Since a scepter carried by a divinity highlights that aspect of the deity to be expressed, the Royal *Ka* with the Tatenen scepter would appear to symbolize its function served on the first occasion, zp tpj, as father of the gods and the god-kings.[365]

The remaining episode to be discussed in the double register bracketed by the Royal Ka is the scene of the king offering lotuses to Geb, father of the gods. (Plate 302) "The lotus is the symbol of regeneration and rebirth, the creation and the First Time [*zp tpj*]. It also represents the fertility of the fields after the flood [the Nile inundation, the life-giving waters of the Nun, the efflux of Osiris]."[366] Both are at play here. In return it is said: "Geb gives all food upon the earth and all health like Re."

361 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 484 and 436. See also S. Cauville, La Theologie d'Osiris a Edfou (1983), 174.

362 M. Pouls Wegner, "Wepwawet in Context: A Representation of the Jackal Deity and its Role in the Spatial Organization of the North Abydos Landscape" JARCE 43 (2007), 150.

363 This appears to be the case for all four of the representations of the Royal Ka on this wall.

364 More usually, the scepter carried by the Royal Ka has the hieroglyphic signs for the ka and that of the king on the divine human head.

365 See below 5.4, 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7 for more discussion on the role of Tatenen.

366 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 929.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The register below the double register bracketed by the Royal *Ka* and the top register above it on the rear wall of the Central Hall form an integrated unit. (Plates 299, 304) Because of the very apparent size differential compared to figures bracketed by the Royal *Ka*, they are directly connected thematically by virtue of their size, and signify their importance. Together on one level, they would appear to subtly represent a pars pro toto for the annual celebration of the coronation rites on I *prt* 1. Summarizing Troys comments on the confirmation of kingship: “Some of the key elements, such as the purification occur before entering the shrine where the coronation takes place. This is performed by Horus and Thoth and initiated the process that legitimized the king. Coronation was associated with an 'entry' or 'induction', using the term bs, found in connection with priestly initiation. The building into which the king entered to assume the royal identity was identified as the royal sanctuaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Upper Egyptian Per-Wer, and the Lower Egyptian Per-Neser or Per-Nu. A scene from the barque chapel of Hatshepsut shows the queen 'entering and leaving, the royal induction in the Per-Wer and the Per-Neser, in the two shrines of the south and the north'. Another version of this episode is found in the Festival Hall of Thutmose III. The text indicates that the sequence begins with the purification in the Per-Wer...” [367] In the opening episode at the left of the rituals depicted on the rear wall in the Central Hall, Thoth is depicted purifying the king with the Hsj vessel used in the coronation rites, [368] while the accompanying text makes clear that Horus is also involved. (Plate 305)

> Recitation by Thoth.
> ….
> Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa;
> Your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa;
> Your purification is the purification of Geb and vice versa;
> Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa.
> Purifying two times Osiris king Merenptah. [369]

The king is called Osiris king Merenptah and suggests, following Willems, that the king as the son and his father Osiris merge into a single person when he enters the shrine of his father. [370] This would also be consistent with the ancient Egyptian concept of divine kingship as one god in two manifestations. As depicted here on another level, it points to a specific merging suggested by the headdresses worn by the pair. (Plate 305) The *nms* worn by the king typically denotes sunrise and especially the role of

367 L. Troy, “Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmose III” in E. Cline, D. O Connor (eds.), Thutmose III: A New Biography (2006), 146-147.

368 A. Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh” JEA 36 (1950), plate II.

369 Authors translation. Note that the king is being purified by four gods (the second Horus replacing Seth)relating here to the four cardinal directions.

370 H. Willems, “The Embalmer Embalmed” in J. van Dijk (ed.), Essays in ancient Egypt: in honour of Herman te Velde (1997), 365-366.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCETION OF HORUS

Horus as the helper of his father.[371] The crown on Osiris, Ruler of the West, is clearly solar in nature and thus could symbolize the uniting of Re with Osiris. Furthermore, the complex iconography of this crown embodies in it the crown of Tatenen, itself symbolizing the rising or distinct land that emerges out of the primordial watery abyss of the Nun on the first occasion. It can be depicted either as twisted horns with two plumes or as twisted horns, two plumes and the solar disk. When the solar disk is introduced, on one level it can signify the first mound of land becoming distinct with the sun rising over it to begin the ever-recurring cycle of life and its regeneration in *nḥḥ* time, Eternal Recurrence, that arose out of *ḏt* time, Eternal Sameness.[372] Because of the crown worn by Osiris enthroned in his shrine, Osiris assumes the attributes of Tatenen, the distinct land united with the sun god, the prime act of creation on the first occasion. With the entry of the king as the living Horus into the shrine of the first occasion, they all merge: king Horus as ritualist; Osiris as the rising land; and the sun god of the first time. This union results in the birth of Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, the manifestation of the regenerated sun god who will appear at and as the first sunrise. And it is he who is depicted directly above the shrine in the top register as the ram-headed *Ba* of Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. (Plate 313) As can be seen, this intricate interpretation is both consistent with and supported by its context, which is defined by the position of the shrine in the Central Hall. Viewed from the entranceway of the Central Hall, the shrine is directly above the island to the immediate left of the door in the rear wall leading to the Second Transverse Hall, the innermost and holiest sanctuary, the *tꜣ ṯnnt-pr*. (Plate 304) The island is symbolically the representation of Tatenen, the distinct land which appears to be rising out of the surrounding waters of the moat, the primordial abyss of the Nun. Engraved on the architraves above the island are the divine figures of the sun god Re and the United One in the West, the united Re and Osiris from the Litany of Re. (Plate 318) The architraves and therefore the figures from the Litany of Re on them are supported by the ten massive granite columns on the island. The number ten was sacred to Horus, the king and the product of the Heliopolitan creation process on the first occasion, who figuratively and literally support the newly created cosmos.

The presence of Thoth in the opening purification scene on the rear wall, as in the opening text (BD 183) in the entranceway of the Central Hall, is crucial for it is only he that can rewrite 'the script of the cosmic play' unfolding here in *ḏt* time on the first occasion. The reinstatement of the coronation rites for the transfer of royal power was deemed essential to the restoration of *mꜣʿt*. So too was it for the role of the Royal *Ka*, which had to be restored on the first occasion after Akhenaten had hacked out the figures of the Royal *Ka* at Luxor temple. In almost every instance where the *ka* figure was represented it had been erased leaving only the symbolic arms supporting the *ka*-name on its head.

371 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 112 and 91: The *nms* can symbolize the sun's daily rebirth: it is delivered to Osiris, usually by Horus, and thus effects the latter's union with Re when he rises at dawn. The allusion to the *nms*, whose golden stripes may represent the first rays of light emerging above the horizon, arrives at the moment of sunrise.

372 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 58.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

When the abstract *ka*-arms alone were represented on a standard, they had been left untouched.[373]

There are two standards depicted in front of the king, undergoing his purification before entering the shrine of his father. (Plate 305) Wepwawet, the opener of the ways, stands alongside an erect cobra with hood extended ready to strike in a protective stance. "In front of Wepwawet 'who is on his standard' is a symbol called the 'shedshed' [*šdšd*] which is a bolster-like protruberance. According to the Pyramid Texts it is on this mysterious emblem that the monarch ascends to the sky. It has been suggested that the shedshed sign represents the royal placenta and that Wepwawet stands for the king himself as the legitimate first-born heir – the 'opener of the ways' from the womb."[374] According to Wilkinson, "the archaeological evidence indicates that the god's origins [Wepwawet] were probably in the region of Upper Egypt, but his worship soon spread; and in the Pyramid Texts he is even said to have been born in the Lower Egyptian shrine [called the Per-Nu or Per-Neser, 'house of flame'] of the goddess Wadjet, the tutelary deity of the North (PT 1438)."[375] Wepwawet is intimately connected to the festivals of royal renewal, especially the Heb-Sed festival and the coronation rites, "undoubtedly the presence of the god in close proximity served as a powerful symbol of the legitimacy of the pharaoh/s rule over the Two Lands".[376] This is made explicit in the well known scene of the king lassoing the long-horned bull in the corridor leading out to the sacred precinct behind Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. (Plate 461) The ritual is performed by the king for his father Wepwawet, who in return the text states:

> "Words spoken by Wepwawet [… lost …]
> I grant to you the seat [throne] of Geb,
> and the effective office of Atum."[377]

In the scene to the right of the gateway leading into the innermost sanctuary, the Second Transverse Hall, Anubis is depicted leading the king, hand in hand, into the shrine where Osiris is enthroned having been given life by the embracing wings of the solar disk hovering before his face. (Plate 305) Although not so labeled, this is a standard representation of the sun god as Behedet and it is depicted on the notional eastern side of the shrine, the place of sunrise. We have encountered this same arrangement before in the Annex, itself a shrine, at the eastern end of the Antechamber. On the notional eastern wall in the Annex at the top, there is a large depiction of the winged Behedet, 'who

373 L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 291-292.

374 G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986), 222.

375 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 191, 226-227.

376 T. DuQuesne, "Exalting the God Processions of Upwawet at Asyut in the New Kingdom" DE 57 (2003), 22-24; H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 225-228; and F. Friedman, "Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid" in P. Manuelian (ed.) Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I (1996), 339-341.

377 L. Baque, "On that Day when the Long-horned Bull was Lassoed... (PT [254] 286). A Scene in the Corridior of the Bull of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: an Iconologic Approach" SAK 30 (2002), 44-45 and 50. Baque attributes these words to Wepwawet but, in fact, are more likely to be those of Ptah, who stands directly behind Wepwawet. See below 6.2.

gives the sweet breath of life'. (Plate 245) Beneath it, there apparently once was a large statue of Osiris enthroned.[378]

In the scene Anubis is depicted leading the king, who is holding his heart in his hand, before the enthroned Osiris, 'Lord of the Sacred Land'. (Plate 314) "Seeber has convincingly argued that this [scenes of the deceased shown carrying his heart] is the deceased [here the king] *after* he has been vindicated."[379] The text in front and below Anubis reads:

> Recitation by Anubis, who is in the place of embalming:
> Everything done, i.e. the many rituals performed, by the Dual King,
> Lord of the Two Lands , Baenre [Merneptah]
> His numerous good deeds are twice great,
> put to the balance.[380]
>
> Devoid of misdeeds,
> Not found existing in wrongdoing,
> Place his heart in his body for him.
> Your heart is firm (and) belongs to you [lit. is in his hand].[381]

Closer inspection of the heart amulet shows that it is of a special type and was a mark of high status, symbolizing both the wisdom of its bearer and his justification. This type of heart amulet usually "painted in yellow or covered by gold leaf is depicted between the hands of the deceased (sometimes holding the signs of djed and *tjt*) and held by a heavy necklace [which the king wears].[382] Void of any other funerary symbols, the depiction of the amulet in this context intends to show that the deceased had already been decorated by the king [in this case the gods] as a keeper of maat and, in this manner, he had accomplished his task of being a righteous one.... This kind of iconographical use of the heart amulet intends to identify the deceased as an Osiris [here signified by the king wearing the same crown as his father Osiris].... In this way, the amulet was viewed as an Osirian symbol, a sign of

378 See above 4.7.

379 J. van Dijk, "Entering the House of Hearts: An Addition to Chapter 151 in the Book of the Dead of Qenna" OMRO 75 (1995), 9.

380 Frankfort mistakenly identified the text below Anubis as being spoken by Osiris, presumably because of its content. However, the direction of the hieroglyphs clearly indicate that it is a continuation of Anubis' speech. See H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 67. As words spoken by Anubis, it clearly refers to that god's role as judge which further supports the position held by H. Willems, "Anubis as a Judge" in A. Schoars, H. Willems (eds.), Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years I (1998), 719-744.

381 Author's translation and transliteration: *ḏd jn Jnpw jmj wt: ḫt nbt jr.n nswt bjtj nb tꜣwy Bꜣ-n-rˁ*
ˁšꜣ nfrw.f wr sp ḤḎ dj.w r mḫꜣt

šwṯ m sp.f nn, gm n tw wn nf
jmj n.f jb.f m ht.f ḥˁtj mn jb m ˁk tf.

382 "The oldest known type of this representation goes back [not surprisingly] to the reign of Thutmose III..." R. Sousa, "The Meaning of the Heart Amulets in Egyptian Art" JARCE 43 (2007), 64 n. 26. It should be noted that the heavy necklace is a distinguishing feature of this type of heart amulet and quite rare. Others are typically held by a delicate necklace.

purity and virtue that allowed the deceased [the living king as ritualist] to participate in the mysteries of the beyond."[383] It should be noted that "the heart amulet seems to have vanished from the depictions of Akhenaten's reign."[384] Thus, it too had to be restored on the first occasion, accomplished by its depiction here on the rear wall of the Central Hall.

Still at first glance, this scene would appear to be misplaced. (Plate 299) However, if it is taken as the final act and pronouncement of the king's purified state after having passed through the Hall of Two Truths and having just been purified by the god Thoth, then the placement of the scene here would make perfect sense in the ritual context of the coronation rites on I *prt* 1, where the king is about to gain his rightful inheritance from his father Osiris and become imbued with the Royal *Ka* by Shu and as such fully transfigured into the divine king, the living Horus, legitimate Ruler of the Two Lands.

The two ritual scenes before the royal sanctuaries of Upper and Lower Egypt have roots which go back at least to the Old Kingdom according to Billing. "In his capacity [Horus] as the head liturgist during the embalming, he is identified with the jackals Anubis, 'the reckoner of hearts', and Wepwawet, 'who is upon his standard'. (pyr. 1287A-b [PT 535]) The two identities assign to Horus the role of liturgist in the funerary proceedings (Anubis) as well as the justified heir who takes possession of his royal heritage (Wepwawet),"[385] The shrine scene with Anubis would appear to represent the Upper Egyptian Per-Wer, the archaic palace of the kings of the South. This is suggested by the sloping roof of the shrine which is characteristic of the design of the Per-Wer.[386] It is also supported by the depiction in the scene of the vulture goddess, who is identified as Nekhbet of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), shown hovering over the head of the king and bestowing upon him 'ankh and was'.[387] (Plate 314) Nekhbet is called the Mistress of the Per-Wer, the sanctuary of the South.[388] "From at least Old Kingdom times Nekhbet was identified with the White Crown of Upper Egypt [a variant worn by both Osiris and the king in the scene] and thus became closely connected with the person of the king. In this role Nekhbet was also the mythical mother of the king."[389] The two shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt depicted in this register relate to the opening sequences of the annual celebration of the rites of coronation on I *prt* 1. Under the two thrones are various accessories including four sets of arrows likely to be used in protective rites connected to the four cardinal directions. There are ten items in the Per-Wer and another seven in the Per-Neser. Together they total seventeen , the sacred Osirian number

383 R. Sousa, "The Meaning of the Heart Amulets in Egyptian Art" JARCE 43 (2007), 64-66.

384 Ibid., 60.

385 N. Billing, "The Corridor Chamber. An Investigation of the Function and Symbolism of an Architectural Element in the Old Kingdom Pyramids" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Egyptologists II (2007), 188-189.

386 A. Piankoff, The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon (1955), 41-42.

387 R. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (1986), 138.

388 H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1978), 96.

389 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 214.

symbolizing the initial stage of regeneration, the necessary dismemberment and death of Osiris and Osiris-Moon. Recall that there are seventeen niches in the walls surrounding the central island, reinforcing the importance of the initial stage of regeneration, the necessary death by dismemberment. Above the register with the two shrines, there are exactly nineteen scenes, signifying the successful rejuvenation of Osiris and the transfer of royal power.

Troy also described the closing rites for the annual celebration of the king's coronation. "The coronation culminated with the establishment of the royal titulary as described by both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.... The 'mixing' of the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt [as is evident in the depictions of the pairing of the crowns on the rear wall of the Central Hall] also carries the message of the union of the two lands.... Another important element in the assumption of the kingship is the creation of the annals of the king. Thoth and his female partner, Seshat, document the king's millions of future Sed Festivals."[390] In the top register at the highest point in the Central Hall, which signifies its great importance and is above and outside of *nḥḥ* time, Eternal Recurrence, the king upholds Maat before Atum-Re and Re-Horakhti. (Plates 299, 301) "The offering of Maat very specifically commemorates the willingness of the king to uphold the fundamental principles of world order (*mɜʿt*) that were established at the beginning of time. The ritual also functions as a symbol of the king's legitimacy."[391] In return the gods grant him a 'lifetime in the sky and the years of *ḏt'*, Eternal Sameness, rewritten on the first occasion as a result of the king's actions to restore and uphold Maat. This also corresponded to the successful concluding rites of the coronation, culminating with the king 'seeing and praising the god four times', and the symbol of the upright Abydene fetish at its center.

Recall that the king, wearing the same blue crown, is shown in the opening scene of the first ritual cycle in the Entrance Passage. (Plate 63) He addresses the same three gods, Atum, Re-Horakhti and Osiris, who are in the top register of the rear wall in the Central Hall. "Atum and Re-Horakhti form a 'father-son' opposition. The two gods have well defined spheres of reference to creation (Atum) and rebirth (Re-Horakhti)."[392] Here it is in the context of *zp tpj* and thus the creation of the cosmos on the first occasion and the birth of the solar cycle, which initiates cyclical time, *nḥḥ*. The unusually large solar disk on the ram-headed Re-Horakhti may be a subtle allusion to the sun at the summer solstice. (Plate 304) According to the vignette for the Book of Nut in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, it coincided with the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius on I *ɜḫt* 1, the start of the Egyptian civil year on the first occasion. The father-son constellation of Atum and the king is expressed and brought into being by the scene of the king offering Maat to his father on the right side of the top register. (Plate 301) Atum, the creator, stands at the head of the Heliopolitan Ennead. The fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process is its tenth member, the living Horus – the king. The king as the son

390 L. Troy, "Religion and Cult During the Time of Thutmose III" in E. Cline, D. O/Connor (eds.), Thutmose III. A New Biography (2006), 147.

391 E. Teeter, The Presentation of Maat Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt (1997), 1.

392 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship: In Ancient Egyptian Myth and History (1986), 27.

of Atum dates back at least to the Old Kingdom.[393] The king is "above all the embodiment of the primaeval sun god, Atum. It is his office that the Egyptian ruler exercises in the realm of human beings as he sits on his throne. The iconography of Egyptian kingship indicates that pharaoh has assumed the identity of Re-Atum. The 'crowns of Re' (and Atum) adorn his head and the solar *ḳa* which accompanies him asserts that the king possesses the power and life force of the creator god."[394] Recall too that it is only Atum and the king who regularly wear the double crown.[395] On the opposite side of the top register, the king is depicted offering Maat to his father Re-Horakhti. This father-son constellation is more complex. While the king has been identified as the son of Re since the Fourth Dynasty, this form of the sun god, Re-Horakhti, manifests as a result of the union of Re with Osiris. "It is not only to be called Re as the re-born sun god, but also Horus, son and reincarnation of Osiris... or, to use the Egyptian formula, Re-Horakhti, 'Re-Horus of the Horizon[s]'."[396]

The double scene of the king with his father Osiris at the center of the top register expresses this father-son constellation in its two key aspects. (Plate 301) They refer to divine kingship. Father Osiris, rejuvenated and vindicated, is the Foremost of the West, Lord of Abydos, and Ruler of the Netherworld. His son and legitimate heir on the earth is the king wearing the blue crown, the living Horus and Ruler of the Two Lands. Together they represent divine kingship in both the realms of life and the afterlife. They are one god, two sides of the same coin. So too is it the case with their celestial manifestation as the moon. Horus is conceived in the *ḏuat* on the night of the Blacked-out Moon and is born with his reappearance in the night sky at first crescent visibility. He is the waxing moon. Osiris enters the moon when the left lunar eye of Horus has been restored by Thoth and is sound, the Udjat-eye, the full moon. He manifests as the waning moon to repeat the seventeen day cycle of his dismemberment and death, when at the time of the Blacked-out moon, the first day of the new lunar month, he posthumously conceives Horus to start the cycle anew. He is the god of regeneration *par excellence*.

At the very center of the top register on the rear wall of the Central Hall at its pinnacle, is the erect Abydene fetish sacred to Osiris, capped by two plumes and a solar disk with double uraei emanating ankh and was. (Plate 299) Walker has stressed the importance of "the basic concept that when the king receives ankh and *wꜣs*, in whatever form, he becomes young again (*rnpj*) like/as the sun god at the beginning of time. Whether in a baptism of primaeval water [as depicted in front of the archaic royal sanctuary of the north] or a suckling with the milk of a mother goddess, 'life' [ankh] and 'dominion'

393 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship (1986), 28. Troy cites, for example, [PT 247] pyr. 258 c; [PT 461] pyr. 874 b; and [PT 465] pyr. 881 b.

394 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 279.

395 Occasionally Re-Horakhti who is intimately connected to Atum, the living king, Horus, and divine kingship is depicted wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. For example, see episode 32 in the chapel of Re-Horakhti in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years in R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 71.

396 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 21.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

[*wɜs*] return the king to the very moment of his own divine birth and creation,[397] aptly emphasized by his smaller yet adult appearance [as the king is depicted on either side of the pole supporting the Abydene emblem].... all the ritual actions which pharaoh performs in the context of the temple [here the Osireion] occur at the instant of the creation, the *zp tpj*; and it is the king, the recipient of ankh and *wɜs*, [the symbolic representation of Shu and Tefnut, Atum's children, who animate him in the Abyss], who causes the re-creation of the universe to come about."[398] This actual moment of the king's divine birth in the birth house of Isis is in all probability what was depicted on the island directly below, the distinct land, Tatenen, rising out of the watery abyss of the Nun on the first occasion and re-enacted annually for its renewal on the night of the Blacked-out moon on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day.

The symbolism surrounding the Abydene emblem is quite complex but appears to carry a clear message, as suggested by a literal reading of the hieroglyphs as a text. (Plate 315)

Left side:

ɜnḫ wꜥs n ḥḏt dšrt

Life and dominion for the white crown and red crown.

Right side:

ɜnḫ wꜥs n sɜ Rꜥ nb ḫꜥw

Life and dominion for the son of Re, lord of appearances.

It concerns the bestowing of the royal crowns and tutelary on the king, both in the context of the coronation rites and of *zp tpj*. From the solar disk of the creator, Atum, emanate two cobra goddesses each wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, the symbol of the moon's luminosity, which serve to highlight the dual lunar nature of divine kingship. They are in serpent form, suggesting *zp tpj,* and represent the vulture goddess Nekhbet, mistress of the Per-Wer, and mythical mother of the king. From them flow the ankh and *wɜs* signs symbolizing Shu and Tefnut, the animating force of Atum, into the royal *ḥḏt* and *dšrt* crowns and the king's tutelary: *sɜ Rꜥ, sqn qf Re; nb ḫꜥw*, lord of appearances or risings, like the sun shining over the primordial mound on the first occasion; as well as the king's prenomen, *bɜ-n-Rꜥ*, acquired at the coronation, and his nomen, *mr-n-ptḥ*, Merenptah. The two small figures of the king support the Abydene emblem, and both wear the *ḥḏt* crown again serving to emphasize the dual lunar nature of divine kingship which, of course, emanate from the creator Atum.[399]

Beneath the kings, (Plate 315) two winged mummified lions form the base for the fetish and support it like the two Ruty lions support the rising sun in BD 17. (Plate 280) Shu and Tefnut are

397 It is no coincidence that in the nineteen scenes above the two archaic shrines of the north and the south, the number symbolizing rejuvenation of Osiris and of divine kingship, there are exactly ten scenes of gods and goddesses who carry the ankh sign and *wɜs*-scepter, connecting ankh and *wɜs*, Shu and Tefnut, to divine kingship through the number ten, the number sacred to Horus and the living king.

398 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 235 and 279.

399 In this study the focus has been to highlight the lunar symbolism because it is less recognized and understood than the dominant and overt widely appreciated solar symbolism.

often described and depicted as lions.[400] Winter has pointed out "the protective function which Shu and Tefnut serve in relation to the god Osiris, who is regarded as their child. The concept may be seen as early as the Middle Kingdom in a hymn to Osiris, and in the late Papyrus Salt 825 where Shu and Tefnut are depicted on either side of the reviving Osiris [as are the two mummified lions on either side of the erect Abydene emblem, the *ba* of Osiris]."[401] According to Derchain, "the purpose of Papyrus Salt 825 is nothing less than the reanimation of Osiris an action symbolic of repeating the creation itself."[402] Thus, the role of the two lions as Shu and Tefnut, the animating force of the creator Atum, not only serve to protect Osiris but also represent the power of the creator that supports and sustains the erect Abydene *Ba*, specifically here for the purpose of the conception of Horus on the night of the Blacked-out moon on I *prt* 1. That act re-establishes the legitimate means for the transmission of royal power from father Osiris to son Horus and with it the final restoration of *mꜣʿt* that had been disrupted by the Amarna Hersey.

The Abydene symbol itself is "an extremely interesting object – a species of idol, a fetish of great antiquity, in which the god had his abode. Evidently it was imbued with the god's personality [*ba*], or even a manifestation of the very god himself,[403] for the words that issue from it are the actual words of Osiris, expressly named and given his two most enduring epithets – 'The Good Being' [Wennefer] and 'The First of the Westerners'. Elsewhere [e.g. Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years] it is labeled with even less ambiguity as Osiris himself. Beyond this its significance and even its origin are both shrouded in almost complete mystery."[404] In the first hall of the Osiris Complex unlike most other representations of the Abydene symbol is an uncommon depiction of a frontal view of the face of Osiris, Wennefer, bearded and wearing the wig with uraei on his brow. (Plate 425) Note that the symbolism of the head or the face is associated with the *ba*, e.g. the familiar depiction of the *ba* as a human-headed bird and is associated with the personality of the individual as well as mobility.[405] The Abydene fetish imbued with Osiris' personality suggests a direct connection to the *ba* of Osiris. Recall from earlier in this ritual cycle, that this is the form of Osiris that entered the solar barque in the final

400 H. Winlock, Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos (1921), 18 and D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram (2006), 37.

401 E. Walker, Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 66-67. See E. Winter, Untersuchungen zu den agyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-romischen Zeit (1968), 87 and P. Derchain, Papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051). Rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Egypte, fasc. 1B (1965) figs. 19-20.

402 E. Walker, Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 68 and P. Derchain, Papyrus Salt 825 (1965), 24-28 and 79.

403 B. Hellinckx, "The symbolic assimilation of head and sun as expressed by headrests" SAK 29 (2001), 92. The head has to be a *pars pro toto* for the rejuvenated Osiris, completely reassembled after his dismemberment, and thus equated with the full moon in particular.

404 H. Winlock, Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos (1921), 15.

405 G. Shaw, The Egyptian Myths A Guide to the Ancient Gods and Legends (2014), 169.

scene of the Book of Caverns after having his potency renewed in the fifth division, to travel with the sun god at the time of the Blacked-out moon, [406] As we have also seen, it is said of Shentayet who is a manifestation of Isis:

> "Make yourself entirely pregnant
> with the *ba* of the beloved Osiris.
> Beautiful in appearance, mistress of the Gold-temple
> for whom the two lands have become excited
> when you give birth to Horus." [407]

Visually, the Abydene Osirian fetish has a rather distinctive phallic shape, suggesting it could be interpreted as symbolizing the potent *ba* of Osiris which impregnates Isis, who subtly appears to be gently stroking it in the scene in the first Osiris Hall. (Plate 425) This sexual imagery compliments that of the *tjt*-symbol of Isis which is situated at the base of the central column, and represents her vulva. The connection suggested here to the conception of Horus gains support from Chapter 138 of the Book of the Dead for which the Abydene Osirian fetish serves as its vignette. (Plate 316)

> "O you gods who are in Abydos, the whole and complete company,
> come joyfully to meet me and see my father Osiris [i.e. the Abydene fetish]
> whom I have recognized and *from whom I have come forth* [his phallus as the potent *ba*].
> I am this Horus, Lord of the Black Land and of the Red Land,
> I have taken possession entirely of Him who cannot be conquered,
> whose Eye is victorious over his enemies,
> who counters the strength of the Destructive One;
> ruler of multitudes, monarch of the Two Lands,
> who smoothly takes possession of his father's house.
> I have been judged and I have been vindicated,
> I have power over my enemies, I get the better of those who would harm me,
> my strength is my protection.
> I am the son of Osiris, my father is in his own place [as Ruler of the West]
> his body is in.....[destroyed]." [408]

At the pinnacle of the rear wall of the Central Hall, one would expect multiple levels of cosmic significance to be attached to the Abydene emblem itself. It should be duly noted that this complex scene is unique among the representations of this emblem as is the Djet-pillar scene directly below it. (Plate 303) It simultaneously symbolizes the moment in creation: when Osiris stands fully rejuvenated as his potent *Ba*, signifying the regenerative power *par excellence* of this god; and Atum, the creator,

406 See above 4.3.

407 See above 5.4.

408 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 119.

bestows the royal crowns and solar tutelary of his "functional office" upon his son Horus,[409] as the living king on the earth and legitimate heir to the rulership over the Two Lands. Importantly as the symbolism underlying the white crowns, *ḥḏt*, attests, the aspect of divine kingship coming into existence here is that of its dual lunar nature. In the newly created celestial sphere, it manifests as Horus-Moon, the waxing phase, and Osiris-Moon, the waning half of the eternally recurring lunar cycle in *nḥḥ* time.[410] Interestingly, at the time of the full moon they appear to co-exist together in the lunar disk, perhaps forming the basis of a cosmic precedent arising out of *zp tpj* for coregency.[411]

There is another significant aspect to the symbolism underlying the Osirian Abydene emblem connected with divine kingship, which extends it to rulership over the celestial realm of the starry sky. As described above, the Abydene emblem as the head and face of Osiris, is a manifestation of the *ɓa* of Osiris. "According to Ptolemaic sources *sɜḥ*-Orion was regarded as the *ɓa* of Osiris just as Sothis was the *ɓa* of Isis."[412] However, the identification of Orion with Osiris appears to have been already well established in the Pyramid Texts "as confirmed by passages such as 'Osiris has come as *sɜḥ*-Orion' (*mk Wsjr jj*.[*w*] *m sɜḥ*; [PT 442]. In representations found on the astronomical ceilings the link between the two deities is explicit as the god is called Osiris-*sɜḥ*."[413] Recall too that the name Osiris-*sɜḥ* is recorded as one of the 103 manifestations of Osiris in the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber of the Osireion. From Coffin Texts Spell 837: "you came into being O, Osiris as *sɜḥ*-Orion (*ḫprr.n=k Wsjr m sɜḥ*)"[414] and continues "long of leg and lengthy of stride, who presides over Upper Egypt",[415]

409 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 11. Recall that the text of BD 183 is found in the entranceway to Central Hall, serving to announce the transfer of the throne of Geb and the functional office of Atum to Horus.

410 The myths and divinities associated with the lunar cycle and as actual manifestations of the moon are varied and extremely complex. For example, they include Thoth, Horus, the Eye of Horus, Osiris, Khons, Iah, the lunar ferrymen, and even the Heliopolitan Ennead together with the four sons of Horus and Thoth as an expression of the waxing phase of the lunar cycle. See P. Derchain, "Mythes et dieux lunaires en Egypt" in La lune mythes et rites (1962), 17-68 ; P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922, reprint 1987); J. G. Griffiths, The Origins of Osiris and his Cult (1980); P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 59-89 and references cited.

411 Obviously, this is highly speculative and would require an in depth study to substantiate its validity, if any. That said, in the context of Parker's hypothesis that "the *whole* character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to have, ultimately, a lunar explanation", it does provide an intriguing possibility for a cosmic basis and model for coregency. R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80 n. 23. Said another way both aspects of divine kingship, the elder ruler Osiris and the younger Horus, appear together in the lunar disk at the time of the full moon and thus could be considered to rule jointly. As to the appearance of both Osiris-Moon and Horus-Moon at the time of the full moon, "a glorification ritual preserved in p.BM 10208 states that when Osiris enters the sound eye [full moon] and appears in the sky with Re at the time of the full moon, bulls ejaculate and cows conceive. According to an inscription from the temple of Edfu, precisely the same thing happens when Horus appears as the moon on the fifteenth day of the lunar month." M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002), 125.

412 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 25.

413 Ibid., 25. In addition, Wallin cites Pyr. 186A-b; also CT B6C, B10C, L1Li, T9C; Pyr. 819c-822c, 882a-883d, 925a-b. For the Eighteenth Dynasty astronomical ceiling of Senmut see: O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), plate 25.

414 Ibid., 25.

415 R. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts III (1978), 24.

i.e. the south. Osiris, "your *ḥa* as Orion as ruler of the starry sky, your sister Sothis [Isis] as your protection",[416] extends the domain of divine kingship to rulership over the starry sky. But specifically here, it is over the stars of the southern sky. The stars south of the ecliptic, of which Orion and Sothis/Sirius are a part, are thought to contain the thirty six stars and constellations that formed their decanal belt,[417] which the ancient Egyptians used to measure their civil year and mark off the hours of the night. On the ideal calendar, the heliacal rising of Sothis occurred on I *ꜣḫt* 1 and opened the New Year. "Orion is repeatedly given the epithet 'father of the gods', which Osiris can also bear (CT II, 211b = CT 148). The epithet may refer to his function as the decanal constellation that preceded the appearance of Sothis (and the official New Year), and thus opened the new annual cycle of decans which were 'born' in intervals of ten days. The term 'father' may therefore simply imply temporal precedence."[418] But more significantly Orion, the father of the gods, as the *ḥa* of Osiris and the ruler of the stars, brings about the creation of cyclical *nḥḥ* time, Eternal Recurrence, on the first occasion as marked by the movement of the newly created decanal stars. Said another way, the Abydene emblem scene can be viewed as another aspect of the father-son constellation. This uniting of the twin *ḥas* can be projected on to the celestial realm of the starry sky. The father-creator, as the *ḥa* of Re in the solar disk, embraces the *ḥa* of his son Osiris-Orion imbuing him with ankh and was, the animating creative forces of Atum at *zp tpj*.[419] Orion, the son, as father of the gods at the head of the procession sets the decanal stars in motion, bringing into being this particular aspect of *nḥḥ* time.

To summarize the function of the five scenes constituting the top register of the rear wall of the Central Hall, all relate to important aspects of creation and divine kingship that arise out of the first occasion. The number five, signifying the *ḏuat*, is where they first begin to manifest. Bracketing the five scenes on either side is the king, kneeling with arms raised in adoration. (Plate 301) The caption

416 F. Herbin, "Une Liturgie des Rites Decadaires de Djeme, Papyrus Vienne 3865" RdE 35 (1984), 121-122, n. 65.

417 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 95-107.

418 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 249.

419 The symbolism underlying the concept of the twin *ḥas* is generational. It is also extremely complex. From CT 335a:

> "I am 'He with the double *bꜣ*', who is surrounded by his children [progeny]" - What is that? As for 'He with the double *bꜣ*' …, it is Osiris , who, when he arrived at Mendes, found there the *bꜣ* of Re; they embraced one another and so 'He with the double *bꜣ*' took form. As for his two children [progeny], it is 'Horus who protects his father' and 'Horus without the two eyes'. [i.e. Horus in the *ḏuat* at the time of the Blacked-out Moon. Perhaps they are represented in the Abydene emblem scene by the two figures of the king, wearing the white lunar crown.]... In the Book of the Dead [BD 17], an additional variant follows, which interprets the divine designation thus: "It is the *bꜣ* of Re, it is the *bꜣ* of Osiris, it is the *bꜣ* of him in whom Shu is, it is the *bꜣ* of him in whom Tefnut is. It is 'He with the double *bꜣ*', who (*bꜣ*) belongs to those who are in Mendes." Here the *bꜣ* of Shu, ankh, and the *bꜣ* of Tefnut, was, are the creative powers of Atum that are imbued in Osiris-Orion by the embrace.

Quote is from: J. Bergman, "Ba as Form of Divine Manifestation in Ancient Egypt" (English trans. 1994)
www.oocities.org/athens/academy/1326/bAasform.html

states: 'seeing the god, praising the god four times', highlighting the cultic setting of these ritual scenes. On the far right, with the king and his father, the creator Atum-Re, we once again encounter the paradox of the begotten becoming the begetter. By performing the rite of the offering of Maat to Atum, the creator, the king calls his father into existence and through this ritual act, the begotten has become the begetter. At the opposite end of the top register, the king offers Maat to his father Re-Horakhti. As we have seen, Atum and Re-Horakhti form a father son opposition, who have well defined spheres of reference to creation and rebirth. Here in the context of *zp tpj*, it is the creation of the cosmos and the birth of the solar cycle which initiates the solar aspect of *nḥḥ* time. The scene of Atum and the king as the father-son constellation signify the initiator and fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process. It is the functional office of Atum that the king inherits and exercises over the Two Lands as he sits on Atum's throne. (Plate 301) In the complex father-son constellation of Re-Horakhti and the king, it is not only Re as the re-born sun god but also Horus, son and reincarnation of Osiris, who manifests as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. The god of the two horizons; east and west, day and night, this world and the next, symbolizes another facet of the all encompassing dual nature of divine kingship which arose out of the union of Re with Osiris on the first occasion. The two scenes of the father-son constellation of Osiris and Horus, the king, refer to the lunar subtleties underpinning divine kingship. In the celestial realm, it is the one god in both his manifestations as the waning and waxing moon. Recall that Osiris-Moon represents the waning moon. Horus-Moon is the reborn waxing phase of the lunar cycle. In the context of *zp tpj*, it signifies the creation of the moon and initiates the aspect of *nḥḥ* time, marked by the phases of the lunar cycle. The Abydene emblem scene embodies another aspect of the father-son constellation. The father-creator, as the *ɓa* of Re in the solar disk, embraces the *ɓa* of his son, Osiris-Orion. (Plate 315) Orion, the son, is now imbued with ankh and was, Atum's creative powers. As the father of the gods i.e. the decanal stars, Orion leads the procession of decanal stars and sets them in motion, bringing into being the stellar aspect of *nḥḥ* time. Thus, in the five scenes in the top register of the rear wall of the Central Hall at the 'pinnacle of creation', the solar, lunar and stellar cycles come into being, manifesting through the father-son constellations of Atum, Re-Horakhti, Osiris, and the king as the living Horus. Together they set the framework for divine kingship in the created cosmos which will unfold with the conception of Horus and with it dynastic rule directly below on the primeval mound of Tatenen, the first 'visible' manifestation of Atum arising on the first occasion.

Notably, the number symbolism encoded in the scenes of the top register serves to underscore the lunar underpinnings of divine kingship. There are five large figures on either side of the Abydene emblem for a total of ten, the number sacred to Horus and by extension divine kingship itself. They reinforce the message of the ten massive granite columns in two rows on the island below, that symbolize the king who supports the newly created heavens though which the sun, moon and stars traverse. There are two more groups of three smaller figures depicted on either side of the Abydene fetish. They are the two uraei, Isis and Nephthys, and the king wearing the *ḥḍt* crown, symbol of the moon's luminosity. (Plate 301) Six is the number of parts of the Udjat-eye, the left lunar eye of Horus. Broken into two groups, they can at one level be interpreted as representing the waxing and waning phases of the lunar cycle. Together with the Abydene emblem at its center, there are a total of seventeen figures of gods and the king. This is the number sacred to Osiris signifying his

dismemberment and death, the crucial phase that initiates the process of his regeneration, renewal and rebirth as Horus-Moon. Recall that there are a total of seventeen niches cut into the walls of the Central Hall that surround the island. (Plate 43) In the context of *zp tpj*, they can symbolize, through the number seventeen, the initial phase of the process of creation represented by the island as the rising land, Tatenen, literally in the Osireion, emerging out of the watery abyss of the Nun of nonexistence. Tatenen personifies and is the first 'visible' manifestation of Atum as the creation of the cosmos begins to unfold.[420]

Adding the four solar disks depicted in the top register to the seventeen figures of the gods and the king there,[421] the total is twenty one, a number of lunar significance to the ancient Egyptians, cleverly and astutely created here by the interaction with the revivifying solar presence. The number is the sum of its six parts 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 = 21. It derives its lunar significance when viewed through its two halves of 1 + 2 + 3 = 6 and 4 + 5 + 6 = 15. Six symbolizes the six parts of the Udjat-eye, the restored eye of Horus, the full moon. Fifteen equates to the number of days required for the new moon to become complete, i.e. the full moon. If examined closely, there can be seen another ten divine symbols in the top register. They are the two Ruty at the base of the Abydene emblem and the eight uraei extending from the four solar disks. Thus, there are in total thirty one. As we have seen, thirty one is the number representing all potential combinations of phases for a single lunar month of twenty nine or thirty days.

That there are exactly nineteen scenes above the two royal sanctuaries of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Per-Wer and Per-Neser, depicted in the second register of the rear wall is no coincidence. (Plate 299) These two archaic shrines represent the foundation of divine kingship and dynastic rule, the backbone of the Egyptian state. What is depicted above them and by the conventions of ancient Egyptian two dimensional art is contained within them, holds great cosmic significance. On one level expressed through the number nineteen, they can be equated with the nineteen day period of rebirth for the moon. There are a maximum of nineteen days from the full moon when it is complete until its rebirth with the reappearance of the new crescent in the night sky, signifying the reincarnation of Osiris as his son Horus-Moon. It alludes to the father-son constellation of Osiris and Horus and the lunar nature of divine kingship especially with respect to the transmission of royal power. Recall too the significance of the number nineteen underlying the reconciliation and synchronization of the solar and lunar cycles, the visible celestial manifestations of their great gods, Re and Osiris-Horus.[422] This movement of the sun god and the moon god, revealed through the number nineteen,[423] is both the means for the measurement of time in the created cosmos and importantly, the creation of time itself on

420 M. Tarasenko, “Mythological Allusions Connected with Cosmogony in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead” in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 348.

421 While no traces exist of one of the solar disks over the head of the king, in all probability it originally did. It is likely an accident of preservation since sufficient space is present and the other five scenes of the king before the standing cult statues of Osiris all have it. Note also that the large solar disk on the ram-headed Re-Horakhti forms its crown and is considered here to be a part of that deity.

422 See above 4.4.

423 See Appendix B and C.

the first occasion. Meton of Athens (ca. 440 BC) is credited with having discovered the nineteen year lunar cycle which brings the movement of the moon back into sync with the sun. There are almost exactly 235 lunar (synodic) months in nineteen solar years.[424] To the ancient Egyptians as we have seen, the number nineteen was sacred to Osiris, the god of regeneration, renewal and so too the rebirth of the cycles. Furthermore, 235 synodic months of 29.53 days (lunar phase to the same lunar phase) is equal to 235 + 19 or 254 sidereal months of 27.32 days (lunar orbits, the period it takes for the moon to complete a revolution relative to the fixed stars), which is equal to nineteen solar years, or said another way, nineteen successive helical risings of Sothis, the marker of the start of the Egyptian New Year.[425] Nineteen years is the maximum length of the full lunar cycle from its northern extreme to its southern extreme and return.[426] Recall that the entrance archway of the Osireion is oriented to the appearance of the new crescent moon low in the western horizon at its northern extreme,[427] highlighting the importance of this lunar cycle to the cult of Osiris and that of divine kingship. As suggested earlier it would seem reasonable to conclude that this nineteen year cycle reconciling the movements of the sun with the moon was an important reason that the number nineteen was held sacred to Osiris. For without Osiris, Re could not exist, i.e. regenerate and vice versa.[428]

The nineteen scenes above the two sacred shrines of the Per-Wer and Per-Neser can be neatly divided into two groups of the seven scenes in the register directly above, and the twelve scenes of the top two registers, mirroring the mechanics underlying the Metonic cycle. (Plate 299) There are seven thirteen-month lunar years and twelve twelve-month lunar years in this nineteen year cycle. This was necessary to keep the lunar cycle in sync with the solar year by aligning them to the winter solstice, as is discussed in Appendix B.

It remains to finish the discussion of the center column, the vertical axis, and the division of the rear wall into its three major components. The Isis totem at the base of the vertical axis is the foundation for the rejuvenation of Osiris which she initiates, symbolized by the raised Djed-pillar and the upright Abydene emblem or fetish at the top of the central column. (Plate 307) As in the Osiris

424 Metonic Cycle – from Eric Weisstein's World of Astronomy at: scienceworld.wolfram.com

19 years = 19 x 365.2425 days/per year or 6939.6075 days.
19 years = 234.997 lunar months x 29.53059 days/per lunar month or 6939.6000 days.

425 Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, Metonic Cycle at: https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/12389

It should be noted that the numerical relationship of 19 + 235 = 254 is found in the deity count of the first half of the Book of Caverns. Recall that the central scene in the middle register of the second division which is the exact center of the first half of the composition contains a total of nineteen deities around the Chest of Osiris, two in front and seventeen behind. (Plate 179) The chest is where his body is hidden after its dismemberment representing the end of the waning phase of the lunar cycle. In the Osireion version of the composition, it is adorned with a solar disk, perhaps alluding to the union of Re with Osiris and the start of their mutual regeneration. See above 4.4.

426 See above n. 464 in 4.4.

427 It would have been the appearance of the new crescent nearest the winter solstice to keep the lunar cycle in sync with the solar cycle.

428 As a result of the Amarna Hersey, this concept took on major importance. See above chapter 1.

Complex in the main temple, the Abydene emblem completes the ritual sequence following the scenes of the raising of the Djed-pillar at the end of the night on 30 Khoiak.[429] (Plates 425, 424) With the rejuvenation of Osiris having been completed and his potent *ba* awakened, symbolized by the erect Abydene fetish, Isis can conceive Horus on the night of the Blacked-out moon on I *prt* 1. The stage is set for the conception of Horus to be enacted on the island of Tatenen directly below.

The vertical axis of the center column of the decoration on the rear wall of the Central Hall lies directly on the central axis of both the Central Hall of the Osireion and Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, which runs through the Chapel of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, and through the middle of his false door at the rear of his chamber. This alignment directly connects the King of the Gods, through the portal of his false door, to the ceremonies for the transfer of royal power enacted in the Central Hall, where Amen-Re through his manifestation as the *Ba* of Shu passes down the Royal *ka* from divine father to son through the false door. Importantly, the axial alignment for Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and the Central Hall of the Osireion duplicates that of the Opet colonnade of Luxor temple at Thebes, thereby linking it to the other half of the Cycle of 76 for the annual renewal of kingship. Coincidentally or maybe not, the length of the Opet colonnade at 52 m. is the same length as the ritual route for the night of I *prt* 1 from the top of the Sloping Passage to the rear wall of the Central Hall.[430] According to Bell, Luxor temple "seems to have been the mythological and theological power base of the reigning monarch from the New Kingdom onwards.... But the renewal of the divine kingship is only one aspect of the Opet Festival [and equally true for rites on I *prt* 1 in the Central Hall]. For Luxor temple [and the Osireion] was first and foremost a creation site and as such had a primary role to play in the grand drama of the cyclical regeneration of Amun-Re himself. The god's rejuvenation was achieved through his return to the very place, even the exact moment [*zp tpj*] of creation at Luxor [so too at the Osireion]; and the triumph over chaos represented by the annual rebirth of the kingship ensured Amun's own re-creation. The two miracles are inextricably intertwined in the celebration of the Opet Festival [and the rites in the Osireion]."[431] Said another way, the function of Luxor temple at Thebes and the Osireion at Abydos was a "stage for the reenactment of the primordial moment in which Amun-Re, as Atum, is recreated as his own son, pharaoh."[432] The begetter becomes the begotten.

429 The Abydene emblem is the vignette for BD 138, which is also the final spell of the pNeferrenpet. H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1991), 236. The Djed-pillar is the vignette to Chapter 155 of the Book of the Dead. This short spell makes clear the connection of the Djed-pillar with the rejuvenation of Osiris and when it occurred.

> "Raise yourself, O Osiris, place yourself on your side,
> that I may put water beneath you and
> that I may bring you a Djed-pillar of Gold
> so that you may rejoice at it.
> To be said over a golden Djed-pillar...
> to be placed at the throat of the deceased on the day of interment (30 Khoiak for Osiris)...
> A matter a million times true." in R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 31.

430 Give or take about one meter for potential measurement errors.

431 L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 280 and 290.

432 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 184.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Importantly, the hieroglyphic texts on the rear wall are not written retrograde, unlike the other texts for this ritual cycle leading into and out from the Central Hall. This would suggest that this group of rites, associated with the coronation of the king and the transmission of royal power, was singled out, forming a special section of the ritual cycle. On the far wall of the Antechamber directly opposite the rear wall of the Central Hall, the ritual scenes are also not written retrograde and formed a separate ritual sequence for the revivification of Osiris by the king in his mythic role as Horus, Protector of his Father. They are part of the Way of Osiris, which would also appear to be the case for the rites for the transmission of royal power on the rear wall of the Central Hall.

This division in the ritual activity, marked by the texts not being retrograde and the scenes themselves positioned above the rites for the conception of Horus on the island below, is further highlighted if the scenes on the rear wall are viewed as forming their own chamber or a vertical shaft that leads down into the final Transverse Hall, the innermost and most hidden area of the Osireion, the *tꜣ-ṯnnt-pr*.[433] This cavernous secret chamber is the same length as the Central Hall and should be viewed as the interior and containing the essence of the rising land, Tatenen, the island in the Central Hall surrounded by the watery abyss of the Nun. It symbolizes the first concrete expression unfolding in the newly created cosmos on the first occasion. It is a personification of the creator, Atum, as he begins to manifest.

Depicted on the rear wall of this 'chapel or vertical shaft' are the three scenes of the center column and the six cult statues of Osiris with the figures of the king flanking them, performing rites for his father. (Plate 300) They are above the four sons of Horus who protect them and also the entrance to the Second Transverse Hall, the *tꜣ-ṯnnt-pr*. On this rear wall twice at both the top and the bottom, it is said of the king as his arms are raised in adoration: 'Seeing the god and praising him four times'. In his paper on the theology of Luxor temple, Gulyas comments that “the fact that this ritual [a cosmic libation] is repeated twice in the barque chapel of Amen-Re, by itself indicates that it occupied a significant position in the theology of the temple”.[434] This is especially relevant here because it clearly highlights the cultic nature of these scenes and ritual actions at the heart of the interior of the Osireion. Each of the two side walls of this 'chapel', contains six scenes and have fifteen deities including the figures of the king and the Royal *Ka*, underscoring by their number, the lunar nature underlying the rites for the transmission of royal power at the coronation, *ḥˁw-nsw*, celebrated on I *prt* 1, following the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries. In the context of *zp tpj*, it is the creation of the mechanism for the transmission of royal power that arose on the first occasion.

Of the four hours of the deep night, hours five through eight, which were needed for performing the rites in the Central Hall and Second Transverse Hall, the timing for the performance of the rituals on the rear wall, at the start of the seventh hour, beginning the second half of the night, can be adduced

433 In the Slaughterhouse of the main temple, there are a series of festivals listed that includes the statement “and in every festival of the Tanenet-sanctuary”. See KRI I, I (1975), 194:15 for the hieroglyphs *ḥb nb m tꜣ(ṯ)nnt-pr* and his translation quoted KRI I Translations (1993), 167.

434 A. Gulyas, “A Cosmic Libation Researches on the Theology of Luxor Temple” in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007), 895.

from their context and positioning. (Plate 31) In commenting on the religious function of the decanal star clocks Willems "has observed that the register that contains the offering formula in the star-clocks is found between the sixth and seventh hour of the night."[435] He suggests that "one must, in other words, reckon with the possibility that there was some meaningful relationship between the division of the night into the six first and the six last hours and the invocation offerings.... Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that the seventh hour of the Book of Amduat includes drawings of twelve gods, some of whom are related by their names with offerings, and twelve goddesses embodying the hours of the night. Offerings are also a major topic of the seventh hour of the Book of Gates. Matters are no different in the Stundenwachen, according to which two gods enter the Place of Embalming in the seventh hour to bring offerings."[436] Significantly, this same pattern is found in the design of the decoration of the rear wall of the Central Hall. The right side by its location is directly associated with my proposed reconstruction for the placement of the seventh hour Amduat.[437] On this side of the wall, the notional eastern part, the king is rewarded with offerings of provisions given both by Geb and Osiris, whereas on the left side, it is kingship that is being given by Shu and Osiris. Engraved on the architraves that abut the rear wall of the Central Hall are the twelve deities in the vignette of BD 148, six on each side, mirroring the division of the night and its hours into two halves.[438] (Plate 317) BD 148 is a "spell for making provisions for a spirit in the God's Domain... It is the Book of Wennefer..."[439] to be used on the monthly festival of the Blacked-out Moon Day, i.e. on I *prt* 1. They too are not written retrograde and form part of the Way of Osiris in *ḏt* time.

Atum's position in the top register on the notional eastern side is highly unusual, alerting us to the possibility for a special significance. He is generally associated with the setting sun and appears at the western end of the Book of the Night, walking out from between Nut's arms as he leaves his creation. (Plate 379) Here it serves a dual purpose. Important as support for my proposed reconstruction for the placement of the hours of Amduat in the Central Hall, it places him next to the seventh hour of Amduat, where he plays an active role in subduing Apep [Apophis], a dominant theme of that hour.[440] On the opposite side of the decorated portion of the rear wall would have been the sixth hour of Amduat. At the end of the sixth hour, the deepest part of the night, Re unites with his corpse Osiris.

435 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 111.

436 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 336.

437 See below 5.5.

438 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.) 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 170. While only the six on the notional eastern architrave still exist, von Lieven also independently arrived at the conclusion that the other six were or would have been on the opposite architrave and that the reconstruction is secure.

439 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 35.

440 Though rarely mentioned by name in the Book of Amduat, he is present in both the upper and middle registers of the seventh hour where Apophis is subdued. He also plays this role in the Book of Gates. "Since the dominating feature of the seventh hour of Amduat is the battle with Apep [Apophis], the presence of Atum here should be understood in conjunction with Scene 13 in the Book of Gates. There Atum, leaning on a staff, slays the serpent, Apep..." C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 478. For the location of Atum in the Amduat see: E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 427.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

"After the union of the sun god (the *Ba*-soul of Osiris) with Osiris (the dead corpse of the sun god) at the end of the sixth hour, the birth of the new light [symbolizing renewal] is in greatest danger." [441] It requires all the forces of creation including that of Atum, the creator, in order to overcome the menacing threat of chaos and collapse of the cosmos in the seventh hour. This new creation is reflected by Tatenen rising out of the watery abyss of the Nun, nonexistence, over which Atum stands in the east of the top register. He looks out over the beginning of the unfolding of his creation, Tatenen, and its completion with the conception of Horus atop the rising land, the island directly below. Atum's unusual position in the east may allude to the successful outcome of the first sunrise and the birth of divine kingship over the created cosmos. (Plates 299, 301) The cosmic and cultic significance of this scene is spotlighted by the depiction of the king kneeling, arms raised in adoration, 'seeing and praising the god four times', before the father-son constellation of Atum and the king himself!

What does the decoration of the rear wall of the Central Hall tell us about the function of this chamber? First and foremost, it should be recognized that there is no such assemblage of scenes depicted in any sarcophagus chamber in any royal tomb of any period. The reason for this is obvious. The Central Hall is not a sarcophagus chamber for either a royal tomb or a cenotaph. Von Lieven also concluded that it is not a cenotaph for the king but rather considers it part of a well designed temple that would have been used in the cult of Osiris, as is suggested by its original name, "Men-Maat-Re is effective for Osiris". [442] The king is the one who in the main is shown performing the rites on behalf of the gods and not the recipient of the rites. [443] Clearly all the scenes depict ritual actions in the performance of the cult: purification rites, the burning of incense, libations, anointing, many offerings including Maat to Osiris, Atum, and Re-Horakhti. In fact, these types of scenes are common place and found numerous times in Egyptian temples, including the adjacent Mansion of Millions of Years.

In the Central Hall, the climax of these ritual actions is 'seeing the god and praising him four times'. To see the god is to know the god and his mysterious essence. This occurs four times in the top register: before the father-son constellation of Atum and the king; before the solar constellation of Re-Horus of the two horizons and the king; and twice before Osiris in both his manifestations of divine kingship and the moon. It also occurs twice at the entrance to the final Transverse Hall, the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, in the bottom register, out of which the mysteries of creation unfold on the first occasion. Importantly, these scenes can be connected to a specific time period and events that arose at *zp tpj*. They relate to the Osiris mysteries and following its culmination, the coronation of the king and the transfer of royal power, enabled by the conception of Horus on I *prt* 1. The fact that the Abydene emblem, Djet-pillar, and the emblem of Isis are depicted already raised, seems to indicate completed action of prior ritual

441 T. Abt, E. Hornung, Knowledge for the Afterlife (2003), 92.

442 A. von Lieven, "Bemerungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.) 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 179.

443 Here the king is the active participant in the scenes and, of course, for which he is granted such wishes as long life, kingship, provisions, etc.

performance.[444] This is in contrast to, for example, what is depicted in the first hall of the Osiris Complex in the Mansion of Millions of Years. There the Djet-pillar, in two back to back scenes, is shown actually being raised by the king, and this is, in my opinion, where the rites for the culmination of the Osiris mysteries at the end of the night of 30 Khoiak were actually carried out. (Plate 424) This then suggests that the timing for the Central Hall rituals was after 30 Khoiak[445] and were to be performed on the following night of the Blacked-out moon on I *prt* 1, as does the portion of the star table inscribed inside the Sloping Passage. It begins with I *prt* 1 and clearly was used to mark off the hours of the night, presumably to magically insure the proper timing for the performance of each of the rituals.[446] (Plates 266, 267) While Shentayet, a manifestation of Isis, and Heqet opened and closed the Khoiak festival, they were also intimately involved with the conception of Horus according to the texts at Dendera. It is Shentayet, mistress of the golden-seed, who makes herself pregnant with the *ba* of the beloved Osiris and gives birth to Horus.[447]

444 Recall from BD 129 reconstructed in the Hall of Two Truths from the tomb of Ramesses VI, it is said of the king, true of voice, that he raised the Djet-pillar, established the *tjt*-amulet, which are clear indications of ritual action. See A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 322.

445 I highlight this here because it directly relates to and unfortunately contradicts the admittedly attractive proposed reconstruction of the rites to be performed on the island in the Central Hall by von Lieven. See below 5.5.

446 See above 5.3.

447 See above 5.4 n. 338.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.5 A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BIRTH HOUSE OF ISIS: THE LOST DECORATION

Before proceeding with the continuation of the ritual cycle through the hours of the deep night, *wšɜw*, it is necessary to reconstruct the original decoration program Seti had planned for the unfinished Central Hall. (Plate 293) Much of it had already been cartooned in, as the few remaining traces suggest. "All the walls were to be smoothed and covered with sculptures, like the east [notional north] wall and the southern [notional east] architraves; in fact, the western [inner notional southern] face of the middle pillar in the southern [notional eastern] row [of the five large granite columns] still shows traces of the sculptor's sketch in red ink, which was preliminary to the cutting; it represents a kneeling male figure, in all probability the king." [448]

The decoration of the architraves, that run the full length of the Hall (31m/102 ft.) are the easiest to reconstruct because of what still exists. (Plates 319, 318) The inner face would have continued with the depiction of the scenes of the king kneeling and making an offering before each of the remaining figures of the seventy four manifestations of Re from the litany of Re. [449] A total of 37 were on each side. The area above the entrance door to the Central Hall was to be decorated with the large opening figure to the title of the book which first appeared in Seti's own tomb KV 17. [450] The arrangement would have been similar to that found in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, in Room III (G of Mariette) along the base of the walls. (Plates 321-326) At the ends of the architraves that abut the rear wall, the decoration was a mirror image. The king stands facing outward offering maat to Re-Horakhti, who stands before half of the twelve divine figures of the cattle and the steering oars of the sky that form the vignette for BD 148. (Plate 317) The design for the outer facing of the architraves is less clear, but most probably contained most of the texts of the litany of Re that usually accompany the seventy four manifestations. They are composed of nine litanies and begin with the great litany. The section of the third litany concerning the United One and identifying the king with both the *ḥa* and the corpse of the unified Re Osiris, is underscored by its separate placement on the ceiling above the depiction of the seventy four manifestations, as it is placed in the tomb of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings. [451]

448 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 17. Note again the directional confusion that arising from Frankfort's use of local north instead of true north as was used by the original architects of both the Osireion and the Mansion of Millions of Years.

449 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 138. While there are seventy four figures, *ḫprw*, each of the last two has two names ascribed to it, we can actually assume seventy six manifestations.

450. E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 136.

451 Z. Hawass, The Royal Tombs of Egypt (2006), 206.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Because of the enormous size of the Central Hall, which is more than twice the length of Seti's sarcophagus chamber in KV 17, in all likelihood, the ceiling contained multiple compositions as is the case with the large ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall.[452] Besides the segment from from the litany of Re, which may have separated two much larger compositions or groups of compositions, the ceiling was decorated with the astronomical scenes depicted both on the ceiling of Seti's sarcophagus chamber in the Valley of the Kings and also important to the validity of this reconstruction, the ceiling of the second inner hall in the Osiris Complex in the Mansion of Millions of Years.[453] Through its decoration, the Osiris Complex in the main temple is intimately connected to the Central Hall of the Osireion, as should become clear from the discussion below on what was actually depicted on the island.[454] The astronomical ceiling in Seti's sarcophagus chamber in KV 17 is a masterpiece and among the finest of the ancient Egyptian depictions of the night sky. (Plates 413, 414, 146) It is only rivaled by his impressive Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars, the so-called Book of Nut in the adjoining Second Transverse Hall, (Plate 390) as well as Senenmut's earlier astronomical ceiling, (Plate 415) and perhaps also by the combined Books of the Night and of the Day in tomb of Ramesses VI. (Plate 388) The necessity of its presence in the Osireion would have been mandatory, stemming from the function for this structure. It represents the newly created cosmos that arose on the first occasion in the restoration of maat, necessitated by the Amarna Hersey. Only its presence in the Osireion could then validate the composition's use in Seti's own sarcophagus chamber. How could it be used in such a prominent position, if it were not part of his own state sanctioned program of *wḥm mswt* for the “re-formation of the universal order”,[455] particularly when these Renaissance periods were known for innovative new works of which the astronomical ceiling must be considered one.

As discussed in Appendix A concerning the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI for which the Osireion served as its template, the astronomical compositions found on the ceilings of corridors F and G above the hours of Amduat in those chambers were in all likelihood taken from the portion of the ceiling decoration in the Central Hall that was likely closest to the entrance of that hall. Of course, the arrangement of these compositions on the ceiling is purely speculative but would have generally reflected the ritual progression through the Central Hall itself. I can only point out a few of the more interesting aspects. The themes and scenes from the compositions associated with the west and the setting sun would have been to the left of the entrance of the Central Hall (looking inward), whereas the scenes connected to the journey of the sun god out from the depths of the *duat* towards the

452 In the final Transverse Hall, both sides of the sloped ceiling contain multiple compositions which are in situ.

453 Ramesses VI deviated from the Osireion template for his tomb by placing the Books of the Night and the Day on the ceiling of his sarcophagus chamber, in order to meet his needs for his afterlife. For details see Appendix A.

454 In the first Osiris Hall of the Complex on the undamaged portions, there are individual scenes of Osiris, Geb, Atum, Thoth, Anubis, Shentayet, Heqet, Hapy, the Abydene emblem, as well as the king and Isis raising of the Djed-pillar, all of which are depicted on the rear wall of the Central Hall. An astronomical ceiling as is found in the sarcophagus chamber of KV !7 decorates the inner Osiris hall. The central chapel at the rear of the inner Osiris hall and thus the most sacred part of the Complex, contains two scenes of the conception of Horus with the awakening of Osiris by Horus on the rear wall between them. See R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 125-138, for her description and views on the Osiris Complex and rites performed therein.

455 A. Niwinski, “Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Historie de l'Egypte” BSFE 136 (1996), 7.

new sunrise would have been on the right (notional east). In the case of the composition on the ceiling of corridor F in the tomb of Ramesses VI, the diagrams of the solar barques, (Plates 405, 406) marks the start of the solar journey to the eastern akhet leading to the unfolding of the new sunrise and in the context of *zp tpj,* the first sunrise. Recall that this is paralleled at the start of the king's journey on the night of I *prt* 1 into the lower *ḏuat* to see his father, Osiris. At the beginning of the descent, the king must first magically construct his barque in order to cross the winding waterway.[456] So here too the night and day barques of the sun god must be constructed so that the first sunrise will unfold. Their function suggests that these diagrams of the solar barques would have been found on the eastern end of the ceiling in the Central Hall by the entrance and above a scene of the twelfth hour of Amduat. (Plates 354, 353) The astronomical ceiling of corridor G in its arrangement would appear to depict an accurate observation on the visual relationship of the cycles of the sun and the moon. Here the solar cycle is portrayed as a large solar disk with a ram's head, the setting sun, at its western end and the scarab beetle of Khepri, the rising sun, on its eastern side. (Plates 402, 412) This scene is immediately followed by a large depiction of the lunar cycle, crescent supporting the full lunar disk, implying that it is located beyond the boundaries of the solar cycle i.e. the course of the sun along the ecliptic. This is an accurate representation of what can be observed by marking the movements of the sun in the day sky and the moon at night. The moon's movements arc a greater portion of the sky by about five degrees to either side of the ecliptic, explaining the placement of the lunar disk after and thus beyond the solar path.[457]

Regretfully, there is not a single trace remaining of the texts and scenes of the Book of Amduat on the walls of the Central Hall. However, the circumstantial evidence for their existence is quite compelling. At the start of this chapter, the architectural likeness of the Sloping Passage, First Transverse Hall, the Central Hall and the Second Transverse Hall to the design of the fourth, fifth and sixth hours Amduat has been discussed in detail. The similarity is so striking that it must be considered to be an actual architectural rendition in stone of the lower *ḏuat.* To the ancient Egyptians it was the *ḏuat*, as can be inferred from a graffito made by a visiting scribe in the Twenty Second Dynasty who came to see the hidden/secret chamber of the *ḏuat* of king Menmaatre.[458] As suggested earlier,[459] perhaps the most compelling evidence to support this hypothesis is the presence of the Amduat texts in the corresponding areas in the tomb of Ramesses VI, for which the Osireion served as its template. It is inscribed on the walls of corridors F and G, which equate to the Sloping Passage in the Osireion. However, the wall space in the Sloping Passage, as well as the star table on the ceiling, was needed for

456 BD 99 at the top end on the left side of the Sloping Passage.

457 Recall that the alignment of the main axis of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years at Gurna is to the point in the sky where the moon reaches its southern extreme during its nineteen year cycle. Likewise is the case with the orientation of the Entrance Archway of the Osireion which is aligned to the moon at its northern extreme. Together they underscore the importance of the lunar cycle signifying divine kingship in Seti's reformulation of the universal order following the Akhenaten heresy with its obsession with the solar disk, the Aten.

458 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 88 and plate LXXXVIII.

459 See above 5.1 and Appendix A.

the rituals that the king would perform in order to enter into the presence of his father and to return back out from the Underworld, something Ramesses VI as Osiris did not need. He was able to replace the rituals with the hours of Amduat and the star table with the astronomical scenes, that he presumably had copied from the walls and the ceiling of the Central Hall. (Plates 31, 32) This omission was clearly a major modification of the template, but necessitated by and highlighting the different function for a royal tomb and a temple. The use of the Amduat and the astronomical scenes there did serve to preserve the corresponding order for the sequence of Underworld books in his significantly smaller tomb. It should be noted too that Ramesses IX who drew extensively from the decoration of the Osireion for his tomb, Amduat texts are also found there.[460] They occur in Seti's own tomb as well. Following the rationale used for the presence of the astronomical ceiling in his sarcophagus chamber being based on the premise that it also had to be present in the Osireion, since the Osireion represents the newly created cosmos, the re-formation of the universal order, that arose on the first occasion which Seti initiated as part of his *wḥm mswt*, the Book of Amduat would likewise had to have been present in the Osireion. Additionally, as in the tomb of Thutmose III and "the cenotaph's nearest architectural relative [which] is the tomb of Amenhotep II",[461] the Amduat is found in close association and proximity to the litany of Re. Both Richter and Manassa have identified specific relationships between certain figures and verses of the litany of Re and individual hours of the Amduat.[462] With the litany of Re engraved on the architraves surrounding the island, it significantly increases the probability that the Amduat was also found in the Central Hall.

Finally, the very nature of the content of the Book of Amduat supports its necessity for placement in the Central Hall. Apropos of the themes expressed in the Central Hall, "Egyptian mortuary texts [including the Underworld books] are all connected with the image of the king and stem, in the last instance, from the political institution and theology of divine kingship. This special political choice dragged all other details in its wake, including the Egyptian concepts of afterlife and immortality... the pharaonic kingdom of the 'Two Lands', was synonymous with the sacralization of the office that elevated its holder into a god on earth, the embodiment of the god Horus, to which was later added his filial relationship to the sun god."[463] The ancient Egyptian name for the Amduat is 'Book of the Hidden Chamber' and was especially connected to the sarcophagus chamber of the royal tombs and in all likelihood the Central Hall of the Osireion. "In its very title, the word *rḫ*, to know, occurs nine times:

> Knowing the netherworldly *ɓas*,
> knowing the hidden *ɓas*,

460 See Appendix A.

461 J. Roberson, private communication May 23, 2011. See also H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 26.

462 B. Richter, "The Amduat and its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers" JARCE 44 (2008), 73, 87-92. C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), for example the summary on 129-131.

463 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 390.

knowing the gates,
and the paths that the Great God treads.
Knowing what will be done,
knowing what is in the hours, and their gods,
knowing the course of the hours and their gods.
Knowing the transfigurations for Re,
knowing what he proclaims to them,
knowing the thriving and the annihilated.

The book closes with the remark:

The select manual, the mysterious writing of the *ḏuat*,
which is known by none but the select.
This representation is made in this manner
in the hiddenness of the *ḏuat*,
invisible, imperceptible!
He who knows these secret images is a well-provided *aḫ*.
He goes ever into and forth from the netherworld
and ever speaks to the living.

The knowledge entailed here is derived from sources other than those to which we are accustomed: not from observation, measurement, and calculation but from intuition and imagination. The Egyptian Books of the Netherworld describe a reality beyond empirical experience, 'invisible, imperceptible'".[464] Recall from the discussion above in the fifth hour Amduat that it was also said:

Unknown, unseen, imperceptible
is this image of Horus himself (Sokar).[465]

"The king needs this knowledge... to be able to contribute, as a priest of the sun, to the success of the sun's course by means of his liturgical recitations.... There is every reason to think that on earth, the cultic accompaniment of the course of the sun began in the evening and continued through the night, and that connected with the nocturnal liturgies was the concept of joining songs of praise of the netherworldly congregations of adorants. The Amduat refers to these next-worldly liturgies:

Knowing the transfigurations for Re,
knowing what he proclaims to them.

When we look at the speeches of this sort in the Amduat, we see that they play a dominating role. The

464 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 393.

465 See above 5.1.

liturgical, 'transfigurative' element is at least as important as the descriptive element. The same is true for all the other Books of the Netherworld – especially the litany of Re, of course, which is purely liturgical, but also the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns... The principle of *unio liturgica* doubtless referred at first to the cultic function of this knowledge; its use as royal mortuary literature was a secondary development. The solar cult rested on the concept of a temporary entry of the officiant into the next-worldly 'congregations' of the eastern and western *bas*... Pronouncing a hymn to the sun, in the capacity of a priest and in the framework of prescribed cultic proceedings, an individual joined the adorants of the god in the divine realm, becoming 'one of them' for the duration of the proceedings. All cultic ceremonies presupposed such a transformation.... In the cult, this principle enabled communication with the realm of the gods and the integration of cultic occurrences. In mortuary belief, it facilitated the deceased's entry into the realm of the gods and his transformation into a next-worldly, immortal identity in the constellations of the course of the sun. In the cult, it was a matter of keeping the cosmos in motion through ritual, while in mortuary belief, it was a matter of the individual human being, his closeness to the divine, and his immortality. Egyptian mortuary belief transformed the culti-magical principles of cosmic influence and cooperation into the somewhat 'mystical' principle of individual becoming one with the divine, the *unio liturgica.* Within this framework, knowledge of esoteric cult texts conferred divinity (belonging to the realm of the gods) and immortality. From the texts regarding the king as solar priest... it emerges clearly that this divinity and immortality, which rested on knowledge of the literature regarding the course of the sun, belonged to the role of the god-king and to the concept of the rule he exercised as something that kept the cosmos in motion, activity that continued, on earth, the creative work of the sun god."[466]

"The condition under which the Amduat and the other Books of the Netherworld were transmitted – during the New Kingdom, they appeared almost exclusively in royal tombs [with the major exception of the Osireion] – clearly confirm their highly exclusive character. In the form of mortuary literature, this store of knowledge was at the disposal only of kings. During the New Kingdom, the step from cultically legitimated king to private N. had not yet been taken, with the sole exception of the vizier Amenuser [Useramun], who was allowed to use the Amduat and the litany of Re in the decoration of his sarcophagus chamber [which itself highlights their great importance and the close connection between these two compositions]. This need not mean that only the kings belonged to those who could acquire this knowledge already 'on earth', during their lifetimes [witness the existence of the subterranean temple, the Osireion at Abydos]... It was simply a matter of the normal, official Egyptian sun cult, which rested on the principle of identification with that which belonged to the divine realm. But with this principle, and this is the decisive point in our context, there was connected the hope of salvation from death. Whoever belonged to the congregations of adorants of the sun god would stand forever on the side of life. That was the hope that characterized the Books of the Netherworld. They 'describe' the netherworld from the point of view of salvation."[467] While correct, unfortunately, it is exactly this connection that has obscured the true purpose and function of the Osireion. Because these

466 J. Assmann, Death ans Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 395-398.

467 Ibid., 401-402.

compositions were only found in royal tombs in the New Kingdom, ergo the Osireion had to be a cenotaph for its builder, Seti I. The cutouts on the island in the Central Hall which superficially look to have housed a giant sarcophagus and a set of canopic jars appeared to confirm this erroneous conclusion. But it is not a cenotaph. Rather it served as a cult place for Osiris, divine kingship and the transmission of royal power.

In the cult, the primary purpose of the Netherworld Books as Assmann has described above was a matter of keeping the cosmos in motion through ritual and thereby keeping it in existence. Indeed, the deity counts which define and in the context of zp tpj create the cycles of the movements of the sun, moon and stars that I have identified in the Netherworld Books found in the Osireion supports this. It is the sustaining of the created cosmos by the movement through time that was of importance for the ancient Egyptians. Motion, in essence, is time and is the characteristic feature of the created cosmos including the *Duat.* It sets it apart from the inertness of nonexistence, where time and motion do not exist, which is symbolized by the dark watery abyss of the Nun. Priskin has demonstrated through the number symbolism contained in the Amduat texts that the ancient Egyptians had developed a sophisticated knowledge of "both the golden ratio and additive progression. They understood that these two – quite abstract – concepts were interrelated."[468] It incorporated into their civil calendar mathematical and astronomical knowledge such that it "developed a golden-ratio-based relation between the 365-day year and the synodic [lunar] month."[469] In other words, it linked their solar civil year to the lunar cycle, in such a way that it captured the harmonizing cyclical movements of their sun god Re with those of the Osiris-moon, through their cycles' relationship to the golden ratio. In the texts of Amduat, "the length of the region [the first hour of the night] is thus 200 + 300 = 500 *jtrw*. Now the proportion of the first region to the second one is 500 divided by 309 = 1.61812..., that is the golden ratio. This in turn means that the numbers 500 and 309 are elements of an additive series... corresponding to the twelve hours of the *duat*, can be traced as follows:

500 309 191 118 73 45 28 17 11 6 5 1

… Adding the numbers together, we can calculate the combined length of the twelve regions. The result – 1304 [*jtrw*] – corresponds well with the clue at the end of the Amduat: the backbone of the serpent Life of Gods is said to equal 1300 sacred divine cubits (meh djeser-n-netjer, an entirely mythical linear measure nowhere else attested in Egyptian sources). The missing four units must be due to the subtraction of the thirteenth term, meaning the newborn sun god – in the eighth hour we are in fact told that he has four manifestations – has already issued from the body of the serpent. Further adding the length of the gate, we can arrive at the whole length of the *duat:* 120 + 1304 = 1424, a significant number that effectively describes the four apothems [height of each side] of the Great Pyramid, because it equals 4 x 356. To round things off, a very straightforward clue in the seventh hour states that the neha-her [Apophis] serpent's sandbank is of the same measurements, 440 by 440 cubits, as the base of the [Great] pyramid. These obvious correspondences lend new strength to the

468 G. Priskin, "The Philosopher's stones: the Great Pyramid" DE 51 (2001), 117.

469 G. Priskin, "On The Number Delimiting the Sacred Space of the Dendera Temple" DE 55 (2003), 33.

contention that the Amduat was written down simultaneously or near the time when the Great Pyramid was built or designed... A further confirmation of our theory is offered by the hieroglyphic writing system, as the ideogram for the *ḏuat* was a five-rayed star drawn into a circle, a sign that with no stretch of imagination can be interpreted as the representation of a regular pentagon in which the diagonals intersect one another in the proportion of the golden ratio." [470]

According to Priskin, "the structure of the *ḏuat* and the Great Pyramid were determined to display the golden ratio, because the Egyptians observed, or indirectly assumed that this number could link the calendarically important periods of the moon and the sun: the synodic month (from new moon to new moon) and the tropical year (from equinox to equinox)... The 365-day wandering year, however, had another profound implication: 25 years of this contained 9125 days, and during that period exactly 309 lunations had run their course (309 synodic months = 9124.951 days). Papyrus Carlsberg 9 dating from very late in Egyptian history, 144 AD, is at present the only explicit evidence that shows the Egyptians had cognizance of this cycle, but we of course concur with the view that they must have been familiar with it much earlier.... K. Ferrari d'Occhieppo and his co-authors have already suggested that the length of 309 *jtrw* in the Amduat refers to the months of the 25-year cycle. [471] There is strong iconographical and philological evidence in the second hour to support this claim. This region is the only one where the moon [as a lunar disk] makes an appearance in the Amduat, and also in this hour six gods [signifying the six components of the Udjat-eye] hand over to Re palm branches that represent time or greater periods of time. One type of these branches is called tr in Egyptian, a word that has an archaic plural inflectional form of *jtrw*, as seen in the tomb of Useramun [Amenuser]. This means that both the linear measure and the measure of time have an identical consonantal skeleton (j and w signify Egyptian consonants) – a detail that has surely not eluded the attention of the Egyptians, because there are other instances of wordplay in the Amduat. We can have therefore no doubt that the 309 *jtrw* in the second hour has spatial just as well as temporal connotations. Furthermore, only now can we fully comprehend the numerical scheme. The 300 *jtrw* denoting the second section of the first region is as much a distraction as it is a clue: there are 300 schematized months in 25 Egyptian civil years." [472] We have already seen how in the case of 354, 365, and 384, [473] the deities' names relate to the cycles they represent, so too is the case for 300 and 309. By Hornung's numbering scheme for the Amduat, deity 300 is *štȝy*, He of the secret, [474] is shown pulling the solar barque by a tow rope along its path, i.e. through the course of the civil year. Deity 309 in the middle register of the fourth hour is *sṯn ḥȝt*, 'Whose front is crowned', [475] wears the white crown, *ḥḏt*, signifying lunar luminosity and the cycle of

470 G. Priskin, "The philosopher's stones: the Great Pyramid" DE 51 (2001), 112-114.

471 K. Ferrari d'Occhieppo, R. Krauss, T. Schmidt-Kaler, "Die Gefilde der altagyptischen Unterwelt" ZAS 123 (1996), 104-109.

472 G. Priskin, "The philosopher's stones: the Great Pyramid" DE 51 (2001), 114-115.

473 See above 5.1.

474 E. Hornung, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 124

475 Ibid., 126.

309 lunations.

It is hoped that this lengthy commentary on a small potion of the knowledge embedded in the Book of the Hidden Chamber, should make it readily apparent that it was intended to be part of the original plan for the decoration of the Central Hall, where adequate wall space was available for it above the seventeen niches. Not including the scenes and texts of Amduat with its explicit emphasis on knowledge would in a certain sense defeat the purpose or one of the most important purposes for the Osireion. The main function of Seti's *wḥm-mswt*, the re-formation of universal order, was the complete restoration of maat and there was no such thing as half maat.

The arrangement for the hours of Amduat can be easily adduced. Because of the clearly laid out sequential order of the decoration conforming to the progression in the rituals to be enacted in the Osireion, similar to that in Amenhotep II's tomb, its closest architectural relative, the hours of Amduat would have been found to have been sequential.[476] In the Central Hall, the first hour began at the left of the entrance doorway and ran through the end of the sixth hour to the left of the entrance of the Second Transverse Hall. (Plate 31) Most probably, the end of the sixth hour would have been arranged similar to that in the tomb of Thutmose III so that 'the awakening scene of Khepri' was placed nearest to and above i.e. at a higher level than the entrance to the chamber to which it was directly related. (Plate 345) To the right of the entrance to the final Transverse Hall began the seventh hour. As indicated, this hour was placed such that it was next to the figure of Atum at the top of the rear wall, who played an active role in the subduing of Apophis, a major theme of the seventh hour. The end of this hour may have continued onto the notional eastern wall, where it was followed by the eighth hour. Hours nine through twelve ran to the end of the notional eastern wall so that the sunrise scene was in the southeastern corner, pointing to the place of the first sunrise. (Plate 31) The abridged version of Amduat would have been found to the right immediately preceding the entrance doorway on the notional southern wall.

What now can be said about the island in the Central Hall and what lay on top? The island's symbolism is unambiguous. It is unique but clearly a magnificent representation of Tatenen, the rising land as the primordial mound, emerging out of the Nun on the first occasion. (Plate 41) However, what lay on top the island is not. “There is a double flight of steps leading down from the island into the water. These were considered very important indeed; this is shown by the trouble taken in their construction: they were actually hewn into the large blocks of which the island is built, and the space which they occupy was left open from the beginning. We have seen that the construction of the Central Hall proceeded from east [notional north] to west [notional south], and thus the steps on the western [southern] side of the island were not finished when the work had to be left. Nevertheless, they were considered so essential that they were at least partially indicated, though they lead nowhere.”[477] These

476 However, the starting point for the sequence was different in the tomb of Amenhotep II precisely because it is a tomb and therefore is orientated to the sarcophagus. The first hour is on the rear wall behind the sarcophagus. The progression of the hours looking outward unfolds from the left to the right and ends with the twelve hour and the abridged or short version opposite the king's face.

477 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 28.

two antithetic dummy staircases were made so that the island resembled the double stairway hieroglyph of the primeval hill.[478] However, it should be noted that both sets of stairs are crudely carved. (Plates 294, 295, 292) As suggested earlier, the crude cutting of the stairs was by design.[479] Like the rough cut stairway in the desert leading down to the Entrance Archway of the Osireion, it was meant to symbolize the chaotic state of precreation, the Nun, from which Tatenen was rising. "We have seen that Ptah, as earth god, was actually declared to be the Hill itself as Ptah-Tatenen, for the notion of a primeval hill is not dependent on the belief that the Creator is a sun god. In fact, each and every temple was supposed to stand on it – another instance of the primitive tendency to stress relationship and participation to the point of identity... The identity of the temples with the primeval hill amounts to a sharing of essential quality and is expressed in their names and in their architectural arrangements by means of ramps or steps.... Similar forms were used in funerary architecture, for the plot of ground from which creation proceeded was obviously a depository of creative energy powerful enough to carry anyone who might be buried there through the crisis of death to rebirth. It is for this reason that funerary figurines appear at the top of a flight of stairs."[480] Later representations from "paintings on mummy coffins confirm that the double stairway was a symbol of Osiris, and depicted the holy tomb. The god is enthroned on top of a hill; sometimes one sees the mummy laying stretched out in the space between the stairs [signifying that it is inside the primeval hill, Tatenen]. (Plate 296) The sun in the kingdom of death [the *duat*] shines over the dead god, as we read in an Osiris text: 'Re-Khepri shines on your body, when you lie down like Sokar.'"[481] However, Frankfort did not draw from these images, but instead referred understandably to a vignette from the Papyrus of Anhai to reach his conclusion that the two cavities on the island "may well have been meant to contain a shrine with the canopic jars, the oblong one to its west [notional south], a sarcophagus."[482] (Plate 126) In her vignette, a very large mummy lies directly on top of the double stairway which is surrounded by water, suggesting that it was drawn from a knowledge of the Central Hall. This is supported by the vignette in her papyrus that directly precedes it of the solar barque rising out of the Nun, the final scene of the Book of Gates, a rare scene found in the Osireion. (Plate 125) While the vignette indeed appears to be based on the Central Hall, it lacks important details of this royal monument. There are only eight circular posts depicted rather than the ten square columns, a number sacred to Horus and divine kingship. In Egyptian two dimensional drawings, what is placed on top is frequently meant to be what lies inside, in this case, the double stairway. The fact that the mummy is actually longer than the platform at the top strongly suggests that the mummy is to be interpreted as being deep inside the stepped tomb, as it is shown in the scene discussed above. (Plates 126, 296) The point is that it is likely to lead to an erroneous conclusion. Speaking on the cutouts in the floor of the island, Omm Sety, who spent much of her life

478 H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1948, reprint 1978), 153.

479 See above 2.5.

480 H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1948, reprint 1978), 152-153.

481 W. Kristensen, Life Out Of Death (1949, newly translated by H. Franken 1992), 77-78. Recall that the image of Sokar is his cavern is said to be unknown, unseen, imperceptible is this image of Horus himself in the fifth hour Amduat.

482 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 29.

studying Seti's complex in Abydos, concluded that “they seem to be much too large for such a purpose [canopic chest and sarcophagus]. What seems probable is that these depressions were intended to receive the bases of a large statue and an alter....”[483] As will be demonstrated, she was not far off the mark.

Von Lieven's thought-provoking analysis of the Osireion, published in 2007,[484] challenged the long held and widespread opinion that it was designed as a cenotaph for Seti I, complete with a sarcophagus and canopic chest on the island in the Central Hall. She views it not as a cenotaph but rather as a well designed temple used in the cult of Osiris.[485] I first summarize her analysis so as to provide the framework for the rationale behind her interpretation of what lay on top the island. The key points are as follows.

(1) The crucial recognition here is that there is, in fact, a ritual progression to the arrangement of the BD spells along the north (notional west) side of the (downward) Sloping Passage. The purpose of which is to further legitimatize and purify the king before he can penetrate deeper into the interior. She identifies: the ferryman's interrogation in BD 99; passage through the portals and gates of BD 147 and BD 145; and the 'negative confession' from BD 125. Through this secret knowledge and moral flawlessness, the king fulfills the conditions to gain access.[486]

(2) The decan hour list on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage also has a function in this context. She suggests that it refers to the 'hour watch' for Osiris, whose purpose is the direct defense of the bier of Osiris from hostile beings (which rests on the island in the Central Hall). At the same time during the 'hour watch', helpful deities appear including Horus to continuously protect Osiris over the course of the night. Thus, the star clock fits remarkably well in the decoration program characterized by restriction and legitimization of access.[487]

(3) After the king had successfully overcome all obstacles, he may now see the god Osiris. In the hymn BD 183 that decorates the door between the First Transverse Hall and the Central Hall describes the *quid pro quo* offerings. Osiris receives the rulership insignia and for his part gives his office (kingship on the earth) to Horus. The speaker (the king) identifies himself with Thoth, who presents maat. Now it is Horus who attends to his father, together with Thoth, the divine priest, and the nightly sun god, who unite themselves with Osiris.[488]

483 O. Sety, H. el Zeini, Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt (1981), 23.

484 Dr. von Lieven was most kind to send me a draft of her 2002 presentation before it was finally published as “Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos” in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 167-186.

485 Ibid., 179.

486 Ibid., 173.

487 Ibid., 173.

488 Ibid., 173.

(4) It is in this form that he enters the Central Hall. The union of Re with Osiris is effected by means of their manifestations in the litany of Re (depicted on the architraves). They could actually have received offerings here (as Merenptah is shown doing), to which the text of the sun litany addresses, but admittedly is missing here. Furthermore, the cows of Re from BD 148 (also depicted on the architraves) are entrusted with provisioning and are a common decoration found in the Offering Halls, especially in later temples. On the rear wall of the Central Hall, the focus is completely on offering scenes.[489]

(5) In the rear wall scenes, it appears that a sequence of ritual actions from the lower left to upper middle serve to summarize the complete ritual course. (Plate 299) The king moves in procession to the shrine of Osiris, physical and moral purity allow him entry. The gods who stand before him, all have an important function in the Osiris Mysteries. According to her interpretation, in the Khoiak festival texts and the representations in the Osiris chapels at Dendera, Shentayet and Heqet perform their tasks in the mummification and rejuvenation of Osiris. Wepwawet leads the funeral procession. Shu and Geb confirm the lawful rule of Osiris. The bandages (linen) and the ointment oils that are offerings to Osiris refer to the mummification. At the top, the king stands before Osiris united with the night Sun. The direct seeing and worshiping the god represent the high point of the cult action.[490]

(6) After having made the point that the building is an architectural rendition of the *ḏuat* which sufficiently explains the presence of the Underworld Books, a case is built for a coherent interpretation of the decoration program of the Osireion that follows the flow of movement of the king or one representing the ritualist. She concludes that “the texts, seemingly funerary at first, all can be explained from the mythical revelation of the ritual.”[491] Importantly, “the problematic accessibility, Frankfort's main objection against a temple utilization [for the Osireion] also does not hold. Quite the opposite, impeded accessibility was well within the scope of the Osiris Mysteries [as well as the *ḏuat*] and a rather desired effect.”[492] As to the island itself, rather than a sarcophagus and canopic chest sunk into the floor, she proposes a cultic purpose behind the explanation for the existence of the cutouts in the floor. They had to do with the equipment actually used in the context of the Osiris Mysteries and that ritual actions were undertaken at a statue of Osiris.[493]

(7) There are two key premises shaping the reconstruction for which ritual or rituals were to be performed there. The first attempts to link the seventeen niches surrounding the island to the guardian figures that surround Osiris in the vignette of BD 182. (Plate 297) Eigner pointed out that the niches in the sarcophagus chamber of Montuemhet (TT 34) show a clear resemblance to the niches in the Central Hall and they are generally assumed to have contained a series of granite statues of guardian

489 A. von Lieven, “Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos” in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 174.

490 Ibid., 174.

491 Ibid., 178. Author's translation from the German.

492 Ibid., 180.

493 Ibid., 180.

similar to those in the vignette of BD 182. But more significant is that this vignette shows no coffin rather it depicts a shrine with a bier on which the mummy lies. With the large size of the rectangular cutout in the floor of the island (4.27m x 2.23m), it is not difficult to envision a shrine with a figure on the bier which could be incorporated into the rituals. While traces of BD 182 have not been found, the decoration remained incomplete allowing for the possibility of its presence especially since BD 180 and BD 183 are present. The relevance is that they are clearly thematically related. As in BD 183, Thoth is the officiant and like BD 180, it is derived from the litany of Re. BD 182 speaks about how Thoth protects Osiris, enables the union with Re, animating him with life and well-being through his nose and makes offerings to him. The offerings and the union of Re and Osiris aspects are already depicted in the decoration of the Central Hall in the figures of the litany of Re and in the offering tableaux. The animation aspect and the protective aspects are actually depicted in two places in the Osireion, in the Antechamber (Plate 224) and in the Second Transverse Hall, (Plate 371) where the god lies on his stomach in a bier shrine in the 'Embalming Hall of Osiris'. In both cases Horus stands before him and passes into the shrine a *wꜣs*-scepter tipped with an ankh sign. "Above all the last representation from the Embalming Hall seems to me to be a key scene for the understanding of the rites in the Osireion. Would it not be conceivable that in the large cutout in the center of the island stood a shrine in which a life-sized Osiris figure was lying on his belly. Such a figure is actually found in the Late Period."[494] (Plate 377) Support for this hypothesis comes from the middle sanctuary of the nearby temple of Ramesses II, where on the rear wall there is a much damaged scene of the presumed complete Embalming Hall. However, the depictions of Osiris on a bier in a shrine is a familiar iconographic type. "In Seti's temple, the corresponding scene is also on the rear wall of the middle sanctuary in the Osiris Complex. (Plate 429) In spite of the enormous damage, the remains of the *wꜣs*-scepter held by a slightly bent figure in an unambiguous position leaves no doubt as to the identification of the scene. On the side walls, two other scenes of Osiris on a bier are portrayed respectively, where on the western wall Horus' conception with Isis as the consecrator provides their identification. Both Ramesside temples in Abydos interpret [the scene of] Osiris lying in the shrine and who will be revived by the *wꜣs*-scepter as the central goal of the cult [of Osiris]. "[495] The lying on the belly pose of Osiris obviously expresses the reawakening in a special manner as well as do the collection of crowns and other dominion insignia under the bier. "The central scene of the Embalming Hall of Osiris with the animation by *wꜣs*-scepter was a picture scheme specific to Abydos. In my opinion this legitimizes the reconstruction of a corresponding cult scene in the Central Hall of the Osireion.... An aspect of the ritual action would have been the presenting of 'life' and 'well-being' to the nose of this [prone] Osiris figure, probably connected with the offering [ritual] and the corresponding recitations. In addition which, as I have said, comes the representation of the Embalming Hall which characteristically shows an assortment of crowns and other insignia, whose function can in a meaningful manner only be to equip the god during the course of the ritual with the symbols of his power.... Actually the named BD spells speak about the securing of the crowns and scepters, and of the transferring of kingship by Geb to Osiris. More extensively and more clearly this theme is addressed

494 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 181. Author's translation.

495 Ibid., 181-182.

in the litany of Re itself, where the pelican goddess is asked:

> 'Open the *duat* for me, then I will be in underworld expanse!
> I will secure the Nemes for its wearer, the Lord of the Hidden Chamber.'

Following this the officiant may now view Osiris in his shrine. He identifies himself with Osiris, whose scepter he takes then as Horus. Through this, the transfer of power manifests itself on Horus. The Nemes headcloth is mentioned twice again:

> 'I am the heir of Osiris.
> I cause that he receives the Nemes.'" [496]

Von Lieven's groundbreaking analysis is insightful and certainly plausible, indeed probable, were it not for a few clues which may not have been available to her at the time. As will be shown, they suggest a modification of her conclusions with respect to what actually would have been found on the island. In 2007, Symons published an article on the diagonal star tables including important comments on the star table in the Sloping Passage. [497] Discussed above, the placement of the star table was skillfully arranged such that the portion in the Sloping Passage served to mark off the hours for the timing of the performance of the rites on the night of the Blacked-out moon on I *prt* 1, the day *after* the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries. [498] They were tied to the portion of the annual coronation rites concerned with the transmission of royal power. The key to which is the conception of Horus. Wegner describes it as "the central event in the Osiris myth: the point at which the magical resuscitation of the deceased ruler Osiris occurs, the conception of the future king Horus which not only allows for the divinely sanctioned rule of Horus and the ultimate vindication of his father, but also symbolically refers to the actualization of the potential for individual post-mortem transformation and, on a broader level, the ongoing cyclical regeneration of cosmic order." [499] To which should be added, arose on the first occasion as it was to be depicted on Tatenen in the Central Hall, the birth house of Isis. "As Murnane neatly puts it, 'the climactic moment' during which the revived Osiris begets his son Horus on Isis..." [500]

496 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 182-185. Author's translation.

497 S. Symons, "A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 1-33.

498 See above 5.3. This does not preclude a secondary association for the star table with the Stundenwachen as von Lieven has suggested. However by my reconstruction, this 'hour watch' would have been for the protection of the conception of Horus on I *prt* 1.

499 M. Wegner, The Cult of Osiris at Abydos: An Archaeological Investigation of the Development of an Ancient Egyptian Sacred Center during the Eighteenth Dynasty (2002), 89-90.

500 A. Shore, "Human and Divine Mummification" in A. Lloyd, Studies in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths (1992), 227, quoting W. Murnane, The Penguin Guide to Ancient Egypt (1988), 210.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Von Lieven noted that the revivification of Osiris by his son Horus with the sweet breath of life extended to his nose occurs in two places in the Osireion, once in the Antechamber and again in the Second Transverse Hall. This is because it is an integral part of two separate ritual cycles and also may explain why the rejuvenation scene is depicted differently. The scene in the Antechamber is part of the rites for the new moon, performed monthly.[501] (Plate 225) The awakening of Osiris scene in the Second Transverse Hall is part of the annual cycle that culminates with the rites for the coronation of the king on I *prt* 1. (Plate 371) This may account for the placement of the six crowns and other royal regalia under the lion-headed bier shrine, to be used during the course of the ritual to equip Osiris with the symbols of his power. That is to say in his role now as the Ruler of the West. The depiction of six crowns is subtle but significant, by their number they underscore the lunar aspects of Osiris and divine kingship. Like the key central locations of the awakening scene in the Osiris Complex of Seti's temple and in the nearby temple of Ramesses II, this scene which forms part of the composition "The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques" is also positioned in an equally strategic location along the ritual route of the third ritual cycle in the Osireion.[502] Therefore, it is unlikely that it would have been necessary in the same ritual cycle to repeat it on the island in the Central Hall. What is not depicted on the walls of the Central Hall or in the Second Transverse Hall is the conception of Horus, yet it is found twice in the innermost and most sacred chapel of the Osiris Complex on either side of the awakening scene. (Plates 426, 427, 433, 434) Recall that the Osiris Complex is intimately connected to the Osireion. The fact that it is depicted twice here underscores its extreme importance. By the position of the figures in the three scenes, as indicated by the direction their feet are pointing, the progression for the ritual enactment can be easily determined in spite of the extensive damage. (Plate 429) The first conception of Horus on the right/west wall begins the sequence. The wings of the kite are still clearly visible hovering over Osiris' midsection. Note that Osiris, while lying on a lion-headed bier, is not shown in his usual mummified form. A nearly identical scene is found in the chapel of Soker-Osiris in the main temple. (Plate 432) They actually hold the key for the identification of what was to be placed in the rectangular cutout on the island. In the following scene on the rear wall, Horus with a goddess standing directly behind him places the *wꜣs*-scepter to the nose of Osiris. Judging by the position of his arm and hand, the angle suggests that Osiris is lying prone as he is awakened. (Plate 429, 376) The final scene is the second conception of Horus on the left/east wall which completes the sequence. Fortunately, enough remains of the scene including the tail and legs of the lion-headed bier for its identification as a duplicate conception scene. (Plate 426) Whether the god is depicted mummified or not can not be determined, although his foot and legs would seem to suggest that he is not. The same three scenes are found again over 1200 years later in the third western chapel of Osiris at Dendera, a further indication of their longstanding importance. (Plates 433, 434, 376)

The size of the rectangular cutout on the island as Omm Sety had remarked is quite large. According to Frankfort, it is 4.27 m. (14.0 ft.) x 2.23 m. (7.33 ft.) and .52 m. (1.5 ft.) deep.[503] But

501 See above 4.6.

502 Its importance and location are discussed in detail in section 5.6 below.

503 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 17.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

"Osiris was [also] a giant... a text from the temple of Dendera teaches us that he measured eight [royal] cubits, six palms and three fingers, that is close to 4.60 m. (Dend. II, 101, 2)." [504] At 4.6 m. (15.1 ft.), the cutout on the island is too small to house a sarcophagus for a god of this size. However, if Osiris were placed on a lion-headed bier, as he is depicted twice in the innermost chamber of the Osiris Complex, then the god would exactly fit, but only if he was depicted as on the west wall of that chamber (Room 11). In that scene, he is shown in his non-mummified form awakening and aroused as he impregnates Isis in her manifestation of a kite. Note how the shape of the lion-headed bier, where the lions head protrudes outward from its base, allows for the accommodation of the longer figure of Osiris, as the vertical line drawn on Plate 429 indicates. Thus, the god-sized figure of Osiris at 4.6 – 4.7 m. would have fit comfortably on his lion-headed bier fitted into the rectangular cutout on the island! [505] This is most unlikely to be merely a coincidence. The importance of the size of Osiris continued into much later times where it resurfaces in Plutarch's account of Isis and Osiris. According to him, on Osiris' return to Egypt "Typhon [Seth] having secretly measured Osiris' body and having made ready a beautiful chest of corresponding size artistically ornamented, caused it to be brought into the room where the festivity was in progress... Typhon jestingly promised to present it to the man who should find the chest to be *exactly* his length when he lay down in it... then Osiris got into it and lay down, and those who were in the plot [a group of seventy two conspirators] ran to it and slammed down the lid, which they fastened by nails from outside and also by using molten lead. Then they carried the chest to the river and sent it on its way... They say also that the date on which the deed was done was the seventeenth day of Athys..." [506] Furthermore, "in the course of his excavation of the early dynastic tomb of Djer at [nearby] Umm el-Qaab, Amelineau found a large granite bier upon which lies the recumbent figure of the ithyphallic, magically resuscitated Osiris in his royal regalia, flanked by the mourning images of Isis and Nephthys in the form of kites and in the act of impregnating Isis, who is depicted again as a kite embracing his erect phallus. (Plates 436, 435, 431) The bier, known as the 'Osiris bed', prefigures the representation of the scene in relief form on the walls of the innermost chapels of the Osiris Complex in the great temple of Seti I at Abydos. It [the black granite bier whose color symbolizes fertility and regeneration] has been dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty..." [507] Since the Middle Kingdom, Djer's tomb was considered to be that of Osiris himself. "The presence of this remarkable monument in one of the early dynastic royal tombs at Umm el-Qaab, the site identified as

504 M. Bernard, "Quand Osiris regnait sirs terre" in Egypte, no. 10, August 1998. English translation available by the author at: www.osirisnet.net/dieux/osiris/osiris_mathieu.htm See also J. Yoyotte, "Une notice biographique du roi Osiris" BIFAO 77 (1977), 145-149.

505 My calculation using the royal cubit of 52.5 cm. Results in the length of Osiris at 4.71 m. Von Lieven makes the point that there is the complete absence of any remnants, suggesting that such a large stone sarcophagus [or for that matter a lion-headed bier] probably never existed. This however is inconclusive since the canal surrounding the island has yet to be successfully drained to see what lies at the bottom. The bier or its fragments could have been dumped into the canal.

506 Plutarch, Moralia Isis and Osiris, Vol. V in the Loeb Classical Library edition (1936, 36-38. See on line edition: www.penelope.uchicago.edu.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/Isis_and_Osiris*/A.html

507 M. Wegner, The Cult of Osiris at Abydos: An Archaeological Investigation of the Development of an Ancient Egyptian Sacred Center during the Eighteenth Dynasty (2002), 89-90.

(*w*)*pqr*, suggests that it was this tomb which formed the destination of the ritual procession of the Abydos festival [on the night of 30 Khoiak] in the Thirteenth Dynasty, and perhaps [likely] during the subsequent periods as well."[508]

The smaller cutout directly opposite to the entrance to the Second Transverse Hall and only 0.3 m. (1ft.) from the notional north staircase is 2.13 m. (7 ft.) square.[509] Other than for ritual equipment, von Lieven does not elaborate further on what it might have contained. However, the Book of Gates from the first ritual cycle in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion, provides the likely answer. In fact, it would create in the round what scene 33 of the Book of the Gates portrays by placing a large statue of Osiris seated at the top of a staircase. (Plate 88) The statue of the enthroned Osiris would have faced inward towards the rear wall, just as Osiris faces inward with his back to the entrance of the Osireion in the Book of Gates. He holds a crook and the ankh sign, signifying that he rules over his domain, the *ḏuat*, and is the possessor of life, i.e. fully rejuvenated. As will be shown, having the two statues of the conception of Horus and an enthroned Osiris placed in the two cutouts on the island, augments the rites to be performed during the four hours of the deep night.

It remains to comment on the purpose and function for the seventeen niches that surround the island in the Central Hall. (Plate 43) "On each of the long sides of the Hall there are six cells; two more on the west [notional south], and three on the east [notional north] side. They measure 1.98 m. (6.50 ft.) by 2.15 m. (7.05 ft.) by a height of 2.00 m. (6.55 ft.). They are entirely bare, and obviously not finished. The doorways were meant to be surrounded by a pylon-shaped door-frame, worked out in relief when the stones were finally dressed. This is shown on the southern [notional eastern] wall. Inside the cutting into which the door (which would open outwards) was to be fitted, there are in the two upper corners hollows to take the pin of the door-leaves, which could thus be lifted into place."[510] As we have already seen, the number seventeen was sacred to Osiris. It was associated with the god's dismemberment and death, a necessary prerequisite for the renewal of life. Importantly, it marks the beginning of the process of regeneration and rebirth, appropriate for this chamber of *zp tpj*, where Tatenen rises out of the primordial abyss of the Nun. Like the rising land, it too symbolizes the first step. Not surprisingly, there are multiple levels of meaning for the seventeen niches. At one level, they can represent the seventeen days of the waning phase of the lunar cycle and house the seventeen dismembered 'limbs of Osiris'. On another level, they could symbolize the twelve 30-day months and the five days outside of the year (epagomenal days).[511] Also perhaps the twelve cells along the long sides of the Hall could have housed statues of the gods who preside over the hours or the hour goddesses, while the four cells at the corners of the notional northern and southern walls could have housed the guardians of the cardinal directions. The central cell, if not empty as the passage way into

508 M. Wegner, The Cult of Osiris at Abydos (2002), 90.

509 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 17.

510 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 17.

511 V. Vikentiev, "Aspects symboliques du monument de Chephren compare a celui de Seti Ier a Abydos et a l'edifice de Saqqarah-Sud" BIE 39 (1964), 7-34.

the Second Transverse Hall, likely would have contained a statute of Osiris, since the king is shown on either side 'seeing the god and praising him four times'. (Plate 308) However, it is von Lieven's hypothesis for statues of the guardian deities from the vignette of BD 182 as the occupants of the niches which appears to be the most plausible. (Plate 297) It gains strong support from the chapel of Ptah-Sokar in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, where similar guardian deities also holding lizards and snakes are placed in the register above the conception of Horus scene on the southern (notional eastern) wall. Eaton points out that "the figure on the bier is labeled Osiris-Wennefer. The scene of the god on the bier, taken together with the protective figures appearing in the upper register may be an example of the vignette to BD Chapter 182. This chapter, of which there are several versions, is associated with the deceased's metamorphosis into Osiris-Wennefer."[512] Here, in the Central Hall, they serve to magically guard and protect the creation of dynastic rule at its conception on the first occasion.

512 K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 411-412. This association was also recognized by G. Graham, "Iconography of the Sokar-Osiris Bed During the Graeco-Roman Period", presentation at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE).

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.6 MY FATHER MY CONCEPTION AND ROYAL SUCCESSION

Returning to the enactment of the rituals to be performed during the four hours of the deep night, *wšɜw*, hours five through eight, in the birth house of Isis, the Central Hall and its core, the *tɜṯnnt-pr*, the Second Transverse Hall, their order and timing can be determined. This is in spite of the fact that in the ancient Egyptian world-view "causality is not unidirectional or linear; things and events in the 'past' can be caused or influenced by the 'present' (or 'future'), as in Horus assisting in the assemblage of the parts of his father Osiris' body 'before' Horus is conceived (and so that he will be able to be conceived)."[513] This concept primarily arose out of the ancient Egyptian dual notion of time; *ḏt*, Eternal Sameness and *nḥḥ*, Eternal Recurrence.[514] The cosmic script of *ḏt* time has been and is being rewritten here by Thoth, *jrj ḏt*, as part of Seti's *wḥm mswt*, a re-formation of the universal order in order to re-establish *mɜʿt* after the disruptive Amarna Hersey. It will set *nḥḥ* time, Eternal Recurrence, on a new course. Now and forever after, the transmission of royal power from father Osiris to the legitimate heir and son Horus is effected through the instrument of *jmyt-pr*, a divine legal decree.[515] To establish his right to rule, the king will witness and participate in the climax of the mysteries of the Heliopolitan creation process, the conception of his mythic prototype and his own during the hours of the deep night at the time of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1 as part of his coronation rites.[516] In short, the ritual drama in *ḏt* time on the first occasion involves: the conception of the mythic Horus; the uniting of Re with Osiris; the awakening of Osiris by Horus; the creation of the mechanism for the transfer of royal power, the subduing and destruction of the enemies of creation; the completion of the creation of the seventy six manifestations of Re in the West and the United One in the West; and finally the initiation and unfolding of the long line of dynastic rule on the earth with the conception of the living Horus, the seventy-sixth ruler of the Two Lands, king Seti I. Together they form the basis of the rites to be performed setting the newly created cosmos in motion. Recall that the key episodes of the

513 E. Meltzer, "Some Basic Principles of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Basis for Further Exploration" DE 57 (2003), 59.

514 It is also effected by their concept of Heka, 'magic', who as the 'father of the gods' could alter the course of events in *nḥḥ* time.

515 See above 1.3 for the details of the *jmyt-pr* and the transfer of royal power.

516 According to Uphill, the climax of the Sed-festival were the secret rites performed in the tomb. "Here Osorkon held a flail and a scepter and faced twelve deities in this shrine-shaped building, possibly his real tomb chamber. These deities are shown grouped in three registers, the upper one consisting of Re, Atum, Shu, and Tefnut (all Heliopolitan), the second of Geb, Nut, Osiris, and Horus, and the bottom of Set or Suty, Isis, Nephthys, and the king's own [royal] *ḳa*, which held a standard with a skin attached to it, perhaps representing Imiut. The scene is entitled: 'Resting inside the tomb'". He further suggests that the supreme moment of the Sed-festival was a scene rarely depicted and cites the awakening of Osiris scene by Horus in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion as a source for guidance. E. Uphill, "The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites" JNES 24 (1965), 377-379. This raises the intriguing possibility that the Osireion may also have been intended to have been used for the climax of the Sed-festival rites, a subject which I have long considered and will discuss in a separate paper.

rites are succinctly summarized by the three scenes in the innermost central and therefore most sacred chapel in the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. [517] The scenes on the two side walls are the same identical scene. [518] They depict the conception of Horus. (Plate 426) The fact that it occurs twice in the most scared chamber of the Osiris Complex underscores its extreme importance. "The main representation is concerned with life emerging from death, mythologically expressed as the posthumous procreation of the son: Osiris is lying on a bier decorated with lion heads and lion feet.... On top of his body she hovers with outspread wings the female kite – Isis – and she receives from him the seed of the son." [518] On the rear wall is a scene of Horus awakening Osiris by placing the staff of the breath of life, symbolized by the ankh sign at its tip, to the nose of his father. The angle of the *wꜣs*-scepter held in the hands of Horus suggests that Osiris is uplifting from the prone position as he is being revived by the north wind from Atum, the sweet breath of life, placed at his nostrils. [519] (Plate 429) This same scene is also found in the Second Transverse Hall behind the Central Hall in the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. (Plate 371) BD 183 in the entrance way to the Central Hall provides additional details. This recitation by the king was discussed above including its underlying lunar numerical structure. [520] Its title is:

> Worshiping Osiris, giving praise to him.
> Kissing the earth before Wennefer.
> Touching the forehead to the earth/doing obeisance
> to the Lord of the Sacred Land;
> exalting Him who is on his sand. [521]

It reveals the ritual nature of the text, specifying the ritual actions of giving praise, kissing the earth and touching the earth in doing obeisance.

> "I have come to you,
> O son of Nut, Osiris, Ruler of Eternity [*ḥqꜣ ḏt,* Eternal Sameness];
> I am in the suite of Thoth and
> I am joyful because of all that he has done [for you].
> He [Thoth accompanied by the king] brings to you sweet air for your nose,
> life and dominion for your face, and
> fair is the north wind which goes forth from Atum to your nostrils,
> O Lord of the Sacred Land.

517 Room 11. See above 5.3 note 315.

518 E. Otto, Ancient Egyptian Art The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1967), 58.

519 Note that at the beginning of the third ritual cycle, Horus, son of Osiris gives the king the sweet breath of life to carry to their father.

520 See above 5.3.

521 Author's translation based on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 133-134. He who is on his sand is an epithet of both Osiris and in the fifth hour Amduat, Sokar.

He causes the sun [Re] to shrine on your breast.
He illumines the dark way for you.
He removes the evil which is on your body
by means of the power which is on his mouth [the spells he utters].
He has pacified the Rival Gods for you.
He has stopped the raging and the tumult for you...
the Two Lands are peacefully reconciled before you...
Your son Horus is vindicated in the presence of the entire Ennead.
The kingship over the land has been given to him, and
his uraeus pervades the entire land.
The throne of Geb has been allotted to him [Horus], and
the potent [functional] office of Atum has been confirmed in writing [by Thoth]
in a testament [*jmyt-pr*] which has been engraved on a block of sandstone,
according as your father Ptah-Tatenen commanded from upon the great throne...." [522]

Thoth and the king in his retinue revive Osiris with the sweet breath and north wind which goes forth from Atum to his nostrils, as the living Horus is depicted doing in the awakening scene in the Second Transverse Hall. [523] They cause Re to shine on Osiris' breast, signifying the union of Re with Osiris, which rejuvenates them both. The forces (enemies of creation) have been subdued and the Two Lands have been peacefully reconciled. With this testament, *jmyt-pr*, written in stone by the hand of Thoth, the means for the royal succession has been (re)established from father Osiris to Horus as the son and legitimate heir. Through the recitation of these words by the living Horus to his father, Osiris, his vindication has been decreed and thereby magically assured as is Horus' right to rule.

It is important to recognize that the rituals to be performed here enact only the final stages of the completion of the Heliopolitan creation process. They focus on Horus, the tenth member and product of the Heliopolitan Ennead, arising out of the first occasion and placed on top of Tatenen, the island in the Central Hall and the birth house of Isis. They entail the point in the creation of the cosmos of the final act. That is to say, the conception of divine kingship and the mechanism for the transmission of royal power from the revivified father Osiris to the posthumously conceived legitimate heir and son Horus. The earlier stages of the unfolding of the cosmos, as will be shown, are encoded in the texts and compositions that decorate the surrounding walls of the Central Hall and those that are in the Second Transverse Hall, *tꜣṯnn-pr*. This chamber portrays creation as it is unfolding from inside the rising land, Tatenen, which by architectural necessity had to be placed behind the Central Hall. [524]

522 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 133-134. In all likelihood, the Osireion version would have been in the first person.

523 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 49 n. 202. But we should keep in mind that in the Solar-Osirian unity Thoth may be equivalent to the king, citing J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (2004), 362.

524 The depth of the water surrounding the island and the need for ritual access forced the builders to place this chamber directly behind it. Recall too that the much smaller Cavern of Sokar from the fifth hour of Amduat, which was meant to be inaccessible, was actually constructed inside the core of the island. See above 5.1 and Plates 338, 341.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The scenes and texts involved in this group of rituals are set apart and highlighted in the Central Hall by the use of normal script rather than the usual retrograde writing employed in this ritual cycle leading into and out from the Central Hall. They encircle the island at the center of this chamber and thus form a special enclosed sacred area within the birth house of Isis, while the twelve hours of the Book of the Hidden Chamber i.e. the Amduat inscribed on the outer surrounding walls of the Central Hall in my reconstruction are written retrograde and thereby continue the flow of the ritual progression for this ritual cycle on the night of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1. Those that are not written retrograde as we have seen in the Antechamber form part of the Way of Osiris, apropos for the rites of the conception of Horus and the transmission of royal power.[525] In addition to the reliefs on the rear wall of the Central Hall, opposite them on the area above the entranceway was to have been the large scene of the title for the Litany of Re. Along with the scenes on the inner face of the architraves of the king presenting offerings to the seventy four manifestations of Re and the United One in the West, the figures from the vignette of the Book of Wennefer (BD 148) complete the sacred inner enclosure surrounding the island.[526] (Plates 318, 317)

In the fifth hour of the deep night, *wšɜw*, having performed the ritual actions of giving praise, kissing the earth, touching the earth in doing obeisance and reciting BD 183 in the entranceway of the Central Hall, the king enters the birth house of Isis. He climbs the staircase symbolizing his own emergence out from the dark watery abyss of the Nun onto the rising land, Tatenen, on the first occasion.[527] The king's appearance on the staircase expresses the same motif as is found in the Entrance Passage to the Osireion. There the king emerges from the initial undecorated mud brick portion of the passage and is the first figure to be depicted on the decorated part of the walls, which symbolizes his presence at the beginning of the newly created cosmos. (Plate 173) It also subtly casts him in the role of the begotten becoming the begetter. He stands before Horus, son of Osiris, offering maat for which in return he receives the sweet breath of life, which he will use to revivify their father Osiris so that they may be conceived. The texts clearly state of the king and Horus, son of Osiris, that they are in *ḏt* time and thus part of the cosmic script of the first occasion. (Plate 173) As with the texts surrounding the island in the birth house of Isis, the opening scene in the Entrance Passage is also not written retrograde and as such is part of the Way of Osiris in this subterranean temple dedicated to Osiris. The very presence of the king and Horus, son of Osiris, in the opening scene of the third ritual cycle magically insures their successful conception on the night of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1.

At the top of the staircase, the king approaches the bier of Osiris and kneels down before it, paying homage. He burns incense as is shown in a later version of this same scene from the third western Osiris chapel at Dendera.[528] (Plate 433) Notably, “incense in particular is identified with the

525 See above 4.6.

526 See 5.5. The text of BD 148 explicitly states that it is to be used during the monthly festival (at the time of the Blacked-out Moon).

527 In all likelihood a portable ramp would have been placed across the moat to facilitate the king's crossing onto the staircase of the island.

528 In Room 11 in the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, the knees of the kneeling king can be seen in both of the conception scenes on the side walls. (Plate 426)

eye of Horus" as we have seen earlier in the second ritual cycle, the rites for the New Moon.[529] From BD 168B, a variant of which is found in the Annex to the Antechamber in the Osireion, it is stated:

"O Osiris, the eye of Horus offers incense to you."[530]

Here in the context of the Way of Osiris, the burning of incense, that is the offering of the restored eye of Horus to Osiris by the king, the living Horus, brings about the revivification of Osiris so that he can conceive Horus.[531] Importantly, it also brings about the revivification of Osiris-Moon because the restored eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, is the symbol of the moon *par excellence.* The Horus to be conceived here then is not only the mythic prototype of Horus arising out of the first occasion, but also Horus-Moon on the night of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1. "Paradoxically, Horus is always present for his father's revivification and his own conception in such scenes. Thus, even in these protected areas, uncertainty is eliminated because the successful resolution of the crisis is present, personified in the adult Horus."[532] So too, Horus as the begotten plays a role in the begetting. With the mythic Horus conceived at the pinnacle of the rising land, Tatenen, the living Horus as 'Protector of his Father' can proceed with the performance of the rites that will result in the creation of the mechanism for the transfer of royal power and the witnessing of his own conception, confirming his legitimacy and bringing dynastic rule into the present in *nḥḥ* time, after having first awakened his father, Osiris.

The second set of rites in this group to be performed by the king are to cause the ram-headed *ḥa* of Re to fly over and unite with his corpse, Osiris, thereby initiating their mutual regeneration. This is inextricably connected to the rejuvenation of Osiris with the sweet breath of life, the north wind which goes forth from Atum to his nostrils. These rituals consume the remainder of the fifth hour and the sixth hour of the deep night. The king begins by reciting a portion of the Book of Adoring Re in the West, Adoring the United One in the West as indicated in its title:

"Beginning of the Book of Adoring Re in the West,
adoring (*ḏwꜣ*) the United One (*dmḏ*) in the West.
One recites this book.
These images are executed in registers upon the wall,
in the deep night (*wšꜣ*) [architraves of the Central Hall].
It means Re triumphs over his enemies in the West.
It is effective for a man on earth,
it is effective for him after he moors."[533]

529 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991) PhD Dissertation, 140. See above 4.6.

530 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 172.

531 E. A. W. Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection I (1911, reprint 1973), 88.

532 K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual Performance, Pattern, and Practice (2013), 84-84.

533 C. Manassa, "Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books" in Archiv fur Religionsgeschichte 14 (2013), 58-59.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The arrangement along the inner face of the architraves of the figures in the Litany of Re is informative, integrating this register directly with its surroundings. In the context of the fifth hour of Amduat of which the Central Hall is an architectural rendition, the architraves represent the middle register through which the solar barque is being towed and thus denotes the path of the sun god, the ram-headed *ba* of Re, to which its seventy four manifestations in the Litany of Re correspond. (Plates 337, 318) It should be kept in mind that while there are seventy four individual figures, two have two names each for a total of seventy six according to Hornung.[534] This has important implications for understanding the cosmic significance underlying this number sacred to Re. It reveals his all powerful influence over the functioning of the created cosmos for it synchronizes and realigns the cycles of the sun, moon and the star Sothis, whose heliacal rising opens the Egyptian New Year and leads the procession of the thirty six decanal stars through the course of the hours of the night and of the year.[535] On one level, like the Litany of Re itself, it expresses the concept of the uniting of the sun god Re with Osiris-Moon *vis-a-vis* the synchronization of their cycles every seventy six years. By extension as the seventy-sixth dynastic ruler of the Two Lands,[536] Seti as the son of Re was also imbued with his father's power, especially in his role as chief ritualist and upholder of maat.

The second part of the Litany of Re "serves to demonstrate the dead pharaoh's complete identity [and so too here with the living king as chief ritualist] with the sun god, which is on three levels: Pharaoh is Re; the *ba* of the sun god is his *ba*; and his path through the heavens and the Netherworld is that of the sun.

> I am you, and you are I.
> Your *ba* is my *ba*.
> Where you go in the Netherworld, there go I as well....
> As you are, so I am....
> Where you pass, there also I pass,
> Your travels are my own.
> My route is your route, Re,
> My travels are your very own....
> I go the route of those of the horizon,
> I travel the travels of Re."[537]

This connection is made explicit in the Osireion version of the Litany of Re. Unlike all other versions including the one in Seti's own tomb and in the nearby temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the king is

534 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 138. The *ba* of Re as a ram's head in the red disk of the sun is the seventy-sixth figure. B. Byran, E. Hornung (eds.), The Quest for Immorality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt (2002), 48.

535 For the significance of the number seventy six and the seventy six year cycle, see above 1.4, 4.4 and Appendix C.

536 See above 1.4 for Seti's placement in the so-called King's List in the Mansion of Millions of Years.

537 E. Hornung, The Valley of the Kings Horizon of Eternity (1990), 87.

depicted making offerings before individual manifestations of Re and the United One in the West, thereby is literally shown proceeding along on the course of the sun god. (Plate 318) Each of the king's offerings are accompanied by a *quid pro quo* grant by the deity, also found in the similarly structured litany in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.[538] (Plates 323-326) While clearly in this composition the solar connection is being stressed, the Osirian and lunar side are also present. "The two sequences [of divine manifestations] are constantly divided between the gods Re and Osiris, just as the union of these two gods receives special treatment in the text... [the] elements relating to Re and Osiris are inextricably intermingled in both sequences."[539] The lunar symbolism is more subtle. The thirteenth manifestation is the Udjat-eye within an oval to which the twenty-fourth innovation is addressed.

> "Praise to you O Re, high and mighty!
> *Ba* to whom is presented what he lacks.
> You are indeed the corpse of the Divine Eye."[540]

Piankoff recognized this as an "allusion to the myth of the Eye of Horus being torn into fragments by Seth and then 'filled' by Thoth."[541] The depiction of the Udjat-eye, the left lunar Eye of Horus, in a sandy oval holds a special significance in the Central Hall. (Plate 327) The oval signifies that the left lunar Eye of Horus is in the *duat* indicating that it is at the time of the Blacked-out Moon (on I *prt* 1), when Horus and Horus-Moon are conceived. In the context of the imagery of the fifth hour of Amduat, the oval can also symbolize the oval cavern of Sokar as the womb of Isis, where it is said of Sokar: "Unknown and invisible, imperceptible is this image of Horus himself". That is to say Horus in his mother's womb.[542] In the nineteenth invocation, Horus is addressed as the Unique One. Recall that nineteen is the number associated with the regeneration and renewal of Osiris as Osiris-Moon and is Horus.

> "Praise to thee, Re with exalted power [lit. high of power],
> filled with members (i.e. intact in body) [the Udjat-eye as the full moon],
> the Unique One with veins joined;
> Indeed you are the body/corpse of Horus."[543]

The order of the divine figures in the Central Hall would have been arranged such that the first

538 E. Hornung, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II (1976), 34-49 for the 'wish formulae' in the temple of Ramesses II.

539 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 138-139.

540 Translation based on A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 24.

541 Ibid., 24 n. 32.

542 See above 5.1.

543 Translation based on M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science, Vol I, tomb 2 (1989), 519.

half of thirty seven are found on the notional western side.[544] (Plate 328) The thirty-seventh manifestation is depicted on the architrave nearest the rear wall to which the seventy-fifth and final invocation is addressed.

> "Praise to you O Re, high and mighty!
> Lord of Darkness [*snk.t*]
> One secret of *ɓa* who calls to those who are in their caverns.
> You are indeed the corpse of the Lord of Darkness." [545]

This places the ram-headed Lord of Darkness directly above the reconstructed scene in the sixth hour of Amduat depicting the awakening young sun god, Khepri, signifying the successful uniting of Re with Osiris at the depths of the *ɗuat* in the deep night at the end of the sixth hour. (Plate 345) He is also directly below the scene on the rear wall of the king offering maat to the ram-headed *ɓa* of Re in his newly transfigured state as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. (Plate 313) The manifestations of Re and the United One are placed so as to literally appear to unfold from the Lord of Darkness above the scene of the union of Re with Osiris, which is the major focus of the Litany of Re. The other thirty seven divine manifestations are depicted on the opposite side on the inner face of the notional eastern architraves. The seventy-fourth and final form, a dual manifestation, is placed nearest the rear wall to which the seventieth and seventy-fourth invocations are addressed. (Plate 317)

> "Praise to you O Re, high and mighty!
> Renewer of the earth, opener of what is therein,
> speaking *ɓa* who rears his members.
> Indeed, you are the corpse of the Renewer of the Earth.
>
> Praise to you O Re, high and mighty!
> Obelisk point, He of the Benben sanctuary,
> the great god who creates time.
> Indeed, you are the corpse of the Obelisk point." [546]

Renewer of the earth and He of the Benben sanctuary are depicted directly below the scene on the rear wall of the king offering maat to the creator Atum (and Lord of the Benben). As the 'Complete One', he stands looking out over his creation which initiates *nḥḥ* time, Eternal Recurrence, that arises out of *ḏt* time, Eternal Sameness, on the first occasion and sets the created cosmos in motion. (Plate 301)

544 In order to fit all seventy four figures of the litany along the inner faces of the architraves, there could not be more than a total of ten depictions of the king, five on each side, mirroring the arrangement of the ten granite columns which support the architraves ,according to my calculations. Recall that ten is the number sacred to Horus and divine kingship.

545 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period (2005), 144.

546 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period (2005), 138 for the seventy-fourth invocation. Author's translation based on A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 28 for the seventieth.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Importantly, “the figures from the Great Litany of Re [also] serve a function similar to the seventy seven genies of Pharbaithos [Ptolemaic Period] – they create a protective shield around the entire sarcophagus.”[547] Here it is the island in the Central Hall, the birth house of Isis where Horus is conceived that is surrounded and being guarded against the enemies of creation. Along with Atum, they will play a crucial role in the subduing of Apep in the seventh hour of the deep night. Manassa has clearly demonstrated that on the Nectanebid Period sarcophagi (Thirtieth Dynasty), certain addresses of the Great Litany of Re bear a close relationship to specific individual hours of the Amduat, suggesting a long history, first attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty royal tomb of Thutmose III, for the close association between these two compositions and supports my hypothesis that the Book of the Hidden Chamber i.e. the Amduat was originally part of the decoration of the Central Hall.[548]

“In Hornung's edition of the text [of the Litany of Re], each address has been given a number; for example, in the tomb of Seti I, the odd numbers are located on the left side of the corridor and the even on the right.”[549] This is the same arrangement found in the Central Hall.[549] In the performance of the rites for the Book of Praising Re in the West and Adoring the United One in the West, in the fifth hour of the deep night, the king made offerings and recited the addresses for the odd numbered manifestations on the left notional western architraves leading him to the entrance to the Second Transverse Hall, the *tꜣ-ṯnnt-pr*, which represents the sixth hour called *nfr m wšꜣw*, 'Her beautiful hour in the deep night' in the star table on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage.[551] This is where the lower *ḏuat* meets the Nun in the Place of Destruction but also the place of renewal and source of all life. After making an offering to the thirty-seventh divine form and bringing the Lord of Darkness into being by calling out his name, the king enters into this mysterious chamber. While the address (BD 183) to Osiris by the king in the retinue of Thoth in the entranceway of the Central Hall hints at what these rites entail, the speech by Thoth to Seti in the stairway corridor leading out from the Mansion of Millions of Years to the sacred precinct above the Osireion is more explicit. Spalinger notes that “the speech of Thoth, for example, avoids discussing any statue of Seti. There is no reference to a *sšmw* in the address and king Seti solely deals with the underworld. According to Thoth Seti is the equivalent of Horus [and as such is a god].”[552] I take this as a clear indication that Seti, as the divine living Horus and chief ritualist, was responsible for the performance of these ritual acts, just as the text states.

547 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period (2005), 657.

548 Ibid., 658-659.

549 Ibid., 129.

550 Only the odd numbered manifestations are on the right notional eastern side in the Osireion, thereby maintaining the same cardinal orientation as in Seti's tomb (KV 17).

551 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 32 and S. Symons, “A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky” in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near east (2007), 18-19 and table 21.

552 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 114 and his note 191: KRI I 192.4. Following Berlev, “Two Kings – Two Suns – on the worldview of the ancient Egyptians”, in Quirke, Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D Berlev, 19-33, he must be a 'junior (sun-)god'.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

"You [Seti I] are champion for Wennefer,
you wash out his sores ('decay') of yesterday.
You enable him to appear at the crack of dawn
as Re [i.e. the United One, the twin *ḥas*] in the presence of every god.
You free him,
you enable his nose to breathe,
you bring in for him the North Wind [of Atum],
you cause the Great Soul [*Ba* of Re] to rest on his corpse,
and his shadow in the sun disk.
You cause him to see Re in exultation,
his rays passing over his face.
You cause Re to fly over his sarcophagus [*ḏbꜣt*],
the 'Lord-of-Life'.
When he has awakened,
you have placed his children [Four Sons of Horus] beside him." [553]

Kitchen's observation that this portion of the Speech of Thoth is absent from the parallel version of the text in the temple of Ramesses II is significant. He attributes it to "the personal care of Osiris, and so less relevant to the Ramesses II context of a temple calendar". [554] Spalinger suggests and rightly so that the different location of the speeches is equally important. [555] In fact, the omission of this passage points to a specific ritual use that was intended for the Osireion. In the Second Transverse Hall, as the sixth hour of the night, these key events were to be enacted by the king: enabling Osiris to breathe; bringing for him the North Wind; causing the *ḥa* of Re to rest on his corpse; causing Osiris to see Re, his rays passing over his face; causing Re to fly over *ḏbꜣt*, the Lord of Life; and placing the Four Sons of Horus by his side. Quite remarkably, virtually all of these ritual actions can be connected to the composition, "the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques", which Roberson named and describes as "Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky." [556] (Plate 370) Its significance is stressed by its strategic location in the Second Transverse Hall, the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*. It is positioned on the notional western end of the notional northern face of the pitched ceiling preceding the depiction of the Book of the Night. (Plate 379) That places it at the very depths of the *ḏuat* at the deepest part of the night where the mysteries of the union of Re and Osiris transpire. It borders the realm of nonexistence in the Place of Destruction. Recall too that the specific location and positioning of the litany of Osiris and the adjacent scene of the enthroned and restored Osiris by the sweet breath of life from Horus in the Antechamber appears to have been subtle but intentional. It establishes a direct

553 KRI I Translations (1993), 165 and KRI I (1975), I, 191:5-9.

554 KRI I Notes and Comments (1993), 127.

555 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 98 n. 81.

556 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013). I am deeply indebted to Joshua for deciphering the cryptic annotations and his analysis of this composition without which I could not have recognized its extreme importance and pivotal role it plays in the third ritual cycle in the Osireion.

physical link to the short Litany to Osiris on the notional western wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall in the main temple. (Plate 439) Both were used for the rites of the New Moon. An imaginary line connecting the two litanies of Osiris runs directly through the scene of the Awakening of Osiris in the Second Transverse Hall, thematically connecting the three.[557] (Plate 27)

The number symbolism embedded in the structural design of the Book of Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques in the Osireion version provides insight into the deeper meaning intended for this composition. In this creation text, the concept of time as a measure and indication of motion that separates nonexistence from the created cosmos underlies its numerical structure as do the cardinal directions. At the top "the giant, winged solar disk appears at the center of the upper register, spanning the four quarters of the cosmos... The wings of the disk extend outward, above the evening and morning barques, before terminating near the 'western' and 'eastern' horizons, above the smaller, guardian deities of the 'southern' and 'northern' skies."[558] (Plate 370) "A narrow band of water separates the upper and lower divisions...[559] In the versions of Seti I and Mutirdis, a pair of nude females kneel at either end of the band of water... Large hieroglyphic emblems indicating 'east' and 'west' sprout from the heads of the figures, stretching nearly to the top of the upper register. In the version of Seti I, 'east' appears on the left and 'west' on the right, reflecting the linguistic interplay between *jꜣbtj/jꜣbt.t*, 'left/east' and *jmntj/jmnt.t*, 'right/west'..."[560] The upper division then would appear to be reversed from the general cardinal orientation for the Second Transverse Hall as is indicated by the location and positioning of the goddess Nut's head at the notional western end of the *tꜣṯnnt-pr* on each side of the pitched ceiling. "This fact [i.e. reversed orientation] suggests that the perspective of the observer was of secondary importance to the internal directionality of the bipartite tableau itself."[561] It should also be noted that by its placement adjacent to and preceding the Book of the Night, the figure of the creator, Atum, appears to be walking out from the arms of Nut and into the night barque to witness the first sunrise represented by the giant winged solar disk, the Behdetite, at the top of the upper division. (Plate 379) If the two compositions were intended to be linked by the ancient Egyptians, then in the Transit of the Solar Barques scene, "you see that Re-Horakhti, sailing from east to west, transforms into Atum, who is next to the head of the [nocturnal] sky goddess, which is the west."[562] The band of water upon which the solar barques of the day and the night sail, that separates the upper and lower divisions, runs east to west and west to east can be interpreted as the celestial ecliptic, the path of the sun, traveled

557 See above 4.6. On the ideal calendar and on the first occasion, I *prt* 1 was also the start of the lunar month, the night of the Blacked-out moon.

558 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 76.

559 Ibid., 9 n. 35. "Blue waves appear in the versions of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX. The published line drawing and photo of the Mutirdis version indicates the presence of waves, but not their color. The published line drawings of Seti I and Seshonq III do not indicate the presence of waves, or the color of the band on the wall."

560 Ibid., 9.

561 Ibid., 9-10.

562 J. Roberson, private communication 9/14/14.

over the course of the year. The eastern horizon and the gods of the northern sky further point to the place and the time the summer solstice sunrise. Likewise, the western horizon and the gods of the southern sky can be interpreted as marking the southernmost point along the ecliptic, the place of the winter solstice sunset. Together they symbolize the annual solar circuit, created on the first occasion, *zp tpj*. The twelve gods of the northern sky on one level can represent the imperishable stars who form the crew of the day barque as we have seen in the Book of the Day.[563] They number twelve, suggesting that each symbolizes one of the hours of the day. The accompanying text calls them: "Gods who follow Re in the northern sky."[564] Recall that they can only "board" the solar day barque at the time of the summer solstice when the sun is at its northernmost point along the ecliptic and appears to hover there, "mooring" for some three days as the crew of imperishable stars, which lie to the north of the ecliptic, embark for the annual journey.[565] The "Gods who are ever in the entourage of Re in [the southern sky]",[566] enter the night barque when the sun is at its southernmost point along the ecliptic at the time of the winter solstice sunset. The twelve gods depicted in the Osireion version symbolize the gods of the twelve hours of the night. They are the unwearying stars as the crew is described in the Book of the Night and lie to the south of the ecliptic.[567]

In the lower division of this bipartite composition, "two groups of smaller deities, thirty six in total, flank either side of the large, central image [of the Awakening of Osiris]".[568] (Plates 370, 371) On one level they can be equated to the thirty six decanal stars or asterisms, south of the ecliptic, that the ancient Egyptians used to mark off the ten-day periods of their civil year and also the hours of the night as is the case with the star table on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage. The size of the two groups were carefully selected, drawing on the knowledge contained in the composition on the opposite side of the pitched ceiling in the *tꜣ ṯnnt-pr,* called by its recently rediscovered ancient Egyptian name of the "Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars", heretofore known as the Book of Nut by Egyptologists.[569] In the yearly cycle, a decanal star spends 80 days (8 ten-day periods) in the east after its heliacal rising before beginning its "work" of telling time for the next 120 days (12 ten-day periods), for a total of 200 days (20 ten-day periods). This period corresponds to and can be equated with the twenty deities

563 See above 3.5.

564 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 84.

565 See above 3.3 and 3.5.

566 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 81. The words 'southern sky' are destroyed in the Seti I version but found in Ramesses VI, Ramesses IX, Seshonq III, and Mutirdis.

567 See above 3.5.

568 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 10.

569 A. von Lieven, Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne (2007).

depicted on the right behind the central theme of the Awakening of Osiris. (Plate 370) In front of and before the Awakening of Osiris, a decanal star spends 90 days (9 ten-day periods) in the west followed by 70 days (7 ten-day periods) in the *ḏuat* where the star like Osiris is rejuvenated and is awakened with its heliacal rising when it is born, ms, again to start its cycle anew.[570] This period corresponds to and can be equated with the sixteen deities that are depicted in front of and to the right of the scene of Horus,the living king, awakening Osiris. If this underlying meaning for the thirty six deities was in fact intended by the ancient Egyptians as it would appear, then the cardinal orientation of west on the left and east on the right in the lower division is juxtaposed to the east to west orientation found in the upper division of the Osireion version of this bipartite composition.[571] Together they represent and create a perpetual cycle of movement of the sun and the stars from east to west and west to east in the cosmos that is created on the first occasion. At another level the sixteen deities in the west/*ḏuat* who stand behind the king as a group total seventeen. The figure of the king often completes the number symbolism intended. Seventeen is the number sacred to Osiris and Osiris-Moon representing the necessary dismemberment and death before regeneration and the renewed cycle can begin.

The number of royal regalia depicted under the awakening figure of Osiris is not arbitrary either. There are thirty in total of which six are royal crowns. (Plate 371) Six is the number of pieces of the Udjat-eye, the left lunar eye of Horus, which Horus gives to his father symbolizing his/their rejuvenation. In a lunar context, it is the rejuvenation of the moon and with it divine kingship. By Horus' act of awakening his father Osiris depicted here, the means for the legitimate transfer of royal power is (re)established on the first occasion.[572] Recall that this takes place on the night of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day and annual celebration of the king's coronation. The fractions, which the six parts Udjat-eye represent, sum to 63/64. Thirty is the number of days in each Egyptian civil month. Recall that 63/64 of 30 days equals "29.53125 days [which] is a very good approximation of the mean length of the synodic month (29.53059 days in contemporary reference books, the difference being 0.00066 day, i.e. 57 seconds). The synodic month is by definition the period between two identical phases of the moon..."[573] In the context here of I *prt* 1, it is the time of the Blacked-out Moon, the new moon on the ideal calendar and the first occasion. The thirty royal regalia when combined with the awakening figure of Osiris-Moon directly above them total thirty one, the number signifying every possible combination of lunar phases in a single synodic month.

To complete the number symbolism encoded in the bipartite composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, the scenes of the upper division need be examined. Clearly

570 For a decanal star's cycle see O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 41.

571 The underlying symbolism of the thirty six deities, however important, must be considered to be a secondary level of interpretation in this composition, otherwise the names for the thirty six decans would have been used directly.

572 As part of Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt*, it was necessary to reach back to the beginning of creation and time at *zp tpj* to (re)establish *mꜣʿt*, cosmic order, after the Amarna Hersey.

573 G. Priskin, "The Eye of Horus and the synodic month" DE 53 (2002), 78.

this upper division is overtly solar, dominated by the giant winged Behdetite, who manifests as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons as he rises. (Plate 369) Directly below, the two solar barques of the night and the day are depicted nearly prow to prow separated by the two vertical columns of ankh and djed signs emanating down from the giant solar disk, "the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky."[574] Between which in the Osireion version is the enigmatic titulary of Menmaatre resting atop a *smꜣ-tꜣwy* emblem.

> "Horus: Strong bull, risen-in-Thebes, who causes to live the Two Lands.
> Two Ladies: Repeating births [*wḥm mswt*], mighty of forearm, who subdues the Nine Bows.
> Horus of gold: Repeating appearances, powerful of bows in all land(s).
> Dual king: Menmaatre."[575]

The lunar symbolism is covert, so subtle that it is nearly invisible, yet it is nevertheless present and revealed through its underlying number symbolism. There are a total of six deities in the two solar barques, three in the day barque and three in the night barque. The numerical structure is familiar. It is the same as the Osireion itself with its six main chambers and passages divided into two halves of the upper and lower *ḏuat*. It is the same as the Book of Caverns, a lunar treatise, with its six divisions also clearly divided into two halves. Through the number six, they all can be equated numerically to the Udjat-eye with its six parts, the restored left eye of Horus. Recall that six is perhaps the quintessential number in ancient Egyptian lunar symbolism. It is also uniquely Egyptian in that the sixth day of the lunar month holds no particular astronomical significance.[576] The number six symbolizing the six pieces of the Udjat-eye has some important numerological characteristics which relate directly to the monthly lunar cycle. After the disappearance and return to visibility each synodic month, the most prominent feature of the monthly lunar cycle is its two distinct phases of waxing and waning, which is noticeably visible in the sky. The lunar crescent faces away from its direction of travel when waxing and toward it when waning.[577] The six pieces of the Udjat-eye can also be divided into its two halves and embodies a deeper numerical significance for the ancient Egyptian understanding of the lunar cycle. The first half represented by the numbers 1 + 2 + 3 totals six, the number of pieces constituting the Udjat-eye itself. The second half represented by the numbers 4 + 5 + 6 equals fifteen. The Udjat-eye is the sound eye because it is complete, that is to say full. There are fifteen days from the new moon to the full moon, the time it takes to restore the eye of Horus by reconstituting the Udjat-eye and represents the waxing phase of the lunar cycle.

This "lunar symbolism" in the upper overtly solar register of the Transit of the Solar Barques could well be coincidental were it not for the fact that it occurs on I *prt* 1, the night of the Blacked-out Moon on the first occasion. Recall that on the night of the new moon, the ancient Egyptians believed that the moon was not visible in the night sky because it was traveling with the sun god in his barque,

574 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 77.

575 Ibid., 113.

576 See Appendix C, the number six.

577 J.P. Allen, Review of Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten JNES 61 (2002), 63.

having appeared to have entered it on the night of last crescent visibility when the moon rose just before sunrise low in the eastern horizon.[578] As with the heliacal rising of Sothis, which marked the start of the Egyptian New Year, the last crescent moon was engulfed by the brightness of the rising sun and thus appeared to enter the solar barque to travel with Re. In the Book of Caverns on the night of last crescent visibility on 30 Khoiak, Osiris had been transformed into a potent *ɓa* so that on the next night of I *prt* 1 at the time of the Blacked-out Moon in the climatic act, he would conceive Horus.[579] "Osiris and Horus are actually 'two persons but one god', as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kingship: 'The legitimacy of the reigning king depended on the principle that he was both the living 'son' of his dead predecessor and also the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor':[580] by having herself impregnated by the 'dead' Osiris and giving birth to him in the person of Horus Isis releases the evil done to Horus by his brother Seth and thus reassures the cosmic cycle of death and resurrection and the social cycle of 'positional succession' [including the transmission of royal power] which Seth [and Akhenaten] tried to disturb by murdering Osiris."[581] Unlike in the Book of Amduat, the Book of Gates, and the Books of the Night and of the Day, the central figure in both the night and the day barques of the sun god is *not* the sun god but the living Horus, the divine reincarnation of Osiris, and a pun on the potent *ɓa*, who travels with Re. (Plate 369) In the morning barque above the king, the cryptic inscription reads:

> "Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands,
> Lord of Appearances, son of Re,
> Seti, beloved of [Ptah], may he live eternally [*ḏt*]
> and be equipped."[582]

Dual King is "written with the double crown atop a *nb*-basket, as a direct representation of the emblems of kingship, literally over 'all'. This composite hieroglyph is pregnant with meaning. In addition to *ŋjsw.t-bj.tj*, the double crown might also be read as *ḥrw*, 'Horus', the personification of divine kingship, made manifest in the emblems of terrestrial rule."[583] On another level the Dual King written by the double crown also can allude to its celestial significance. Its two constituents are the

578 See above 4.5.

579 See above 4.3.

580 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22 quoting E. Leach, "The Mother's Brother in Ancient Egypt" Royal Anthropological Institute News 15 (1976), 20: cf. Stricker's remarks on the vignettes in the tomb of Ramesses VI: "Ramesses VI is begetting himself here and the scene can be connected both with his own birth and with the birth of his son" in B. Stricker, De Geboorte van Horus I (1963), 62.

581 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22.

582 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 105.

583 Ibid., 106.

Red Crown of Lower Egypt and the White Crown of Upper Egypt. "As with the lunar associations of the White Crown, we therefore cannot state definitely whether the Red Crown symbolized solar rebirth at dawn from its first use onward, but we may conclude that such symbolism existed by the time of the Pyramid Texts were composed, and that it is likely to have influenced the image of the king from that time onward."[584] The point to be made is that subtly underlying the overtly solar half of this bipartite composition, the White Crown and its lunar symbolism is present for both the creator Atum and the king as the 'Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands'.

The number symbolism embedded in the upper solar division is the same as that found within the Osiris shrine, *ḏbꜣt*, below it. There are twenty four gods of the northern and southern skies plus the six main deities in the two solar barques totaling thirty. The thirty can on one level symbolize the number of days in each Egyptian civil month. They compliment the daily journey of the sun god marked by the twenty four smaller gods divided in two groups of twelve, signifying the hours of the night and the day. As we have already seen, the eastern horizon and the gods of the northern sky point to the place of the summer solstice sunrise. The gods of the southern sky and the western horizon mark the place of the winter solstice sunset. Together they symbolize the entire annual solar circuit. Thus the number symbolism in the upper division alludes to the daily course of the sun god, the monthly and the annual solar journey. Yet the lunar symbolism is also subtly encoded here as well. The abstract nature of number symbolism allows for an interpretation of the six main deities in the solar barques to be equated with the six pieces of the Udjat-eye, the common denominators are the number six and all are related to the measurement of time. But also recall that the king as the living Horus manifests as Horus-Moon,[585] Atum wears the Double Crown which embodies the White Crown with its lunar aspects, and Re-Horus of the Two Horizons in the morning barque is the manifestation of the sun god which is (re)born after the union of the nocturnal *ḥa* of Re with his corpse Osiris. Therefore, the relationship between the sum of the six parts of the Udjat-eye (63/64) and the deities representing the thirty-day civil month in determining the length of the synodic month would appear to be valid in the scene of the Transit of the Solar Barques as well. With the figure of the giant winged solar disk, there are a total of thirty one deities in the upper division, a number with no particular solar significance. However, they can be interpreted through the number thirty one on one level as symbolizing all possible combinations of lunar phases in any individual synodic month. Recall too that the bipartite composition of the Osireion version is to be taken in the context of the first occasion.

Lastly, the upper division of the Osireion version subtly but clearly alludes to the timing for when the rituals were to be performed in connection with this composition. The scene in the morning barque is different from all other royal versions in that the figurine of "Maat faces the king, who therefore

584 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 370-371.

585 A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994), 154-155. Year 4 Abydos Stela of Ramesses IV:

> "I have not been forgetful on the day of *ꜥḳ* new-moon festival [*ḥrw n psḏntyw.j*] (?),
> for I pacify the Moon-god when he shines forth."

appears to receive the gift from the god."[586] (Plate 369) "The presentation of Maat was exclusively a royal ritual that was based, above all, upon the idea of royal legitimacy received from the gods."[587] "The platform on which the figurine stands, Maat herself, and the adjacent figure of the sun god can be interpreted together as an elaborate rebus for Seti's throne name, *Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ*.[588] This cryptic aspect of the vignette was not exploited again by subsequent [Ramesside] kings..."[589] Yet, "from the reign of Seti I to the end of the Ramesside period, the presentation of Maat was fused with the presentation of the royal name."[590] The reason for this apparent contradiction must lie with the different function for this bipartite composition in the Osireion and that of the royal tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX. In the Osireion, Seti is the recipient of the rebus of his throne name which is "taken by the king on his ascension to the throne or coronation."[591] On I *prt* 1 at the annual celebration of the king's coronation, this important act of bestowing the coronation name of the king would have been reenacted as part of the rites for the renewal of Seti's legitimate right to rule, as it is only depicted in the morning barque in the Osireion version. In the tomb of Ramesses VI, where the Osireion was its template, the scene has been subtly altered to suit the purpose and function of the royal tomb and no longer points to the specific time of I *prt* 1.[592] "The orientation of the Maat figurine was reversed, 'suggesting that the god rather than the king is the recipient'.[593] (Plates 372, 373) In the version of Ramesses IX, Maat faces the (human-headed) god in the prow but appears to be elevated equally by both figures, with no clear differentiation in their identity or status. In addition, the Maat figurine is flanked by cartouches inscribed with the birth and throne names of Ramesses IX, plus epithets. (Plate 374) The hieroglyphs in the two cartouches are oriented in opposite directions, such that birth name on the right appears to refer to the king, while the throne name on the left appears to refer to the god in the prow."[594] Presumably, as Teeter suggested, the figures must represent two aspects of the king.[595]

586 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 16.

587 E. Teeter, The Presentation of Maat Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt (1997), 17.

588 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 16, n. 69. "L. Morenz, Sinn un Spiel der Zeichen (2008), 180. The anomalous use of the platform (substitution of shape for *mn*), which, in more typical presentation scenes, appears as a *nb*-basket, was noted already in E. Teeter, The Presentation of Maat (1997), 19, who, however, does not discuss the potential cryptic significance of this alteration with regard to Seti I."

589 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 16.

590 E. Teeter, The Presentation of Maat Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt (1997), 16.

591 J. Rose, 'The Sons of Re' Cartouches of the Kings of Egypt (1985), 9.

592 See Appendix A.

593 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013),16 citing E. Teeter, The Presentation of Maat Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt (1997), 19.

594 Ibid., 16.

595 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 16 and n. 72: "As Teeter notes (The presentation of Maat, 20), 'one might assume that the figures are two aspects of the king rather than the king and a deity'."

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Because of its crucial importance in the annual ritual cycle in the Osireion on the night of I *prt* 1, much of Roberson's insightful analysis of the function and meaning for the Book of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques is detailed below as a backdrop for understanding the rites as they were to be performed in the sixth hour, called 'Her beautiful hour of the deep night' in the star table in the Sloping Passage. Additional comments are added where they enhance the understanding of the Osireion version of this creation composition at *zp tpj*.

"The texts and images of the bipartite tableau represent a concise theological blueprint for the relationship between the living and dead kings, the god of the dead, Osiris, and the sun god, Re. As such the composition may be viewed from two interconnected and overlapping vantage points: As a cosmograph, i.e. a diagram of the temporal and spatial matrix of the created world [on the first occasion], within which the human and divine dramas unfold [mirrored by the rituals enacted]; and as a mythological blueprint for royal succession and apotheosis, predicated upon the re-incarnation of Horus, the resurrection of Osiris, and the cyclical union of the latter god with Re, [all of which had to be restored by Seti I in order to reestablish *mꜣꜥt* – cosmic order, after the disruptive Amarna Hersey].

The function of the bipartite tableau as a schematic map of the cosmos [which arose out of *zp tpj*] is explicit in the iconography of the upper and lower registers. (Plate 369) The cosmograph is defined by three directional axes: East – West, labeled as such by the respective directional emblems and captions naming the eastern and western horizons; North – South, identifiable through the opposing files of minor deities in the upper register, the gods 'who are in the northern/southern sky'; and Below – Above, corresponding to the two registers, with Osiris below, in the hidden realm of the Dead [*ḏuat*], and the sun above, in the visible sky. In this way, the three-dimensional, conceptual sphere of the created world has been 'flattened' into a two-dimensional, schematic diagram, according to the conventions of Egyptian figural representation. (Plate 370)

The layout of the cosmograph reflects the Egyptian's Nile-centric world view, beginning in the south at the river's source, such that east appears on the left and west on the right. The watery border separating the upper and lower registers can be understood simultaneously as the terrestrial Nile (south – north) and as the divine waterway upon which the sun travels through the visible sky (east – west) [the ecliptic], into the hidden realm of the Dead, and back again (west – east). These waterways were believed to flow from a common source, the primordial waters of Nun, which surround the [created] cosmos. It is this common source that probably underlies the artistic convention of a single, horizontal band of water linking all four cardinal directions [as it does three-dimensionally in the Central Hall].

At the center of the cosmograph, the horizontal and vertical axes converge and pass through the *smꜣ-tꜣ.wy* emblem, the literal 'union of the two lands' and the implicit, geometric center of the three-dimensional space through which the sun travels. The directions of the solar travel along the horizontal axis are indicated explicitly in the original tableau through the prow-to-prow meeting of the morning

(east-to-west) and evening (west-to-east) barques. Vertical motion is implicit in the transition from day to night, and vice-versa. In addition, a clear vertical axis is evident in the cascade of hieroglyphs that descend from the winged disk to the *smɜ-tɜ.wy* emblem, shining 'life' and 'stability' upon the two lands. The winged disk rests at the apogee of its transit (i.e. noon), such that the vertical column of 'sunlight' bisects the upper register [on the equinox]. Understanding the tableau in terms of its three-dimensional analog, the column functions as a radius of the sphere and as the vertical juncture of the four quarters of the visible sky.

Beyond the core directionality of the cosmograph, a number of scholars have also explored the stellar significance of the minor figures in the Awakening and Transit scenes. [For a more detailed analysis of the stellar and solar significance of this composition see the section directly above on the number symbolism.] … the composition should 'begin' in the lower register, where Horus wakes the mummified corpse of his father Osiris. [Creation begins to unfold in the depths of the *ḏuat*, where the lower *ḏuat* meets the watery abyss of Nun, the Place of Destruction.]

The Awakening and Transit scenes of the bipartite tableau unite the myth of royal succession and apotheosis, whereby Osiris is simultaneously revived by and incarnated as his son Horus, with the myth of the sun's cyclical journey through the diurnal and nocturnal skies. Through its explicit pairing of the Solar and Osirian myths, the bipartite tableau may also be viewed as a concise affirmation of the related concept of the Solar-Osirian unity. Permeating every level of this mythological framework, we find the deceased, whose translation to the divine world through the medium of death [symbolized by the number seventeen] serves as the point of contact linking these various spheres of activity....

In the bottom register, the large standing male, who awakes Osiris, is labeled as the 'Horus so-and-so' in all extant royal versions of the full tableau. This identification evokes the myth of royal succession, whereby the living son performs the funerary rites for the deceased father [to revivify and equip him for his role in the realm of the West] and justifies his claim as the sole, legitimate heir. However, it is important [essential] to note that the earliest extant version, that of Seti I, was not inscribed in a tomb, but rather in a [section of the] temple designed to function ritually as a tomb, i.e. a cenotaph, for the god Osiris at Abydos. Thus, when 'Horus-Seti protects/rescues (*nḏ*) his father Osiris', it is not specifically or primarily Seti's deceased, biological father, Ramesses I, to whom the text refers. Rather, we must understand the text and the scene in terms of temple ritual, involving some aspect of the Osirian statue cult in connection with the mortuary ceremonies and interment of the god's image. Following Assmann, numerous scholars have identified the location of the Awakening scene as the Embalming Hall, in which priests assumed the roles of the various protective deities who watch over Osiris' corpse, as a probable forerunner to the Greco-Roman 'hour virgil' (Stundenwachen). Regarding the identification of the Embalming Hall, the significance of the first six of the minor deities, which flank the central tableau, deserves mention. The paired figures in the first row correspond to the four canopic jars that protect the organs of the deceased: Duatmutef and Qebehsenuef in the [notional east not west as they are also depicted on the lintel leading into the Second Transverse Hall], Imseti and Hapi in the [notional west]. (Plate 371 and 308) These four gods [the four sons of Horus], in turn,

appear above the four tutelary goddesses, who protect the canopic shrine itself: Selqet and Isis in the east , Neith and Nephthys in the west [again not east]. Additional support for Assmann's 'hour vigil' hypothesis comes from the plausible identification of the thirty six minor deities in the lower register with the thirty six decans, by which the Egyptians reckoned the passage of the night-time hours.[596]

Unfortunately, the texts that actually describe the ritual in the Awakening scene are typically laconic. Aside from the short reference to Horus 'protecting' or 'rescuing' (*nḏ*) his father, found in all versions, the version of Seti I adds that 'he (i.e. Horus) extends the *wȝs*-scepter on behalf of the great god'. [Klotz translates it as simply 'to the great god' rather than 'on behalf of the great god'.[597]] The latter statement, of course, describes the vignette, in which Horus uses the *wȝs*-scepter to extend the signs for 'life' and 'dominion' [and 'stability'] to the corpse, causing Osiris to lift his head from the slumber of death."[598] (Plate 371) This statement, only found in the Osireion version, is significant because it thematically links the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky in the upper register to the lower register of this bipartite composition, through the ankh and djed hieroglyphs emanating from the Behdetite and used by Horus to awaken Osiris. (Plate 369)

"Turning to the upper register, an elaborate representation of the triple sun god, Horus-Re-Atum replaces the divine complex Horus-Osiris-Re. Once again, the deceased is present at every level of the equation. The solar disk, which dominates the center of the upper register, is labeled as the Behdetite, i.e. the elder sky god Horus, with uraei looking forward and back along the wings that span the cosmos, from the western and eastern horizons to the gods of the northern and southern skies.[599] The iconography of the winged disk itself is conventional and extremely well attested, with clear precursors occurring as far back as the First Dynasty. More innovative are the stylized rays of sunlight that descend from the disk in the form of 'life' and 'stability' hieroglyphs, the very signs which Horus elevates to the nose of Osiris in the register below. Most importantly, the text that appears between the descending hieroglyphic 'rays' labels the sun and its light as 'Horus so-and-so'. [For Seti I, it read s: 'Horus: Strong bull, risen-in-Thebes, who causes to live the two lands. Two Ladies: Repeating births, mighty of forearm, who subdues the Nine Bows. Horus of gold: Repeating appearances, powerful of bows in all land(s). Dual king: Menmaatre = his coronation name.[600]] In this way, the elder Horus is

596 For the connection to the thirty six decan star groups see: W. Waitkus, "Zur Deutung einiger apotropaischer Gotter in den Grabern im Tal der Koniginnen und im Grabe Ramses III" GM 99 (1987), 68-69 and n. 102; J. Quack, "Fruhe agyptische Vorlaufer der Paranatellonta?" Sudhoffs Archiv 83 (1999), 215; A. von Lieven, Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch (2007). For the four sons of Horus that are depicted among the minor deities in the lower register as decans in the list of Seti I C see: O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III (1969), 15-16.

597 D. Klotz, private communication on his forthcoming article on this bipartite composition, May 18, 2015.

598 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 128-133.

599 Ibid., 135 n. 633. "For the iconography and symbolism of Horus the Behdetite, A. Gardiner, 'Horus the Behdetite' JEA 30 (1944), 46-52."

600 Ibid., 112-113.

linked to Horus the son of Osiris from the lower register, through their mutual identification with the individual kings for whom the texts were inscribed [here Seti I].

Beneath the winged disk, the sun appears again in his nocturnal and diurnal forms, as Atum in the evening barque and Re-Horakhti in the morning barque. In each boat, the sun god confronts an image of the king, who is turn supported by the goddess Maat as a tacit indicator of correct functioning of the solar microcosm.[601] [Alternatively, Klotz identifies the goddesses in the two solar barques as Isis in the morning barque and Nephthys in the evening barque, based on his translation for the cryptographic inscriptions above the two goddesses.][602] The representation of the king as a figure distinct from Atum and Re-Horakhti contrasts with the labeling of Horus, Osiris, and the Behdetite as the king himself. Nevertheless, the equation of the king with Atum and Re-Horakhti is implicit in the scene's iconography."[603] Importantly, it should be noted that in the context of I *prt* 1 and the annual celebration of the king's coronation, which occurs at the time of the Blacked-out Moon on the ideal calendar and the first occasion, the central figure in the solar barques is *not* the sun god, Atum or Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, but the king as the living Horus, the divine reincarnation of Osiris, and a pun on the potent *ɓa*, who travels with Re. The point to be made is that at this special time of the year, the constellation of divine kingship takes on a different character which is, however subtle, lunar in nature.

With this as a backdrop, we can return to the enactment of the rituals to be performed in the sixth hour, 'Her perfect/beautiful hour of the deep night, *sp.s nfr m wšɜw*. Recall that in the fifth hour and start of the deep night, the living Horus, king Seti first offers incense, the eye of Horus, which by so doing brings about the (first) conception of the Horus. With the mythic Horus conceived at the pinnacle of the rising land, Tatenen, the king now transformed for his ritual role as both the begetter and Horus, Protector/Avenger of his Father, can proceed with the performance of the mysterious rites in the deep night that will culminate in the creation of the mechanism for the transfer of royal power in *nḥḥ* time and the witnessing of his own conception in *ḏt* time. But first he must awaken his father Osiris to begin this process, which leads the king into the *tɜtnnt-pr,* the ultimate chamber of creation, arising out of the primordial abyss of Nun on the first occasion.[604] The 'Protector of his Father' enters in through the doorway to the *tɜtnnt-pr*. His route is marked by the king's cartouches, the 'beloved of Osiris', in the bottom register on the rear wall where he is depicted on either side of the door, his arms raised in adoration, 'seeing the god and praising him four times'. (Plate 299) On the lintel above, the four sons of Horus guard the entrance to this most sacred space. Once inside the king proceeds to the

601 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 135 n. 637. "Note that the standing goddess is labeled explicitly as Maat only in the morning barque version of Ramesses VI, although suggests the possibility that the Maat caption may instead refer to the figurine of Maat that Ramesses VI presents to Re in the day barque. D. Klotz, private communication, May 18, 2015.

602 D. Klotz, private communication on his forthcoming article on this bipartite composition, April 29, 2015.

603 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 135.

604 See below 5.7 for the description and function of the *tɜtnnt-pr*.

far end, passing by all the mysterious scenes of creation unfolding for the first time. Standing before the inscribed Book of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, the performance of the rites by king Menmaatre, the living Horus, 'Protector of his Father' and begetter, sets the cosmograph into motion and thereby brings it into existence. It is the continuation of this ritually induced motion that sustains the created cosmos, which must be renewed annually on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day and night of the Blacked-out Moon. Such was held to be in the power of ritual action, word and deed by the ancient Egyptians.

It conveys a very different message from the "frozen" cosmograph described above. Its source is none other than from the mouth of Thoth the Great, the Tongue of Re, Master of Speech, Prophet of Maat, residing in the temple of Menmaatre.[605] His words speak directly of the actions and deeds performed by king Seti. While today this important speech of Thoth appears to be in an open and unlikely place, when the temple was built and functioning it was not at all the case. It is located at the top of the staircase leading out to an open air but separately walled-in area within the temenos walls – the sacred precinct above the birth house of Isis that contained a grove of trees sacred to Horus.[606] This staircase is at the rear of the Mansion of Millions of Years, deep in the sacred and protected realm of the god Wennefer. The companion speech by Seshat, a dedicatory inscription/foundation ritual is unlikely to be just a second dedication for the reworked rear area of the Mansion of Millions of Years as has been suggested.[607] But rather, it is a dedicatory inscription for the temples in the Sacred Precinct including the Fortress of Menmaatre, which demarcates the sacred space, the Treasury, the Osireion itself, and, most probably, the House of Life.[608] It had to be secluded but open to the sky for the diurnal union of the rays of the sun god at its zenith at high noon with the cult statue of Osiris in the House of Life below,[609] mirroring the action depicted in the Book of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques at the very depths of the *ḏuat* at midnight, the sixth hour of the deep night, when the nocturnal union occurred.

The lengthy speech of Thoth begins:

> "O my beloved son, Lord of Both Lands, Menmaatre, Son of Re, Seti I Merenptah!
> Pay heed now, O excellent King, Champion/Protector, *nḏ*, [?for his father Osiris,....,]
> watching over Wennefer like Horus, ever since he existed.
> Your benefactions are a blessing in the Sacred Territory [Sacred Precinct];

605 K. Kitchen, KRI I Translations (1993), 164 of I, 189: 1-4.

606 See below chapter 6.

607 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 117-118.

608 See below 6.5, Speculation on the House of Life.

609 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt The One and the Many (1982), 93. "...in the late period the union [of Re and Osiris] was even enacted in the cult." Citing P. Derchain, Le Papyrus Salt 825 (B.M 10051), 1965, 35-37, 153-156.

your monument is accepted […....loss.....]" [610]

The section that was excluded from the version in the nearby temple of Ramesses II is what pertains directly to the rituals enacted in the Osireion, in particular, as part of the Book of Awakening Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. The king's actions as the begetter ritually sets the cosmograph in motion.

"You [Dual King Menmaatre] are the champion [protector, *nḏ*] for Wennefer,
you wash out his sores ('decay') of yesterday.
You enable him to appear at [the] crack of dawn
as Re [i.e. the United One, the twin *ḥꜣs*] in the presence of every god.
You free him,
you enable his nose to breathe, you bring in for him the North Wind [of Atum],
you cause the Great Soul [*ḥꜣ* of Re] to rest on his corpse [Osiris],
and his shadow in the sun disk.
You cause him to see Re in exultation, his rays passing over his face.
You cause Re to fly over his sarcophagus [*dbꜣt*], the 'Lord-of-Life' [epithet of Osiris].
When he [Osiris] has awakened, you have placed his children beside him.
You equip him with his panoply,
and you multiple for him property having the best (?) of....." [611]

Line 1: The rites begin with the king, who is depicted standing before and awakening Osiris, the central scene of the lower register . (Plate 369) The cryptographic caption above him identifies him as:

"The Horus, [destroyed: Strong bull, risen-in-Thebes, who causes to live the Two Lands],
he protects [*nḏ*] his father Osiris." [612]

Line 2: The washing out of his sores 'decay' of yesterday i.e. the wounds inflicted on Osiris by Seth resulting in his death, dismemberment and putrefaction which was rectified by his mummification. It pertains to the prior action in the Embalming Hall where Anubis, who oversees in these matters, is depicted among the entourage of deities surrounding Osiris, as is Thoth who is speaking here. (Plate 371)

610 K. Kitchen, KRI I Translations (1993), 164 of I, 189: 5-8.

611 K. Kitchen, KRI I Translations (1993), 164; I, 191: 5-9.

612 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 56-57, and 59 d. "The full, alternate caption would therefor read 'Horus N., he rescues the flesh of Osiris'. In the seventh hour of the Amduat, the 'Flesh of Osiris' appears as an enthroned deity, crowned with double plumes and carrying an *ꜥnḫ*-hieroglyph and *wꜣs*-scepter – all items with which Osiris is invested in the present tableau. We find additional support specifically linking Horus to the flesh of Osiris in the Book of the Dead, Chapter 170, 'A Spell for raising Osiris on the bier', wherein Horus proclaims 'O, Osiris, I have given to you your flesh, I have put together for you your bones, I have assembled for you your members [Osiris-Moon]... Lift yourself, so that you might see the gods...Horus sets you upright at his rising.'"

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Line 3: “In the Coffin Texts a common formulation [for the union of Re and Osiris] is that Osiris has 'appeared as Re' (CT I, 192).”[613] Appearing at the crack of dawn may also allude to the time of the new moon, here on I *prt* 1, when the *ɓa* of Osiris actually travels in the solar barque with Re.

Line 4: The statement, 'you free him', bridges both registers here. Appearing as Re at the crack of dawn in the upper register, which the king causes, frees Osiris. So too does Horus, who rescues the flesh of Osiris, Roberson's alternate reading of the caption above the king,[614] in which Osiris is shown raising up from the prone position in his shrine. (Plate 369)

Line 5: It is the central event of the lower register and is directly connected to the Behdetite in the upper register through the vertical column. The king, 'Horus, he protects his father', extends the *wɜs*-scepter, tipped with ankh and djed to Osiris, awakening him by enabling him to breathe and bringing the North Wind [of Atum] to his nose. The life-giving ankh and djed which the king brings to his father connects him directly to the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, in the upper register, the source of this life-giving power who emanates the same. (Plate 369) The ankh and djed signs streaming down from the double uraei of the Behdetite, Nekhbet and Wadjet, the Two Ladies,[615] enclose and thereby embody the magical power imbued in the king's titulary. It is this power invested in his royal names, symbolized by the ankh and djed, that enables the king, the living Horus, to revive his father Osiris, who simultaneously incarnates as his son Horus.[616] The mutual regeneration of Re and Osiris is now underway.

Line 6: Thoth explicitly states that it is the king who causes the Great *Ɓa* [of Re] to rest on his corpse [Osiris], and his shadow in the sun disk. The vertical column formed by the stream of ankh and djed signs can be interpreted as symbolizing this union of Re with Osiris, Above – Below, as well as the shadow's return to the solar disk, Below – Above, leading to a new sunrise that can now occur. The sun god born out of this union is Re-Horus of the Two Horizons depicted as the winged solar disk

613 E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt The One and the Many (1982), 93.

614 See n. 612 directly above.

615 For the identification of the two uraei of the solar disk, the winged solar disk and the Behdetite as Nekhbet and Wadjet see: R. Shonkwiler, The Behdetite: A Study of Horus the Behdetite from the Old Kingdom to the Conquest of Alexander (2014), 134-142. Their identification is more explicit in the scenes of the rear wall of the Central Hall given that one wears the White Crown and the other the Red Crown with three exceptions. The solar disk above the Abydene fetish, both uraei wear the White Crown of Upper Egypt as do the uraei on the disks above the two depictions of the king, 'seeing the god and praising him four times', at the entrance to the Second Transverse Hall. “In the Pyramid Texts the two goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet are identified as the eyes of Horus [PT 468]. As the 'healthy Eye of Horus' (*wḏɜt*), Nekhbet was the left eye and was identified with the moon, the phases of which were identified with the wounding then healing of Horus' eye, which was injured by Seth.” Ibid., 141-142. The three cases on the rear wall of the Central Hall, where both uraei wear the White Crown, *ḥḏt*, the symbol of the moon's luminosity, subtly serve to highlight the lunar nature of Osiris-Moon.

616 J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013), 131.

rising up and out of the top of the composition as the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky.[617] The Above – Below movement is captured by the Great *Ba* of Re descending onto to his corpse, awakening Osiris through this union. At the same time, as Thoth says, the king causes his (the Great *Ba* of Re) shadow to return to the sun disk, represented here as the winged solar disk of the Behdetite at the top of the composition. "Like body the shadow was seen as a physical entity, and its relationship to light [its source] was understood .... The early instances appear in the Coffin Texts... where the shadow is usually mentioned together with the *ḥa*. Like the latter, it can be viewed as a mode of existence after death. In some cases, however, the *ḥa* and shadow (*šwt*) seem to be two parts of a single entity: 'Go my *ḥa* and my shadow, that you (singular) may see the sun'..."[618] Lekov sees the shadow as "part of the movement of the *ḥa* … [and] is to some extent linked with the disk [whose light creates it]," where he cites this Speech by Thoth as an important clue.[619] Both the shadow of Re returns to its source, the solar disk, and the *Ba* of Re to its source of regeneration, his corpse Osiris. This movement is what brings the cosmos (and the cosmograph representing it) into existence. It is motion that separates the created cosmos from the surrounding inert abyss of nonexistence, the Nun. Importantly as Thoth declares, it is the king who is responsible for causing this movement. Here, the king, the living Horus as chief ritualist is the begetter, awaiting his moment to be the begotten, i.e. his own conception. The paradox is resolvable in *ḏt* time, the ancient Egyptians' cosmic script for and of creation.

Line 7: The king causes Osiris to revive more fully by seeing Re as his rays pass over his face , which illuminate the depths of the *ḏuat*. This reflects the west to east movement of the ram-headed *Ba* of Re through the hours of the deep night. The movement from west to east and east to west expresses the cyclical motion of the nocturnal and diurnal course of the sun. It also marks the nightly course for the decanal stars, the measurers of the hours and of the year.

Line 8: The king causes Re to fly over his sarcophagus, *ḏbꜣt*, the Lord of Life. It would appear to refer to the last statement as Re's rays pass over the face of Osiris, who is in his shrine, *ḏbꜣt*.[620] But it is also important to note, it likely refers to another simultaneous event. Manassa reminds us that "in the Sixth

617 R. Shonkwiler, The Behdetite: A Study of Horus the Behdetite from the Old Kingdom to the Conquest of Alexander (2014), 84. "It would not be totally surprising to have a winged disk identified with Horakhtj, since the Behdetite is sometimes identified with Re-Horakhti beginning in the New Kingdom and there is a strong syncretism of the two gods at Edfu Temple."

618 J. P. Allen, "Shadow", D. Redford (ed.), The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 334-335.

619 T. Lekov, "The Shadow of the dead and its representation" JES III (2010), 56.

620 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 1231-1232. "*ḏbꜣt* [means] shrine, chest, coffin. According to Cerny the coptic and demotic words are a fusion of two originally distinct words: *ḏbꜣt* 'shrine, coffin' =*tbt* and *dbt* 'chest' or 'box'. There is an older word *ḏbꜣ.t* which is a palace and this may be the ancestor word for shrine. In the ostraka from Deir el Medina, *ḏbꜣt* is the name of the sarcophagus, the outermost chest in which the anthropoid coffins could be placed. While the precise meaning of *ḏbꜣt* can vary, in fact these words are semantically linked, for they are all secure containers in which things can be kept: a king in his palace, a body in a coffin, a god in his shrine and also a caught bird in a box. *ḏbꜣt* occurs at Edfu: the temple is described as (1) 'the shrine of the excellent *ḥa*, Lord of Dendera; the gods rejoice in their (2) shrines. Osiris is in (3). While this could be taken to mean 'coffin', 'shrine' or even refer to the temple, there is a further ambiguity for it could purposefully confused with *ḏbꜣt* 'Edfu', thus Osiris who resides at Edfu."

5. THE OSIRIS MYSYTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Hour [of Amduat, which the Second Transverse Hall is its architectural equivalent], Re sees his own corpse [i.e. Osiris] twice – in its constituent elements in the top register and reunited in the middle register [depicted directly below it]."[621] (Plate 344) Because one scene is placed directly below the other, Re flies over and passes by his *ḏbȝt* at the same moment, linking the Awakening of Osiris scene in the bipartite composition with the "other" *ḏbȝt* of Re also located in the Second Transverse Hall. In the Amduat they are described as follows. In the middle register at the end, "a multi-headed serpent (458 ['Many-faced']) encircles the corpse of the sun god, (459 ['Flesh']), with a scarab over its head; the corpse is lying, but not mummiform [and appears to be awakening]. (Plate 346) The text runs:

> This is the corpse of [the one coming into being] Khepri as his own flesh.
> Many-faced guards him....
> The voice of Re is what comes (to) the image which is in him."[622]

This scene can be equated to the Awakening of Osiris scene. This is based on: interpreting "the scarab as the participle *ḫpr* 'the one coming into existence (again)', viz. Osiris, not as a representation of Khepri"[623] as his own flesh appears to be awakening as Osiris does; the multi-headed serpent 'Many-faced' guards him as do the uraei on top the *ḏbȝt* shrine of Osiris; and there are sixteen deities depicted standing before the awakening corpse of Khepri/Osiris to which Abt places great significance, just as there are sixteen deities standing before the awakening Osiris.[624] (Plates 346 and 369)

In the top register at the end, "three chests... contain the threefold burial of the sun god: hind part of a lion (425 ['*ḥwt* which Seth adores']), wing of the scarab (427 ['*ḥwt* of the towing of Babylon']), and a human head (429 ['*ḥwt* that unities Horus'])... Behind the chests stands a goddess (430 ['Adoratress belonging to the beginning of the *ḥwwt*']). Text with this scene:

> Words spoken by this great god
> in the vicinity of this mysterious image of the Netherworld [*ḏuat*]:
>
> Illuminated [by the rays of the sun god as he passes by] is the darkness in the earth!
> The flesh roars with joy,
> and the [human] head [Re-Horus] speaks, after he has united his members [Osiris].

621 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2006), 236.

622 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 200-201.

623 Editors of AEB, AEB 1999.0830 on L. Gestermann, "Konigliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, II: Osiris-graber des Mittleren Reiches in koniglichen Kontext: Amduat, 6 Stunde (1999), 97-110.

624 Ibid., 196 and T. Abt, E. Hornung, Knowledge for the Afterlife The Egyptian Amduat (2003), 83. Of the sixteen deities, the ancestor kings: "the conscious reconnection of the sun god with the totality (4x4 kings) of the past Pharaonic culture – a culture that is based on the knowledge of the secret of renewal – is, according to the Amduat, something of crucial importance. Consciousness has to reconnect with the ancestors' knowledge and experience of renewal. By respecting the ancestors, the one in need of renewal can find the necessary confidence and mental support. This respect for the ancestors enabled Pharaoh again and again to reconnect to past achievements and made possible a continuity of culture of around 3000 years. This is something unique in world history."

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

> These are the mysterious images of the Netherworld.
> Those who are on their bellies (i.e. serpents) are their guardians.
> When Re illuminates their darkness,
> the head speaks, after the divine adoratress [Isis] has called to him."[625]

The scene of the divine couple, 'Shining one' and 'She whom the gods respect' holding a knife and a crook, who face the three chests of the burial of the sun god is directly related. The text:

> "Words spoken by the person of this great god:
> O! Radiant one! Guard your image!
> O! You (goddess) whom the gods respect –
> give respect by your staffs of command!
> May your images be hidden,
> may their darkness be illuminated.
> May his (Osiris') limbs breathe,
> the flesh which you protect,
> when I pass by you in peace!"[626]

Note too here the connection of Osiris's limbs with the threefold burial of the dismembered constituents of the sun god. Recall from the Book of Caverns, that on the night of the Blacked-out Moon on I *prt* 1, the *ɓa* of Osiris is traveling in the solar barque with the ram-headed *ɓa* of Re and Khepri. (Plates 211, 209) The three chests would therefore also seem to embody an Osirian element, the *ɓa* of Osiris.

Importantly, there is no parallel scene in the Books of the Earth on the walls of this chamber.[627] Nor is there one in the other compositions on the pitched ceiling in the Second Transverse Hall.[628] This suggests that there may well have been or were intended to have been three chests on the floor of this chamber connected with Re's second but simultaneous encounter with his corpse, Osiris.[629] This 'second' encounter signals the beginning of a shift in the focus of the performance of the rites that lead the king back out from the Second Transverse Hall, the *tꜣ-ṯnnt-pr*, during the sixth hour.[630]

625 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 190-191.

626 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 188-189.

627 I reviewed all eighty vignettes described in J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012). The most closely related but certainly no parallel is scene 66 on p. 267 of the raising of the *ɓa* of Osiris with its two ram-headed corpses: 'The corpse of the double, *sny,* following Re' and 'The corpse of the Roarer, following Re'.

628 The Book of the Night following the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques and the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars on the opposite side of the pitched roof.

629 The three chests for the burial of the sun god conceptually bring to mind the three golden coffins of Tutankhamen containing the body of the king.

630 In the first attested full version of the Amduat in the tomb of Thutmose III, the scene with the three chests is actually depicted following the scene of the awakening sun god, Khepri, in the middle register. (Plate 345)

Line 9: When Osiris has awakened, the king places his children, the four sons of Horus, beside him as protection. This too is a transitioning event. The four sons of Horus are part of the group of thirty six deities surrounding the scene of Osiris awakening in the lower register of the bipartite composition. They are also depicted on the lintel directly above the doorway to the Second Transverse Hall, marking the beginning of the ending ritual sequence for the sixth hour of the deep night, which leads the king back into the birth house of Isis, the Central Hall.

Line 10: Finally, the king as he leaves the Second Transverse Hall equips Osiris with his panoply, depicted under the lion-headed bier in his shrine. As discussed there are thirty royal regalia. Osiris, equipped with his panoply number thirty one, where 'he and his things' can on a lunar level be interpreted as the 'limbs of Osiris', the phases of the moon, symbolizing the lunar cycle of the awakened Osiris, that comes into existence on the first occasion. They are paired with the Behdetite, 'great god, lord of the sky', rising up and out from the top of the bipartite composition. This same constellation is found in the same manner in the monthly rites for the New Moon, the second ritual cycle.[631] They constitute the key upper and lower scenes of the centrally located tenth cavern of the Book of the Twelve Caverns in the Annex at the notional eastern end of the Antechamber. Recall that the Behdetite also labeled, 'great god, lord of the sky', rises up and out from the top of the tenth cavern. (Plate 245) Below it in the bottom register are “the *ḥas* manifesting/coming into being as the limbs of Osiris”. There are a total of thirty one horizontal figures of striding deities. (Plate 245) The lead group of three deities signify the beginning of the lunar month when the moon is in the *ḏuat* and therefore not visible in the night sky.[632] They are followed by fourteen groups of two deities representing the visible phases of the waxing and the waning moon.

Having completed the rituals for revivifying and regenerating Osiris and Re, the king leaves the very depths of the *ḏuat* at the Place of Destruction and reenters the birth house of Isis to complete the rites for the sixth hour of the deep night depicted on the left notional western half of the rear wall of the Central Hall and begin those for the seventh hour on the eastern side at the start of the second half of the night.[633] The king emerging out from the door of the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, first encounters the statue of his father facing him at the top of the staircase, as he is depicted in scene 33 of the Book of the Gates.[634] (Plate 88) The enthroned Osiris holds a crook and the ankh sign, signifying that he now rules over his domain, the *ḏuat*, and is the possessor of life, i.e. fully rejuvenated, having had his panoply equipped by the king, shown in the Awakening of Osiris tableau. The king raises his arms in adoration upon seeing the rejuvenated god before him and praises him four times, as he is depicted doing on either side of the door to the Second Transverse Hall. The ritual action continues as it is depicted on the left notional western half of the rear wall in the Central Hall. (Plate 304) In the scene in the lower (second) register,

631 See above 4.7.

632 Between last crescent visibility and the new crescent's return to the night sky, there can be a maximum period of three days when the *ḥa* of Osiris is traveling in the solar barque with Re and therefore not visible in the sky.

633 The scenes have been discussed in detail in 5.4 above.

634 See above 3.3 and 5.5.

the king is being purified by Thoth with the *ḥs*-vessel used in the coronation rites as he stands before his vindicated and enthroned father in the royal Per-Wer sanctuary of Upper Egypt, who is labeled the Ruler of the West.[635] Importantly, Osiris is now adorned with a solar crown, signifying his successful union with Re made possible through the actions of his son, the living Horus, Protector of his Father.[636] (Plate 305) Note that here the purified king is referred to as Osiris king Merenptah [Seti] and suggests, following Willems, that the king as the son and his father Osiris merge into a single person when he enters the shrine of his father.[637] This would also be consistent with the ancient Egyptian concept of divine kingship as one god in two manifestations. In the third register above it, the king wears the khepresh (blue) crown, *ḫprš*, as he offers Maat to the cult statue of Osiris. (Plate 302) Recall that the khepresh crown is the only crown mentioned specifically by Horemheb in his coronation text.[638] In return for the restoration of maat by the king, the living Horus, Osiris responds:

"*dj.n.*(*j*) *n.k jst.j nst.j ḥrt.j jwʿ.j*

I have given you my place,
my throne, my possessions, my inheritance."[639]

This transference of royal power to his son as the legitimate heir is confirmed by Shu, in the register above it. (Plate 302) To which the text says of Shu, the father of the gods:

di.f pr m ḥr ʿnḫ

He gives/grants the going forth/emergence of the living Horus.

In other words, Shu bestows on the king the divine right to rule over the Two Lands as the living Horus, thereby confirming not only what Osiris had already done but enhancing it. Specifically here and of paramount importance, it is the divine aspect of kingship embodied in the living Royal *Ka* that Shu is bestowing. "As Barguet has shown, the role of Royal *Ka* for Shu appears already in the Pyramid Texts....[640] Amun[-Re] enables birth by 'providing the breath of life', which is precisely the role of the

635 For my in depth analysis of this scene and those that follow depicted on the rear wall of the Central Hall see above 5.4. The purpose here is to continue to detail the unfolding of the ritual sequence.

636 For the symbolism of this crown also worn by Tatenen and its intricacies in connection with this scene see above 5.4.

637 H. Willems, "The Embalmer Embalmed" in J. van Dijk (ed.), Essays in ancient Egypt: in honour of Herman te Velde (1997), 365-366. Importantly here, J. Joergensen, "Myth and Cosmology" (2011), 77, has connected this merging directly to the eighth litany of Re (out of nine) in the Book of Praising Re in the West, Praising the United One in the West. "As part of the climax of this nightly ritual, the priest [the King] ascends a staircase to a shrine housing Osiris. Here he begins to identify himself with Osiris and becomes the locus for the union of the gods. In the eighth litany he states this as: 'I go to the extent of my heart and I run according to my course in this my dignity of the one of hidden state who has transformed into the two gods (Re and Osiris).' [Hornung, (1975), 250-251.]"

638 See above 5.4.

639 This short but important translation on Plate 302 was kindly provided by J. P. Allen in a private communication on 1/23/15.

640 P. Barquet, "Au sujet d'une representation du ka royal" ASAE 51 (1951), 205-215.

'*Ba* of Shu'. In this sense, it is through Amun[-Re]'s manifestation of the *Ba* of Shu that the Royal *Ka* is passed from generation to generation, and thus Shu is truly 'the bearer of the Royal *Ka*' or the Royal *Ka* himself."[641] And that is why it had to be Shu who provides this divine aspect of kingship. With this mystical union effected by Shu, "the king became divine as 'one with the Royal *Ka* when his human form was overtaken by his immortal element, which flows through his whole being and dwells in it."[642] He is now a god-king. He *is* the living Horus, granted Rule over the Two Lands. The divine aspect of kingship and its transfer is completed and expressed in the scene in the top register, where the king is depicted offering Maat to his father, the ram-headed (*ba*) Re-Horakhti.[643] This royal and divine father-son constellation is complex. While the king has been identified as the son of Re since the Fourth Dynasty, this form of the sun god, Re-Horakhti, manifests as a result of the union of Re with Osiris. "It is not only to be called Re as the re-born sun god, but also Horus, son and reincarnation of Osiris [i.e. the divine aspect embodied in the king himself as the living Horus]... or, to use the Egyptian formula, Re-Horakhti, "Re-Horus of the [Two] Horizon[s]."[644] The Two Horizons over which the sun god in the sky traverses daily can be equated with the Two Lands over which the king, the living Horus, son of Re and son of Osiris rules. The means for the legitimate transfer of royal power from father Osiris to rightful heir and posthumously conceived son Horus in the birth house of Isis has been re-established in the sixth hour of the deep night of the Blacked-out moon on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day on the first occasion as part of the annual renewal of the sacred coronation rites. With it, *mꜣꜥt* has been restored after the catastrophic Amarna Hersey.

The center column on the rear wall serves to mark the division of the night into its two halves. By its location it lies directly on both the main axis of the Central Hall in the Osireion and Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, which runs through the Chapel of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, and through the middle of his false door at the rear of his chamber. This alignment explicitly connects the King of the Gods, through the portal of his false door, to the ceremonies for the transfer of royal power enacted in the Central Hall, where Amen-Re through his manifestation as the *Ba* of Shu passes down the Royal *ka* from divine father to son through the false door. Importantly, the axial alignment for Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and the Central Hall of the Osireion duplicates that of the Opet colonnade of Luxor temple at Thebes, thereby linking it to the other half of the Cycle of 76 for the annual renewal of kingship. According to Bell, Luxor temple "seems to have been the mythological and theological power base of the reigning monarch from the New Kingdom onwards.... But the renewal of the divine kingship is only one aspect of the Opet Festival [and equally true for rites on I prt 1 in the Central Hall]. For Luxor temple [and the Osireion] was first and foremost a creation site and as such had a

641 D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple (2006), 35-36.

642 L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 258.

643 Ram-headed = *ba* form/manifestation of Re-Horahkti is rare. (Plate 313) But like the ram-headed sun god in the night barque in the Underworld Books, it relates to his location in the *duat*, and more specifically here to *ḏt* time. Note that on the notional eastern architrave Re-Horahkti is depicted in his more usual falcon-headed form. (Plate 316)

644 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 21.

primary role to play in the grand drama of the cyclical regeneration of Amun-Re himself. The god's rejuvenation was achieved through his return to the very place, even the exact moment [*zp tpj*] of creation at Luxor [so too at the Osireion]; and the triumph over chaos represented by the annual rebirth of the kingship ensured Amun's own re-creation. The two miracles are inextricably intertwined in the celebration of the Opet Festival [and the rites in the Osireion]."[645] Said another way, the function of Luxor temple at Thebes and the Osireion at Abydos was a "stage for the reenactment of the primordial moment in which Amun-Re, as Atum, is recreated as his own son, pharaoh."[646] The living Horus, the king, symbolizes the culmination of the Heliopolitan creation process as its tenth member and marks the creation of dynastic rule over Upper and Lower Egypt on the first occasion.

As discussed earlier, the scenes on the rear wall of the Central Hall can be viewed as forming their own chamber or a vertical shaft that leads down into the final Transverse Hall, the innermost and most secret area of the Osireion, the *tꜣ ṯnnt-pr*.[647] This cavernous hidden chamber is to be viewed as the interior of and containing the essence of the rising land, Tatenen, the island in the Central Hall surrounded by the watery abyss of the Nun. It symbolizes the first concrete expression unfolding in the newly created cosmos on the first occasion. It is a personification of the creator, Atum, as he begins to manifest. Depicted on the rear wall in this 'chapel or vertical shaft' directly above and therefore manifesting out of the creator, Atum, are the three scenes of the center column and the six cult statues of the awakened and rejuvenated Osiris with figures of the king flanking them and performing rites for his father. All are situated above the four sons of Horus who protect them. (Plates 300, 307) Importantly, the position of the four sons of Horus provides a direct link between the rear wall of the Central Hall and the sixth hour of Amduat, where they are depicted as four human heads emerging out of a serpent's body also at the bottom in the middle of the lowest register and serve the same function as guardians.[648] (Plate 344) On this rear wall, twice at the top and again at the bottom, it is said of the king as his arms are raised in adoration: 'Seeing the god and praising him four times'. In his paper on the theology of Luxor temple, Gulyas comments that "the fact that this ritual [a cosmic libation] is repeated twice in the barque chapel of Amen-Re, by itself indicates that it occupied a significant position in the theology of the temple".[649] This is especially relevant here because it clearly highlights the cultic nature of these scenes and ritual actions at the heart of the interior of the Osireion. Each of the two 'side walls' of this 'chapel', (Plate 300) contains six scenes and have fifteen deities including the figures of the king and the Royal *Ka*, underscoring by their number, the lunar nature underlying the rites for the transmission of royal power at the coronation, *ḫʿw-nswt*, celebrated on I *prt* 1, following

645 L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka" JNES 44 (1985), 280 and 290.

646 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 184.

647 See above 5.4. In the Slaughterhouse of the main temple, there are a series of festivals listed that includes the statement "and in every festival of the Tanenet-sanctuary". See KRI I, I (1975), 194:15 for the hieroglyphs *ḥb nb m tꜣ(ṯ)nnt-pr* and his translation quoted KRI I Translations (1993), 167.

648 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 206.

649 A. Gulyas, "A Cosmic Libation Researches on the Theology of Luxor Temple" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007), 895.

the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries. In the context of *zp tpj*, it is the creation of the mechanism for the transmission of royal power that arose on the first occasion, thereby re-establishing *mɜʿt* which the king is shown offering to his fathers, Atum, Re-Horakhti, and the rejuvenated and vindicated Osiris.

Recall that as with the six parts of the restored Eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, there are six cult statues of Osiris that flank the vertical axis formed by the central column on the rear wall of the birth house of Isis. (Plate 303) Three on each side highlight the dual nature of his cult and of divine kingship. Osiris and Horus are one god, that of divine kingship, who rules over both the world of the living and the realm of the hereafter. In their visible manifestation as the moon, Horus, born on the night of first crescent visibility, represents the waxing phase and Osiris, who enters the moon when it is full, the waning phase, symbolizing his dismemberment. His death on the night of the Blacked-out Moon marks the start of the new cycle, when he conceives Horus on this night of I *prt* 1 in the birth house of Isis. Recall that the arrangement of the six cult statues mirrors that of the architectural design of the Osireion itself, with its six main chambers and passages divided into two halves. Furthermore, the speech by Osiris in front of his statue on the bottom left notional western side suggests the the lunar cycle begins here. [650] He says: "I have given you [the king as the living Horus] my place, my throne, my possessions, my inheritance", an act that occurs after he is dead signifying the end of the lunar cycle. Revivified, Osiris posthumously conceives Horus on the first day of the lunar month, the night of the Blacked-out moon. The unfolding of the lunar cycle follows the progression of the ritual action marked by the six cult statues of Osiris. Beginning in the notional western end of the lower register up to the western side of the top register, then across to the notional eastern side of the top register and down to eastern side of the lower register. (Plate 299) This actually mirrors the appearance of the moon in the night sky over the course of the waxing cycle. The moon rises low in the western horizon shortly after sunset with first crescent visibility. It steadily rises higher in the sky each night until it is full when it rises from the eastern horizon shortly after sunset. Before each of the six cult statues of Osiris stands the king, the living Horus, performing rites for his father. Together they symbolize the dual aspect of the nature of divine kingship in its totality. These twelve royal figures plus the three sacred symbols of the cult of Osiris in the central column total fifteen, and can be interpreted as the fifteen days of the waxing cycle for completion from Blacked-out moon to the full moon. (Plate 303) It is the additional figures of the king which will complete the intended number symbolism. Including the four smaller representations of the king on either side of the Abydene fetish and Djed-pillar, they total nineteen, the number sacred to Osiris signifying his successful rejuvenation and that of the lunar cycle. There are a maximum of nineteen days from full moon to the reappearance of the new crescent moon in the night sky. Whereas the ten solar disks in these nine central scenes on another level can also refer to the creation process represented by the Heliopolitan Ennead, the product of which is its tenth member Horus, who is being conceived on the island, Tatenen the rising land, directly below and represents the start of the new cycle.

The timing for the performance of the rituals depicted on the rear wall, at the start of the seventh hour, beginning the second half of the night, can be adduced though their content and positioning. In

650 Unlike the sun and the stars which rise in the east, the moon rises in the west shortly after sunset with first crescent visibility.

commenting on the religious function of the decanal star clocks Willems "has observed that the register that contains the offering formula in the star-clocks is found between the sixth and seventh hour of the night."[651] He suggests that "one must, in other words, reckon with the possibility that there was some meaningful relationship between the division of the night into the six first and the six last hours and the invocation offerings.... Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note that the seventh hour of the Book of Amduat includes drawings of twelve gods, some of whom are related by their names with offerings, and twelve goddesses embodying the hours of the night. Offerings are also a major topic of the seventh hour of the Book of Gates. Matters are no different in the Stundenwachen, according to which two gods enter the Place of Embalming in the seventh hour to bring offerings."[652] Significantly, this same pattern is found in the design of the decoration of the rear wall of the Central Hall. The right side by its location is directly associated with my proposed reconstruction for the placement of the seventh hour Amduat.[653] On this side of the wall, the notional eastern part, the king is rewarded with provisions given both by Geb and Osiris, whereas on the left side, the end of the sixth hour, it is kingship that is being given by Shu and Osiris. (Plate 299) Engraved on the architraves that abut the rear wall of the Central Hall are the twelve deities in the vignette of BD 148, six on each side, mirroring the division of the night and its hours into two halves.[654] (Plate 317) BD 148 is a "spell for making provisions for a spirit in the God's Domain... It is the Book of Wennefer..."[655] to be used on the monthly festival of the Blacked-out Moon Day, i.e. on I *prt* 1. They too are not written retrograde and as noted form part of the Way of Osiris. The concept of inversion in the *ḏuat* is important to understanding the division of the night into two halves and the necessity for the offerings.[656] "When celestial objects drop below the horizon of the upper sky and enter into the Netherworld, they are seen to continue down in an attitude the inverse of that in which they rose above the opposite horizon. The sun and the stars all can be seen as going upside-down [*sḫd*, determined by an upside-down figure] into the Netherworld. In p.Carlsberg 1 [a treatise on the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars, first attested in the Osireion], stars die and enter the Netherworld; they fall. In the Netherworld, the stars are said to *pnˁ*, 'turn over'... Celestial bodies must be inverted when entering into the Netherworld in order for them to turn over... The desire is, however, to *sḫd* into the Netherworld, not to continue in the state of *sḫd* once there. For this reason, chapter 99 of the Book of the Dead describes stars inverted in the Netherworld, in the presence of Re, who should set them aright. The dangerous continued upside-down travel in the Netherworld... is appropriate to beings in proximity to the cosmic disaster... At the time of the impending cosmic disaster, when the barque of Re stops on the sandbank of Apep [as depicted in the

651 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 111.

652 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 336.

653 See below 5.5.

654 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.) 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 170. While only the six on the notional eastern architrave still exist, von Lieven also independently arrived at the conclusion that the other six were or would have been on the opposite architrave and that the reconstruction is secure.

655 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 35.

656 See above 3.5, n. 365.

seventh hour of Amduat], they have failed to turn over (*pnḫ*), and are tumbling down to the places of destruction... In the lowest register of the Seventh Hour of Amduat, the Datian Horus [who is adorned with a solar disk] sets the stars upright and gives to the hours their proper positions..."[657] (Plate 347) It is not until the descent into the very depths of the *ḏuat* has been completed in the sixth hour of the deep night with the *ḥa* of Re uniting with his corpse, Osiris, that marks the major turning point by causing the cycle to reverse and the ascent to the eastern akhet to begin in the seventh hour and the start of the second half of the night. To insure a successful outcome, offerings are made at this critical juncture. After the successful subduing of the forces of chaos and destruction, symbolized by the Apep serpent, the stars can and are set upright and the hours placed in their proper positions by the enthroned Horus, 'He of the *Ḏuat*' imbued with the power of sun god, represented by the solar disk on his head. (Plate 348)

Atum's position in the top register on the notional eastern side of the rear wall in the Central Hall is highly unusual, alerting us to the possibility for a special significance. (Plate 299) He is generally associated with the setting sun and appears at the western end of the Book of the Night, walking out from between Nut's arms as he leaves his creation. (Plate 379) Here it serves a dual purpose. Important as support for my proposed reconstruction for the placement of the hours of Amduat in the Central Hall, it places him next to the seventh hour of Amduat, where he plays an active role in subduing Apep [Apophis], a dominant theme of that hour.[658] On the opposite side of the decorated portion of the rear wall would have been the sixth hour of Amduat. As we have already seen at the end of the sixth hour, the deepest part of the night, Re unites with his corpse Osiris. "After the union of the Sungod (the *Ba*-soul of Osiris) with Osiris (the dead corpse of the Sungod) at the end of the sixth hour, the birth of the new light [symbolizing renewal] is in greatest danger."[659] It requires all the forces of creation including that of Atum, the creator, in order to overcome the menacing threat of chaos and collapse of the cosmos in the seventh hour. This new creation is represented as Tatenen rising out of the watery abyss of the Nun, nonexistence, over which Atum presides standing in the east of the top register. He looks out over the beginning of the unfolding of his creation, Tatenen, and its completion with the conception of Horus atop the rising land, the island directly below. Atum's unusual position in the east may allude to the successful outcome of the first sunrise and the birth of divine kingship to rule over the created cosmos. The cosmic and cultic significance of this scene is spotlighted by the depiction of the king kneeling, arms raised in adoration, 'seeing and praising the god four times', before the father-son constellation of Atum and the king himself! (Plate 301)

657 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 627.

658 Though rarely mentioned by name in the Book of Amduat, Atum is present in both the upper and middle registers of the seventh hour where Apophis is subdued. He also plays this role in the Book of Gates. "Since the dominating feature of the seventh hour of Amduat is the battle with Apep [Apophis], the presence of Atum here should be understood in conjunction with Scene 13 in the Book of Gates. There Atum, leaning on a staff, slays the serpent, Apep..." C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 478. For the location of Atum in the Amduat see: E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat (2007), 427.

659 T. Abt, E. Hornung, Knowledge for the Afterlife (2003), 92.

The king now turns around and faces out toward the entrance of the Central Hall for the recitation of the second half of the Litany of Re, as the final part of the ritual sequence for the seventh hour which completes the ritual shield of protection necessary in the deep night, *wšɜw*.[660] Recall that the Litany of Re is depicted on the architraves surrounding the island in the Central Hall, forming a powerful magical ring of protection around the newly risen land, Tatenen, the beginning of the unfolding of creation and its completion with the conception of Horus atop the rising land. Its link to the seventh hour is through the crucial role that the recitation plays in subduing the menacing threat of chaos, symbolized by the Apep serpent. (Plate 347) The king as sun priest calls into existence the seventy six manifestations of the sun god. Its ritual use and purpose are apparent from the composition's title:

"Beginning of the Book of Adoring Re in the West ,
adoring (*dwɜ*) the United One (*dmḏ*) in the West.
One recites this book.
These images are executed in registers upon the wall,
in the deep night (*wšɜ*) [architraves of the Central Hall].
It means Re triumphs over his enemies in the West.
It is effective for a man on earth,
it is effective for him after he moors."[661]

Appropriately, following the rites for awakening Osiris where the king caused the *ɓa* of Re to descend upon his corpse Osiris in the sixth hour, the first manifestation of Re depicted in the second half of the litany whose name is to be recited in the seventh hour is the united Re-Osiris, *dbɜ-dmḏ*. The divine manifestations that comprise the second half of the Litany of Re are all located on the notional eastern architraves above the island. Their location ties them directly to the rites for the second half of the night. Further, the manifestations of Re who are responsible for the subduing of Apep figure prominently among this group especially Atum, the *ɓa* of Re, Isis, Horus and the Great Cat (a punishing aspect of Re-Atum when he combats Apep). However, as Hornung points out "it does not come to a real struggle at all. Rather Isis and Heka-semsu immediately set about 'bewitching' (*ḥkɜ*) the enemy, with Re himself taking part. Apophis [Apep] is paralyzed by the magic power of their spells and robbed him of his strength (*pḥtj*)..."[662] Notable is the magical ritual nature of this encounter and how well it fits into the rites performed in the Osireion.

By looking to the Late Period, Manassa has been able to clarify the link. "The 'Book of Felling Apep', known from P. Bremner-Rhind (pap. BM 10188), is one of the most famous funerary liturgies of the Late Period. Parts of the composition are attested as early as the New Kingdom, but the text was

660 The figures of the second half of the Litany of Re emanate out from the title scene on the wall directly above the entrance doorway of the Central Hall, mirroring the arrangement in the nearby temple of Ramesses II. See now: S. Iskander, O. Goelet, The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos Volume I, Wall Scenes, pt. 2 (2015). That the recitation of the Litany of Re is interrupted and appears to have been recited sequentially in two halves, rather than a "continuous recitation" regains its unity by the fact that both halves are to be recited during the period *wɜšw*, the deep night, rather than viewed from its subdivisions of four hours.

661 C. Manassa, "Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books" in Archiv fur Religionsgeschichte 14 (2013), 58-59.

662 J. Assmann, Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom (1995), 36, quoting E. Hornung, Das Amduat Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes II (1963), 139f.

particularly relevant for Late Period temple ritual. The destruction of Apep so thoroughly described in the 'Book of Felling Apep' appears many times in the Underworld Books, but the depiction in the Seventh Hour of Amduat is specifically applicable to temple ritual, since the first lines to the middle register affirm the use of the text both on earth and in the Underworld. It is hardly surprising, then, that numerous parallels exist between the 'Ritual of Repelling Apep', used in temples, and the scenes of the Underworld Books. Consequently, the 'magical spells' recited by Isis and the Heka-semsu in the seventh hour of the night are probably the words recorded in the papyrus copies of the 'Ritual of Repelling Apep'. The gods present in the middle register all appear in the 'Ritual of Repelling Apep'... The relationship between cosmologies and the destruction of Apep further explains the direct juxtaposition of a detailed creation myth with ritual statements against Apep in the 'Book of Knowing the Manifestations of Re who fell Apep', again attested in P. Bremner-Rhind. This composition, a section of the 'Book of Felling Apep', begins with a speech by Re, describing the process of creation, famous for its repetitive use of *ḫpr*. After Re [Atum] creates Shu and Tefnut, he fashions the remaining members of the Ennead [who are depicted at both the start and the end of the deep night, *wšɜw*], and these newly created deities [who form part of the seventy six manifestations of Re in the Litany of Re] defeat Apep through magical and physical means... The Litany of Re is similarly a ritual book for knowing the sun god in all his names, and these seventy-four [seventy-six] forms of the sun god are parts of the *ḫpr-ḫprw* 'manifesting of manifestations' which Re performs in his battle with Apep. The 'Book of Knowing the Manifestations of Re who fell Apep' does not list the manifestations, but rather describes the process by which the solar deity's different forms are created and the effect they have upon the battle with Apep. Yet sufficient allusions exist between the 'Book of Knowing the Manifestations of Re who fell Apep' and the Litany of Re to suggest their complementary nature. The juxtaposition of the forms from the Litany of Re with the hours of the night from the Book of Amduat on the [Late Period] sarcophagi provide some of the strongest evidence in favor of a liturgical use of the Litany throughout the night, in the exact same fashion as the 'Book of Felling Apep' was recited at different hours of the day and night."[663]

With Apep paralyzed and robbed of his strength, Horus sets the stars upright and places the hours in their proper position at the close of the seventh hour of the night. In the eighth and final hour of the deep night, *wšɜw*, called the 'Mistress of *wšɜw*', the king moves back to the place of the first conception of Horus on the island in the birth house of Isis. The scenes and texts of the eighth hour of Amduat set the framework for the second conception. As in the fifth hour in which the conception of Horus as the mythic prototype took place, the Heliopolitan Ennead also opens and presides over the eighth hour. The Ennead's presence is obligatory, for it is the unfolding of the creation process that they represent which culminates with the conception of its tenth member, the living Horus. To establish his right to rule, the king must witness and participate in the climatic moment of the mysteries of the Heliopolitan creation process – his own conception on the first occasion. With it, the long line of dynastic ancestor kings of which Seti is the seventy-sixth ruler also are anointed as the legitimate heirs of Osiris after the Amarna Heresy. The concept of divine kingship and the mechanism for the transmission of royal power have been set in *ḏt* time and (re)-written in stone. With this second conception, Seti's witnessing

663 C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2005), 619-625. By its location in the Central Hall, it is recited in the hours of *wšɜw*.

and participation in his own conception confirms his legitimacy, bringing dynastic rule into the present in *nḥḥ* time.

The underlying number symbolism in the structure of the eighth hour of Amduat serves to underscore its focus on Horus and the lunar nature of divine kingship. "Here, for the first time since the first hour of the night, the upper and lower registers are arranged symmetrically. The order of creation has regained a concrete structure."[664] It is based on the number ten, the number sacred to Horus. There are a total of ten caverns, five in each of the upper and lower registers. (Plate 349) The design of the island in the birth house of Isis mirrors this arrangement with its two rows of five gigantic granite columns on each side of the island. (Plates 44, 292, 293) There are also ten deities including Horus in the solar barque in the middle register. "The hauling of the barque and the sandy nature of the caverns in the eighth hour of Amduat are reminiscent of the desert regions of Rosetau in the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat [where the conception of the mythic Horus took place]."[665] There are no more than four deities depicted in each of the ten caverns raising the interesting possibility that these figures may have been intended to decorate the ten columns on the island. "The western [notional south] face of the middle pillar in the southern [notional eastern] row still shows traces of the sculptor's sketch in red ink, which was preliminary to the cutting; it represents a kneeling male figure, in all probability the king."[666] On the other three sides of this column may well have been depictions of Osiris, Isis and Horus, corresponding to these same deities in the third cavern of the eighth hour of Amduat.[667] The figure of the king added to complete the column's decoration. This arrangement to which the king pays homage would also have had the benefit of placing the members of the Heliopolitan Ennead, who represent the creation process unfolding in the Central Hall directly on the island itself, complementing their appearance at the beginning of both the fifth and eighth hours, the start and finish of the four hours of *wšɜw*, the deep night, which symmetrically bracket the twin conceptions of Horus. (Plate 35)

In the five caverns in the top register of the eighth hour of Amduat, which include the Heliopolitan Ennead, there are a total of fifteen deities. (Plate 350) Fifteen is the number of days of the waxing cycle from the new moon, when Horus-Moon is conceived, to the full moon when the eye of Horus is restored and complete. It is on the fifteenth day that Osiris is said to enter the lunar disk to unite with the Udjat-eye which Horus gives to him, symbolizing that he is revivified and complete. In the five caverns in the lower register there are a total of nineteen deities depicted including the entity 'Arrows of Re'. (Plate 350) Nineteen is sacred to Osiris signifying his rejuvenation. It is also the maximum number of days from the full moon to the return of the visible crescent to the night sky. In the middle

664 A. Schweizer, The Sungod's Journey Through the Netherworld Reading the Ancient Egyptian Amduat (2010),152.

665 C. Manassa, "Sounds of the Netherworld" in B. Rothohler, A. Manisali (eds.), Mythos & Ritual, Festschrift fur Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag (2008), 112 n. 21.

666 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 17.

667 It is not surprising given the ancient Egyptians' attention to detail that Osiris, Isis and Horus form the central group of deities of the five caverns in the top register and would be directly aligned with the rectangular cutout in the floor of the island where the conception of Horus takes place if they were depicted on the center column corresponding to the same cavern. (Plate 351 and 43)

register, there are a total of thirty one deities depicted including the ten in the solar barque.[668] Thirty one, a number encountered numerous times before, represents all possible combinations of lunar phases for a single monthly lunation.

There are other interesting aspects to the eighth hour that are worth noting. In both the first cavern in the top register and the first (sixth) cavern of the lower register, it is said of the inhabitants of the cavern:

> "They are like this [sitting] on their clothing,
> as the mystery [*sšt3*] of Horus, the heir of Osiris...."[669]

'As the mystery of Horus, the heir of Osiris' could be interpreted on one level as a subtle allusion to their participation in his posthumous conception here in the birth house of Isis.

It is also highly significant that the four manifestations (*ḥꜣs*) of the ram of Tatenen, who wear the diadems of Re, are depicted in the central (middle) register of the eighth hour. (Plate 352) The number four denotes materiality as defined by the four cardinal directions and thus allude not so subtly to the island in the Central Hall, which is the concrete symbol of Tatenen, the rising land on the first occasion. The text above the four rams:

> "Secret image of Tatenen,
> first manifestation [*ḫprw*] of the rams who are in the earth,
> where Horus hid the gods.
> They are like this in the Netherworld:
> Their clothing is before them as images of the god himself...
> They receive the diadems of Re,
> whilst the *Ba*-soul of Tatenen rests in the earth."[670]

The secret image in the earth where Horus hid the gods is in all probability a reference to the *tꜣṯnnt-pr* i.e. what is hidden inside the rising land which is discussed in the next section.

According to Manassa: "Confirmation of the creative forces at work within the eighth hour of Amduat appears in a Late Period text added to the middle register of the hour, specifically related to the four rams of Tatenen at the end of the register. The final line of the annotation describing these rams states:

> As soon as they receive the solar crowns,
> he rests in Tatenen, in the earth.

668 Ten is the number sacred to Horus and Horus-Moon. Twenty one is the sum of the six parts of the Udjat-eye. I + 2 + 3 = 6, the number of pieces of the Udjat-eye. 4 + 5 + 6 = 15, the number of days from the new moon to the full moon, when it is complete.

669 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 252, 266-267.

670 Ibid., 264-265.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The Late Period theologians expanded on the reception of regalia and the setting sun within Tatenen, creating a short text that may be appropriately termed the 'Amduat Cosmogony'. The text combines the creative forces of Tatenen, the Ogdoad, Atum, Re, and Ptah in a powerful expression of rebirth through sexual imagery and divine transformation.

> The Osiris N has received the solar regalia, so that he might rise as Horakhti.
> He is Tatenen, bull of bulls, great of sexual pleasure,
> who created the Ogdoad in the palms of his hands.
> He has repeated births as Atum.
> He is Re who has become Ptah.
> The arms of Atum receive him as the secret,
> underworldly image of Tatenen.
> [Sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (British Museum EA 10)]

The Late Period Amduat Cosmogony, with its manifold allusions to creation theologies,[671] affirms the interpretation of the more subtle New Kingdom text. The Amduat Cosmogony informs us that the creator deity Tatenen in his various manifestations – including solar forms – and the sexually regenerated Re-Osiris are two aspects of a single divine entity that both creates and recreates the universe through sexual means."[672] The creative powers of Tatenen and Atum were expressed in sexual terms in the earlier 21st Dynasty papyrus of Gatseshen, BD 181d:

> "Osiris Gatseshen is Dawned as the Awesome One...
> her vulva is Tatenen [i.e. the place of birth]...
> her clitoris is the Sacred One in Kheraha [Atum][673]
> (She) is wholly a God, for her members are Gods.
> Her members guide her when she enters [the Council of Osiris];
> her members direct her when she goes forth."[674]

The "Amduat cosmogony" may well have had even an earlier origin in the texts of the Osireion, especially those from the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, which also have combined the Heliopolitan, Memphite and Hermopolitan creation theologies.

671 E.g. Heliopolitan (Re-Horakhti and Atum), Memphite (Ptah and Tatenen), and Hermopolitan (Ogdoad).

672 C. Manassa, "Sounds of the Netherworld" in B. Rothohler, A. Manisali (eds.), Mythos & Ritual, Festschrift fur Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag (2008), 132-134.

673 S. el-Kholi, "The Lost Colossus of the Mate of the Sphinx" in Z. Hawass, L. Brock (eds.), Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century II (2003), 357. The principal god of Kheraha was Atum but in the special form depicted "as an ifw-ape who shoots with his arrow, a form which is connected with the bow (arc) of the sun."

674 T. G. Allen, Book of the Dead (1974), 195.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

With the stage now set, the king approaches the sacred bier of his father, Osiris on the island in the birth house of Isis for a second time. Again he kneels down before it, paying homage to what he is about to witness. He burns incense as he is depicted doing in the later version of this same scene in the third western Osiris chapel at Dendera. [675] (Plate 433) The incense brings into being the mysteries of his own conception on the first occasion. With it, the long line of dynastic ancestor kings of which Seti is the seventy-sixth ruler also are anointed as the legitimate heirs of Osiris after the Amarna Heresy. [676] The conception of divine kingship and the mechanism for the transmission of royal power have been set in *ḏt* time and (re)-written in stone as was commanded by Ptah-Tatenen upon the great throne in the opening declaration (BD 183) in the entranceway to the Central Hall. [677] With this second conception, Seti's own legitimacy is confirmed, bringing dynastic rule into the present in *nḥḥ* time. [678] All of which occurs on the night of the Blacked-out moon on I *prt* 1, as part of the annual celebration of the coronation rites on Second New Year's Day.

While a focus of this study has been on the lunar aspect of divine kingship to help balance the better known solar aspects, it is important to recognize that the conception of Horus in stellar terms is also occurring here. It completes the ancient Egyptian concept of divine kingship which ruled over the entire created cosmos – the sky (day and night), the earth and the *ḏuat.* "Krauss has noted that Sothis-Isis and the Egyptian constellation *sꜣḥ*-Orion comprised an astral version of Osiris and Isis, with Sothis functioning as the celestial counterpart of Isis." [679] The conception of Horus has been succinctly described already in the Pyramid Texts (PT 593, variant of PT 366):

> "Your sister Isis comes to you [Osiris],
> rejoicing because of love for you.
> You have placed her on your phallus,

675 In Room 11 in the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, the knees of the kneeling king can be seen in both of the conception scenes on the side walls. (Plate 426) For the first conception of the mythic Horus see the beginning of 5.6 above.

676 These anointed ancestor kings are all listed in the main temple, his Mansion of Millions of Years. See above 1.4.

677 See above 5.3 for the detailed analysis of BD 183.

678 The first conception of Horus was necessary so that Horus as Avenger/Protector of his Father could awaken his father Osiris from the slumber of death with the sweet breath of life by bringing the north wind from Atum to his nostrils. It is an event set in *ḏt* time, which I have termed the mythic prototype. Now rejuvenated, Osiris can and does conceive his son Horus, as the legitimate heir and rightful ruler of the Two Lands. This second conception establishes the pattern of kingship which is repeated over and over in *nḥḥ* time. It establishes the long line of ancestor kings, the legitimate dynastic rulers of whom Seti, the living Horus, is the seventy-sixth king of Upper and Lower Egypt. This symbolizes and is the vindication of Osiris, who in return is granted dominion over the West. Recall that this ritual sequence is depicted in the three scenes in Room 11 of the Osiris Complex, which is the innermost and most sacred chapel. (Plate 429) The number symbolism encoded in its architectural design attests to its significance. This chamber where the twin conception of Horus occurs, according to Petrie's measurements is ten royal cubits in length. Ten is the number sacred to Horus, the tenth member and fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process. It represents the start of the new cycle of dynastic rule over the Two Lands. Room 11 is an architectural outgrowth and extension of the Inner (Second) Osiris Hall of the Osiris Complex of nineteen royal cubits in length. Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris and symbolizes the god's rejuvenation and rebirth as his reincarnation as his son, Horus. One god in two persons, the god of divine kingship ruling over both worlds of the living and the afterlife. See A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902, reprint 1989), 19 for Petrie's measurements.

679 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 22-23.

that your seed might go forth in her.
She being [*spd.t(j)*] prepared? [ready] as Sothis [*spdt*] [680]
Horus-Soped [*ḥr spd*] having gone forth from you,
as [*ḥr jmj špdt*] Horus who is in Sothis [in her womb];
you [Osiris] have power through him
in his name of '*Ꜣḫ* who is in the *ḏndrw*-barque. [681]
Horus has protected you
in his name of 'Horus the son who protects his father'. " [682]

The conception ends the eighth hour, the deep night, and begins the new, signaled by the start of the ninth hour, when the sun god leaves lower *ḏuat*. In the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars, first attested in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, it states:

"That the order comes that he [sun god] withdraw toward mankind in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*.
It happens that he orders his withdrawal towards mankind from the *ḏuat* in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*.

It is the ninth hour of the night. That is what it (the text) means....

The ninth hour would then be the one in which the turn toward the later rising is begun." [683] It marks the movement out from *wšɜw*, the deep night, and the Central Hall towards the eastern akhet, the Antechamber, for the sunrise and a major shift in the focus of the rituals.

680 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 25. "The compound 'Isis-Sothis' is common and we offer the suggestion that *špdt* was in origin a nisbe of *spd* referring to Isis as 'the one of *spd*'. That *spd* and *spdt* 'Sothis' are both identified with Sirius is one of the rare certainties in Egyptian astronomy."

681 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997),1238. "*ḏndrw* is a portable barque on a sled, mainly connected with Sokar-Osiris... Horus can also be in the boat, perhaps in connection with the funeral ritual for his father and he is called *ɜḫ*." Better still its connection with the conception of Horus places it in the context of the night of the Blacked-out moon in particular on I *prt* 1.

682 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 22 and R. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (1969), 244.

683 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 50-51, Text J on their Plate 45.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.7 THE HIDDEN CHAMBER OF CREATION AND ITS SECRETS

The Second Transverse Hall, located behind the Central Hall by architectural engineering necessity, was most likely the sanctuary that the Egyptians referred to as the *tꜣ(ṯ)nnt/tꜣnnt-pr*. It was the first chamber in the Osireion to be decorated during the reign of Seti I. Its decoration program represents creation as it is unfolding inside the island in the Central Hall, Tatenen, *tꜣṯnn/tꜣtnn*, father of the gods, the rising land emerging out of the dark watery abyss of the Nun on the first occasion. A text in the four-columned annex of the 'pure' slaughterhouse in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, also decorated during the reign of Seti I, lists a festival of the Tanenet-sanctuary among the many festivals that were to be celebrated:

> "Words spoken by the king of Southern and Northern Egypt,
> [Menmaatre], Son of Re, [Seti Merenptah],
> to his father[s] Osiris, and Geb, in Abydos,
> Kamutef, Sokar-Henu, Nefertum, [and …...], Lord of the Sacred Territory,
> and the Concave of Gods which is in the Temple of Menmaatre:
>
> A pure offering for your *kas* upon earth,
> in the festivities which occur in my Temple,
> on every calendar-festival, by day [or by night(?)] at their proper dates:
> long-horned cattle, bull-calves, gathered in the slaughterhouse of pure entry;
> bulls for the (twin) workshops of the (divine) Presence,
> and bulls for […….....], offered in the broad hall;
> short-horned cattle slaughtered on the ground,
> oryxes, ibexes, gazelles, united as head-to-tail (sc. for quantity),
> ro-geese fattened up, offered ('necks wrung') upon your alters;
> fowl as burnt-offerings, incense upon the fire, fat of pigeons, and festal perfume
> in the columned forecourt of Amen-Re in his Opet Festival and the Valley Festival,
> and at the New-Moon feasts(s), Re-Atum-Khepri, as his oblation at New Year,
> and all his calendar and seasonal festivals, established in my Temple of Millions of Years,
> and every periplus of Ptah, Lord of Truth in the festivals of Ankh-tawy,
> and the Festival of Clothing of [Ptah] South-of-his-Wall,
> and in every festival of the Tanenet-sanctuary [*tꜣnnt-pr*];

> and every [...]ah-feast of the Lord of Abydos, and Wepwawet of Resnet,
> the Feast of Shentayet [*šnt3yt*] at Rosetaw;
> Henu-Sokar and the Neteryt-feast of Ptah-Sokar;
> and the Erecting of the Djed-Pillar in the Thinite Province." [684]

It would seem evident that festivals were already being celebrated during the reign of Seti I before the temple was completed. The 'pure' slaughterhouse and its annex were decorated by Seti as was the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, which can be equated with the Tanenet-sanctuary, *t3nnt-pr*, mentioned in this list of festivals.

There are only a few other places where there is a reference to the Tanenet-sanctuary in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and the Osireion. They occur in litanies for Osiris, Ptah, Sokar and a similar type of offering list. In the Antechamber of the Osireion, there are two in the litany of Osiris (BD 142). One is found in the lower register of the three registers which comprise the litany, as 'Osiris in the Tennet-sanctuary', *wsjr m ṯnnt-pr*. (Plate 222) The other with a variant spelling is in the middle register as the ninth manifestation, 'Osiris, Foremost of the tenen-sanctuary', *wsjr ḥntj tnn-pr*. (Plate 222) An abbreviated litany of Osiris for the rites of the new moon is found on the north (notional west) wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Mansion of Millions of Years. In it the ninth manifestation of fourteen is similarly 'Osiris, Foremost of Tatenen', *wsjr ḥntj t3ṯnn*. (Plate 439) In the Ptah-Sokar Room of the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar complex off the Second Hypostyle Hall, there is a lengthly invocation to the Memphite gods and sanctuaries. There are nine sections with a total of fifty-one invocations. The third one in the first section of fourteen is to "Khenti-Tanenet, *ḥntj tnn-pr*. [685] Words spoken for Khenti-Tanenet, *ḥntj ṯnnt-pr*; Ptah-Khenti-Tanenet [Ptah Foremost of the Tanenet-sanctuary], *ptḥ ḥntj ṯnnt-pr,* from the Lord of the Two Lands Seti Merenptah." [686] It is preceded by Ptah, who is South of his Wall and Nun. The August Djed-pillar, Ptah-Djed follows, highlighting their close association and importance at the head of the fifty one invocations. Ptah, Nun, the Tanenet-sanctuary (inside the 'Rising Land', Tatenen), and the Djed-pillar are all found in the Central Hall complex of the Osireion.. In the entry hall of the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar complex, there is a lengthy litany for Sokar. The ninth invocation is for "Sokar-Henu, alter: Recitation four times, for Sokar in the Tanenet-shrine, *skr m ṯnnt-pr*." [687] Interestingly, it too is surrounded by manifestations of Sokar that can be identified with the Central Hall complex in the Osireion. However, this should not be so surprising since it is the architectural equivalent of the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat, the Land of Sokar who is on his sand. They are: Sokar presiding over Rosetau; Sokar upon his desert; Sokar upon his sand; and Sokar in his places in Rosetau, which precede the *ṯnnt-pr* and Sokar presiding at the craftsmen's booth immediately

684 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions; Translations I (1993), 167-168. Translations of KRI I, 194:5- 195:2.

685 Editors of the AEB (2001), AEB 80.0787 on H. Schlogl, Der Gott Tatenen. Nach Texten und Bildern des neuen Reiches (1980). According to Schlogl, the deity *ḥntj-ṯnnt* first occurring in the Old Kingdom is a different god and the goddess Tjenenet is not related to Tatenen either.

686 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions; Translations I (1993), 149. Translation of KRI I, 174:4.

687 Ibid., 148. Translation of KRI I, 172:1

following it.[688] Perhaps this “craftsmen's booth” is a subtle allusion to the oval creation Cavern of Sokar at the depths of the fifth hour of Amduat.

In the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Mansion of Millions of Years “in Scene C, the scene extends to form the lintel decoration of the Entrance to the Gallery of Lists. The king stands with a burning censer [to invoke the presence of the god] before a Barque of Sokar which is contained in a shrine.... The speech accompanying Sokar is mostly destroyed but the Table of Offerings in front of the king is preserved. (Plate 440) It is entitled 'Performing a censing, making offering to Ptah-Sokar by the king'. The table is divided into six columns, in each of which offering is made to Sokar in a certain location...”[689] The six are Sokar: in the Mansion of Menmaatre; in the Sanctuary of Sokar, *stt*; in Rosetau; upon his desert lands, *ḥry ḫɜswt.f*; in Tatenen, *tɜtnn*; and in the booths of the West, *sḫw jmnt*. Here this place called Tatenen is clearly distinguished from the other five locations, suggesting that it is not located in Seti's Manson of Millions of Years, the Sanctuary of Sokar, Rosetau and his desert lands i.e. the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat, 'the Land of Sokar, who is upon his sand'. The ancient Egyptians could be quite literal at times and quite specific. Nowhere in the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat, which equate to the Sloping Passage and the Central Hall, is Tatenen or his sanctuary specifically mentioned. It is not until the sixth hour of Amduat, of which the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion is its architectural equivalent, does the name of Tatenen appear. Appropriately, he is depicted with Atum, who stand before Nun in the lower register at the very depths of the *ḏuat*.[690]

There are three representations of the god Tatenen in the Mansion of Millions of Years and their locations may have served a similar or the same function as the *tɜṯnnt-pr,* the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, but only within the context of specific rituals on certain occasions.[691] This could also explain why in the annex to the slaughterhouse, the text clearly states “in every festival of the *tɜnnt-pr*, Tanenet-sanctuary,”, rather than just the one on the night on I *prt* 1 to which the Second Transverse Hall is dedicated. There are two depictions of the god in the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar complex. “Tatenen seems to have had a special cult in [Seti's] temple. He is represented in the chapel of Nefertem in the temple in a tight-fitting garment and with a feather-crown [his standard crown of ram's horns twin plumes and solar disk].”[692] (Plate 445) Seti is depicted kneeling and making offerings before a shrine in which 'Tatenen in the Mansion of Menmaatre', *tɜṯnnt ḥr-jb ḥwt Mn-mɜʿt-Rʿ*, is enthroned. Behind him are 'Amen who is in his disk' and Osiris Wennefer.[693] In the Hall of this complex, the more interesting

688 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions; Translations I (1993), 147-148.

689 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 40.

690 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 208-209.

691 There may and most probably were representations of Tatenen and/or Ptah-Tanenen in the main Ptah chapel but much of it is destroyed.

692 M. Holmberg, The God Ptah (1946), 223.

693 A. Mariette, Abydos I (1869, reprint 1998), Salle V, Plate 40c.

and unusual representation is as a gigantic Djed-column, where “an attempt has been made to represent a fusion between Ptah, Sokar, Osiris and Tatenen. (Plate 444 center) In fact, we see the king in invocation before the Djed-object, crowned by a god's head with a wig and with feather crown consisting of two tall feathers, a sun disk and maat-feathers resting on a ram's horns; the two tall feathers , in turn, bear an earth mound with a resting falcon on it. The top figure, the falcon on the mound, is evidently Sokar; the god with the crown is Tatenen and the Djed is Osiris, who, in this temple, is sometimes represented as a Djed-object. The name on the pillar is:

'Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Tatenen who is in the temple of Seti I [*Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ*].'

This is an unusual combination, which I do not know of from any other quarter. The syncretism between Ptah, Sokar and Osiris does not play any great part in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.” [694] To Eaton's point that there were two separate festivals in the month of Khoiak, one for Sokar and one for Osiris during the early Nineteenth Dynasty. [695]

The third representation of the god Tatenen is a syncretism of Osiris and Tatenen, again in the form of a gigantic Djed-column, but here as a manifestation of the king. This is clear from the breastplate on the Djed-pillar which is inscribed with a rebus of the king's name *mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ* but adds *wsjr ʿnḫ*. [696] (Plate 443) Their close association is also reinforced by the inscription on the column:

wsjr ḫntj jmntjw tꜣtnn ḥr-jb ꜣbḏw
Osiris Foremost of the Westerners, Tatenen who reside in Abydos,
wnn-nfr(*w*) *m rn.f mꜣʿt* [*-ḫrw?*] *nsw-bjtj mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ*
Wennefer in his name of maat [justified?], the dual king Menmaatre.

This Djed-column engraved on the pilaster of the notional east wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall is adjacent to the scene of the king performing a censing before the barque of Sokar and making an invocation offering to Sokar in the six locations discussed above. It is tied directly to the barque scene by the inscription of the king's titulary on that side of the pilaster, where he is identified as the 'beloved of Sokar residing in the Mansion of Menmaatre'. (Plate 443) On the opposite side of the Second Hypostyle Hall in the same position on the notional west wall is the other gigantic Djed-column and the scene of the king performing a censing and invoking the fourteen forms in a litany to Osiris. This Djed-pillar is also a manifestation of the king as the breastplate clearly shows. (Plate 438) It is inscribed with a rebus of the king's name but here flanked by two *ḥa*-birds, the twin *ḥas* of Re wearing

694 M. Holmberg, The God Ptah (1946), 140.

695 K. Eaton, “The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak: The Evidence from Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Monuments at Abydos” SAK 35 (2006), 97-99.

696 The seated deity wearing the white crown and holding the ankh sign to the right side of the rebus of the king, could be read as either simply 'living' or the living Osiris. It is unclear which is meant or maybe both since the Djed-column on the pilaster is just outside the entrance to the chapel of the deified king Seti. See Plate 443.

the solar disk. Combined they symbolize the union of Re with Osiris manifesting as Menmaatre, the king and august Djed. [697] Again the Osirian and thus lunar aspect is emphasized in the inscription on the column:

> *wsjr ḫntj jmntjw wnn-nfr*(*w*) *nb ḏsr*
> Osiris Foremost of the Westerners, Wennefer Lord of the Sacred Land
> *ḏd špsj ḥr-jb ꜣbḏw nsw-bjtj nb tꜣwy*
> August Djed in the midst of Abydos the Dual King, Lord of the Two Lands.
> j*rt ḫt Mn-mꜣʿt-Rʿ mrj*
> The beloved Menmaatre performing the rites (lit. doing things).

The two are directly connected both through the king, i.e. divine kingship, as the supports of heaven and by the symbolism encoded in the numbers six and fourteen of the two litanies. The Djed-columns on the two pilasters reach from floor to ceiling, mirroring the function of the ten giant columns on the island in the Central Hall of the Osireion, which supported the massive ceiling. The number ten is sacred to Horus and divine kingship and thus symbolizes the king's crucial role in the support of the created cosmos, here literally by holding up the ceiling and separating the sky from the earth. The Djed-pillar on the notional western wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall is the 'August Djed in the midst of Abydos'. Recall that the moon is 'born' when it reappears low in the western horizon shortly after sunset on the day of first crescent visibility, after having been rejuvenated in the *ḏuat*. The scene on this notional western wall shows the king censing and reciting an abbreviated litany to Osiris in his fourteen forms. (Plate 439) The caption above the king reads:

> "*ʿnḫ nṯr nfr jrt ꜣḫw n jt.f wsjr*
> The living one, the young god who does effective things for his father Osiris
> *nb tꜣwy mn-mꜣʿt-rʿ nb ḫʿw stjj mr-n-ptḥ wnn-nfr mrj*
> Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre lord of appearances Sety Merneptah." [698]

On one level, doing effective things i.e. the actions of censing and reciting the fourteen names in the litany to Osiris-Moon can be interpreted as serving to ritually regenerate and thereby renew the fourteen visible phases of the new waning lunar cycle. "Englund showed that *ꜣḫ* was the power of a god [here the young god, the king], associated with the act of creation and the birth of light." [699] In this case it is the light of the visible phases of the moon. These rites, *jrt ꜣḫw*, [700] were to be performed when

697 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 10. Reminiscent of the vignette from the papyrus Ani of the twin *ḥa*-birds facing each and other perched on a shrine between two large Djed-pillars. "I am the twin souls which are within the Two Fledglings. Who is he? He is Osiris when he entered into Mendes. He found the soul of Re there and they embraced each other. Then his twin souls came into being."

698 Thanks again to Jim Allen for providing his translation. Private communication 6/20/15.

699 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 12.

700 Ibid., 13-14. "*ꜣḫw* is the creative force expressed by utterance, and eventually *ꜣḫw* were regarded as the spells themselves which had magical force...and were spoken and written down."

the moon is in the *ḏuat* on the night of the Blacked-out moon, the first day of the lunar month. Like the king as the 'August Djed' who supports the created cosmos by separating the sky from the earth, the king in reciting the litany to Osiris causes the moon to reappear rejuvenated in the night sky.

The ritual progression in the Second Hypostyle Hall moves from the west to the east, mirroring the appearance of the moon in the sky each night.[701] Next in this lunar ritual sequence, the moon god *jʿḥ* is depicted as a child, symbolizing the now visible young crescent moon, on the right door jamb of the entrance to the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Complex. *jʿḥ* is syncretized with Thoth, the regulator of time. (Plate 441) On the left door jamb, *jʿḥ* as a child is again depicted but now stands alone.[702] Benefiting from the recitation of the litany to Osiris by the living Horus, the king, on the night of the Blacked-out moon, the moon god has successfully returned to the night sky for which the First Crescent Festival is celebrated. Wallin noted that the "text sequence from the PT [532] places the regeneration of the deceased [Osiris] at the beginning of the lunar month.

> *jrw n k psḏntyw*
> The New Moon Festival is celebrated for you,
> *ḫʿ k n ꜣbd*
> so that you may appear at the First Crescent Festival." [703]

The final ritual in this lunar cycle in the Second Hypostyle Hall is the above mentioned scene of the King censing and making offerings to Sokar in his six places, named in the offering tableau next to the shrine with his henu-barque. (Plate 440) The key to its interpretation lies in the number six, symbolizing on one level the uniting of the six parts of the Udjat-eye, the left lunar eye of Horus. Recall that the Sixth Day Festival was celebrated for the filling of the eye of Horus. The importance placed on the number six is underscored by Sokar's henu-barque stand, a design which is unique to his processional barque.[704] Here it is decorated with a row of six djed-pillars, each surmounted by an ankh sign. The three rites for the Blacked-out moon, first crescent visibility, and the filling of the Udjat-eye

701 It was the successful reappearance of each of the fourteen phases of the waning lunar cycle in the night sky as a result of their ritual regeneration in the *ḏuat* on the night of the Blacked-out moon that appears to have held significance to the ancient Egyptians. Once the moon did appear in the sky, it moves from east to west like the sun and the stars.

702 K. Eaton "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.), The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 243.

703 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 74.

704 K. Eaton "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.), The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 242. In addition, the henu-barque's unusual but characteristic crescent-shaped hall may also have a subtle lunar underpinning. According to C. Graindorge, "Sokar" in D. Redford (ed.), The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 338 : "In the Old Kingdom, the festival of Sokar was already an annual event in the fourth month of the *ꜣḫt* [akhet], on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days." On the ideal calendar, where the day of the Blacked-out moon fell on the first day of the civil month, the moon clearly appeared in the night sky on the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days as a crescent moon. In the more southern latitudes, the crescent often appears as a "bowl-shape" in the sky mirroring the shape of the hall of the henu-barque. (Plate 442) Graindorge, Ibid., 337, also points out that "on the night preceding the procession of

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

704 continued:
this barque, the deceased wears an onion necklace to prepare for the solarization of Sokar-Osiris[-Moon?]. A luminous rebirth occurs on the morning of the twenty-sixth day in the month of Khoiak in the *ḥnw*-barge [henu-barque]..." Explicit references connecting Sokar to Osiris as Osiris-Moon and lunar festivals are extremely rare but do exist as far back as the Pyramid Texts . PT 610:

> "Awake for Horus! Stand up for [against] Seth!
> Raise yourself, you eldest son of Geb [Osiris] at whom the Two Enneads tremble!
> Stand up, O Herdsman, for whom the three-day festival is celebrated!
> May you appear for the monthly festival, may you be pure for the New Moon Festival.
> The Great Mooring-post calls out,
> because you are he who stands and will never tire in the midst of Abydos.
> O earth, hear this which the gods have said, which Horus said
> when he made a spirit of [akhify] his father as Ha, as Min, and as Sokar who presides over *pḏw-š*."

R. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (1969), 253.

PT 532 = Pepi I 480, not only ties Sokar to Osiris by name and to the lunar festivals celebrated at the beginning of the month, but also to the Djet-pillar and Abydos. All of which are found in the Second Hypostyle Hall of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and are directly connected to the three lunar rituals. Pepi I 480:

> "RECITATION.
>
> The Nightboat's djed-pillar [*ḏd*-pillar] has been released for its [Lord],
> the Nightboat's pillar has been released for the one who steers it.
>
> Isis has come, Nephthys has come –
> one of them from the west, one of them from the east,
> one of them as a screecher, one of them [as] a kite –
> and they have found Osiris after his brother Seth threw him down in Nedit,
> when Osiris Pepi said:
> 'You should go away from me,'
> and his identity of Sokar came into being....
>
> Awake for Horus! Stand up against Seth!
> So, raise yourself, Osiris Pepi,
> Geb's first son, at whom the Dual Ennead shake!
> The shrine will await you,
> the new-moon festival will be made for you,
> and you will appear at the first-of-the-month festival [first crescent festival]. A
> So, go forward to the lake and travel the Great Green.
>
> For you are [He Who Stands]
> and Does [Not] Become Weary in the midst of Abydos.
> You have become *akḫ* in Akhet and stable in Djedut.
> Your arm has been received by the *ɓas* of Heliopolis,
> your arm has been taken by the Sun.
> [Your head has been] raised [by the Dual Ennead,
> and they have put you], Osiris Pepi,
> at the fore of the [Dual] Shrines [of the *ɓas* of Heliopolis.
>
> Be Alive]! Be Alive! Raise yourself!"

J. P. Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (2005), 164-165.

A *ꜣbd* means "month" and is also the name of the second day of the lunar month, " new crescent day". "Moreover, the tutelary deity of the second lunar day is *ḥr nḏ jt.f*, 'Horus, avenger [protector] of his father'. This suggests some connection with Osiris." R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 11, 13, 59.

sixth day can be equated with the waxing phase of the lunar cycle. "... in the Medinet Habu calendar the sixth day festival judged on the basis of the length of the offering list, ranks with the festival of the first of the lunar month as the most important of all the regular monthly feasts, the so-called 'Feasts of the Sky'."[704] In that same temple, the rites for the New Moon Festival were performed by Ramesses III in the first court. (Plate 166) The king used the doors to the east and west of the Window of Appearances opening to the first court during the Feast of the Valley, which was celebrated at the time of the Blacked-out moon in the second month of akhet. [705]

With regard to the illusive *ṯnnt-pr*, "elsewhere, the destination of the [night time] journey is specified as the Tjenenet shrine [*ṯnnt-pr*] which the deceased [here the king as ritualist] hopes to reach in the suite [retinue] of Horus [CT 789]. This shrine was, among other things, regarded as the abode of Osiris."[706] In the Book of the Dead Chapter 17, which it should be emphasized is not included in the Osireion version of BD 17, the *ṯnnt-pr* is said to be the tomb of Osiris. [707] What lies in this so-called "tomb" of Osiris, that is to say the Second Transverse Hall, is not the mummified eternal body of Osiris in his sarcophagus. It was in Djer's tomb in nearby Peqer, *pqr*, which Amelineau discovered in 1898. (Plate 436) The *tꜣṯnnt-pr* contained the great regenerative force that is this *nṯr*, Osiris, i.e. inside Tatenen where creation is unfolding on the first occasion. At the very depths of the Underworld where the lower *ḏuat* merges with the abyss of the Nun, called the Place of Destruction, lies the dismembered and putrefying corpse, which is at the same time the corpse of Osiris and of Re.[708] Clearly these three chests represent a special form of the mysterious Re Osiris conjunction which is also expressed through the scenes of the awakening of Osiris and the unfolding of the first flight of the Behdetite on *zp tpj*, depicted on the ceiling above the chests. The rituals that were to be performed in this chamber, as discussed above, unlocked this mysterious union. [709] They set creation in motion. Its unfolding is depicted on the walls and bipartite ceiling of the innermost and most sacred chamber in the Osireion. It "appears to have contained an extensive collection of mythological and cosmographic texts and representations. Still extant on the ceiling of the chamber are the earliest surviving copies of the Book

704 G. Hughes, "The Sixth Day of the Lunar Month and the Demotic Word for 'Cult Guild'" MDAIK 16 (1958), 158-159. See also H. Nelson, U. Holscher, Work in Western Thebes 1931-33, 17-18 and 51. For the list for the Sixth Day Feast see Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu III (1934), plate 148, List 12.

705 W. Murnane, United With Eternity (1980), 25.

706 H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996), 266.

707 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 31 and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 10.

708 Editors of AEB, AEB 1999.0830 on L. Gestermann, "Konigliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, II: Osiris-graber des Mittleren Reiches in koniglichen Kontext: Amduat, 6 Stunde (1999), 97-110. She points out that in the sixth hour of Amduat (of which the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion is its architectural equivalent), the encounter of the sun god with the "two divine burials that form the central scenes of the sixth hour... depict the sun god visiting Osiris in his tomb to regenerate him, not the reunification of the sun god with his corpse." However, while she is clearly correct to highlight that the sun god comes to visit Osiris and regenerate him, it is not in my opinion an either/or situation but rather both, because the corpse/body of Re is Osiris as is clearly indicated in a passage from the Book of the Earth. See: J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 20-22.

709 See above 5.6.

of the Night and Book of Nut [Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars], as well as instructions for the assembly and use of a shadow clock [and the Book of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques]. Unfortunately, the adjacent wall texts have fared considerably worse, as centuries of repeated exposure to groundwater during the high Nile have all but effaced the plaster from the porous limestone. The wall inscriptions have been preserved only on the west [notional south] side, where a handful of badly damaged columns, written entirely in cryptographic script, are now extant, along with a small part of the associated vignette... (Plate 359) Piankoff later identified the partially preserved vignette as the earliest example of a scene from the Book of the Earth, citing parallels from the sarcophagus chambers of Ramesses VI and IX."[710] The compositions housed in the *tꜣ-ṯnnt-pr* are masterpieces. This material is so rich and their interaction so complex that they require their own comprehensive study. They will only be briefly commented on here.

"The Book of the Earth represents a radical departure from both the twelve-hour divisions of the Amduat and Book of Gates, and the six-fold division of the Book of Caverns. In addition, the tripartite register system common to the earlier compositions was also frequently abandoned. Despite these obvious formal differences, the Book of the Earth has also been suggested to exhibit certain iconographic and thematic affinities with the other Underworld Books, in particular the Book of Caverns. [Recall that the Book of Caverns also forms part of the third ritual cycle in the Osireion.] In addition, the detailed focus on the journey of the sun god through the body of Aker has been suggested [by Hornung] to represent an expanded version of the eleventh scene from the Book of Gates, while the 'Birth of the Hours' may relate to representations of the clepsydra water-clock, an image to which the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity also alludes. With respect to the internal structure and ordering of the scenes, the texts themselves offer very little insight, since the individual narrative sections do no refer back to one another or to the composition as a whole. There are no obvious instructions for the organization of the texts found in the Amduat. In addition, only a handful of sources include the same collections of text or image, although many individual elements exist in multiple compilations. The overall impression is that of a collection of vignettes and texts affiliated only loosely, through their illustrations of discreet episodes from the sun god's nocturnal sojourn within the earth. It would appear that any of these scenes could, in principal, have been chosen to decorate the walls of the royal sarcophagus chamber as the 'terrestrial' counterpart to the celestial representations, which adorned the ceiling."[711]

This lack of order and rigidity in the structure of the composition suggests that it was by design to express the very nature of what it was to represent, a state of disorder before the created cosmos became fully organized. Its nonlinear structure implies that it exists in *ḏt* time from which the more ordered *nḥḥ* time, to which we are accustomed, will unfold. By its location, it lies at the heart and the very beginning of the unfolding of creation deep deep inside the creative urge of Tatenen. It represents a "place and time" before sky, earth and even the *ḏuat* have yet to come into being. It forms the earliest

710 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 93-94.

711 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 11-12.

stage of creation. In essence, the individual scenes and associated texts are the building blocks and source of the soon to be created cosmos. But they have not yet been assembled into something that would be recognizable to us in *nḥḥ* time. In the Ramesside royal tombs, each king's microcosm, formed by his sarcophagus chamber,[712] called for a different formulation to meet that king's specific needs, which would account for the wide variance in the assembled Books of the Earth. In a sense, it is not unlike the many variations found in the individual copies of the Book of the Going Forth by Day. The assemblage of scenes and texts in the Second Transverse Hall may well have been the most comprehensive compilation, which would have been necessary to accomplish the task of re-ordering the cosmos on the first occasion, a key goal of Seti's program of *wḥm mswt* to restore *mɜꜥt* following the enormously disruptive Amarna Heresy.

Roberson's careful analysis of the scant traces of the Books of the Earth in the Osireion provides a surprising amount of information on what must have formed the decoration of the two long side walls of the final Transverse Hall. He identified five separate texts and a vignette. (Plate 360) 'The Cenotaph caption [to the vignette], which consists of two horizontal rows within the single, preserved mound, provides the expected cryptic precursor to the later captions of Ramesses VI..." [713] "Unfortunately, the preserved sections of Texts 1 and 2 have yet to reveal specific parallels, either from the Book of the Earth, or the broader Underworld corpus. Certain words and phrases appear to be consistent with the genre but it remains unclear whether these two passages are unique to Seti's Cenotaph, or simply remain unidentified due to their fragmentary context.... (Plates 360, 359) Unlike the preceding two passages, we may link Text 3 conclusively with an annotation from the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI... In the version of Ramesses VI, the preceding passage annotates a vignette depicting the solar barque atop the back of the double-headed sphinx Aker. The presence of this same text in the Cenotaph suggests that a similar representation might originally have appeared there as well. In this regard, it might be significant that Ramesses VI placed his Aker vignette and text above and to the left of the mound scene. Cenotaph Text 3 also appears above and to the left of the mound scene, perhaps reflecting a similar arrangement. The preserved portion of Cenotaph Text 4 consists of twenty retrograde columns with an indeterminable number of lines lost from the beginning of the inscription... The traces do not correspond with any of the extant Book of the Earth passages from the tomb of Ramesses VI. However, a careful reading of the highly fragmentary text reveals a compelling link to an otherwise unparalleled solar litany from the tomb of Ramesses IX... As in the Cenotaph, the texts in question appears directly in front of Ramesses IX's version of the 'mound scene'. It is a 'speech of Re' (*ḏdw Rꜥ*), which assumes the form of a litany in which the sun god describes his passage through the Underworld. The fifth and final preserved Cenotaph Text was placed to the right of Text 4, directly beneath the vignette. (Plates 360, 359) A considerable number of signs have been preserved in the first six columns, enabling the confident identification of this text with a second parallel from the tomb of Ramesses IX. This later parallel was positioned similarly, i.e., directly behind the twenty-four proclamations of the sun god (= Cenotaph Text 4), and immediately beneath the 'mound scene'. A line-

712 See: J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 55-59, and 293-294 for the symbolic significance of the Ramesside Sarcophagus Chamber; "The Rebirth of the Sun Mortuary Art and Architecture in the Royal Tombs of the New Kingdom" Expedition Vol. 50, No. 2 (2008), 23-25.

713 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 96.

by-line comparison of the signs from the earlier and later versions confirms their relationship.... Cenotaph Text 5 appears to represent a later version of the cryptic annotation to the standing mummies in the upright sarcophagi attested first on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamun. At some point between that king's death and the reign of Seti I, the text and vignette would have been altered to include male rather than female deities, at the same time replacing the 'light of the solar disc' with the 'light of Re'.[714] This new recension was then incorporated in the sarcophagus hall [Second Transverse Hall] of Seti's Cenotaph, on the west [notional south] wall, together with the earliest version of the 'mound scene', the twenty-four proclamations of the sun god's litany (Cenotaph Text 4), and a passage describing Re's encounter with Aker (Cenotaph Text 3), in addition to at least two as yet unidentified Underworld texts. The mound scene and Text 3 next appeared in the collection of the Book of the Earth scenes from the sarcophagus hall of Ramesses VI, while Texts 4 and 5 resurface later in the burial chamber of Ramesses IX.... The identification of the enigmatic Cenotaph Texts presented here demonstrates clearly that manipulation of the Book of the Earth scenes, including integration with related underworld compositions, was already taking place by the reign of Seti I. Seti's composition shares scenes and texts with the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI and the related compilation of Ramesses IX, but not all features found in the Cenotaph are common to both of the later recensions. This point is significant, because it suggests that the so-called 'Book" of the Earth from the tomb of Ramesses VI was itself a compilation, not unlike the collections of 'miscellaneous' scenes from the sarcophagus halls of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX. Furthermore, the Cenotaph Texts demonstrate that multiple sections of this composition can now be traced back to the earliest years of the Ramessid era or even further, in the case of Text 5, to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty."[715]

Roberson's analysis of the few remaining traces of only five texts and a single vignette, where two of the underworld texts still remain to be identified, demonstrates the potential scope for this vast composition or as Text 5 from the Solar-Osirian Unity seems to clearly indicate integrated compositions whose only discernible structure is that it is bipartite. These few in situ fragments are located on the notional southern wall that is 27.15 meters long (89 linear feet) and 2.5 m high (8 feet). The bipartite characteristic of the Book of the Earth suggests that the opposite notional north wall was also inscribed with the scenes and texts from this same integrated group of compositions.[716] By way of comparison, each side of the pitched ceiling has the same surface area as the wall beneath it. The two halves of the ceiling house the Book of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, the entire Book of the Night, the so-called Book of Nut (Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars), the "Dramatic Texts" and the texts for the assembly and use of the Shadow Clock. As was suggested, this

714 "It is possible that this shift might reflect some aspect of the censure of Amarna theology, which reached a peak during the so-called 'restoration' [*wḥm mswt*] of Seti I, whose Cenotaph first incorporated the revised version of the text." J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007) , 106.

715 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007) , 98-107.

716 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 28-29. "If other organizational criteria of the primary corpus also governed this earliest Book of the Earth then we should expect a bipartite composition, in which additional scenes and texts appeared originally on the opposite wall face, whose decoration has now been lost."

assemblage of scenes and texts on the side walls of the Second Transverse Hall may well have been by far the largest and most comprehensive of the known compilations, which would have been necessary to accomplish the task of re-ordering the cosmos on the first occasion, a key goal of Seti's program of *wḥm mswt* to restore *mɜʿt* following the disruptive Amarna Heresy.

This immense compilation of creation texts on the side walls turns the cavernous Second Transverse Hall into a gigantic regeneration chamber, out of which unfolds a more developed state in the creation of the cosmos, at least from the perspective of those who live in cyclical *nḥḥ* time. These are the texts that are inscribed above on the bipartite ceiling. They are the masterful compositions of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars, the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, and the Book of the Night, But they are still deep inside the *ḏuat*, indicated not only by their location but also by the absence of the Book of the Day, a "later" stage of creation yet to unfold.

Examining the eighty vignettes and associated texts of the Books of the Earth compiled by Roberson,[717] their main focus becomes quite clear. In the context of the Osireion, as part of Seti's program of *wḥm mswt* for the re-formation of the created cosmos in order to restore *mɜʿt*, all the scenes and texts on one level allude to their occurrence on the first occasion. Following Roberson's numbering scheme, the Aker scenes form eight groups, vignettes 1-10, and concern the regeneration of the sun god primarily through his descent into the Nun. Vignette 13 depicts the birth of the corpse of Osiris followed by the birth of Horus in scenes 14-15. Vignettes 16-18 detail the birth of Khepri, whereas scenes 19-20 depict the birth of the hours. Vignettes 22-23 are modifications of the 'Schlussbild' of the Book of the Caverns of the impending sunrise. Scene 24 shows the birth of/from the corpses of Tatenen and Nun. Vignettes 25-27 detail the creation of the solar disk, while scenes 28-29 depict the crocodile who guards the corpse and gives birth to the sun god. Figures 30-33 concern the necessary destruction and annihilation of the damned, the enemies of Re and Osiris. Vignette 36, taken from the sixth hour Amduat, is the awakening of the flesh of Osiris/Khepri. [718] Scene 38 depicts the goddesses of the hours and their creation. Vignettes 41-42 relate to the coming into being of the head and neck of Re and the heart and eyes of Horus. Scene 45 concerns the inundation of Nun. Figures 48-53 form the mound [of creation] scenes. Vignette 56 depicts the 'Mysterious Lady' who also figures prominently in the fifth division of the Book of the Caverns. Scenes 59-62 are devoted to the praising of the *ɓa* of Re, the praising of the Great God, and praising the ram twice. And so on and so forth. From these vignettes, the overriding concern should be clear. They are the elements of creation, the *nṯrw*, who come into existence and their regeneration, including the necessary destruction of the enemies who would thwart the unfolding of creation. The corpus takes on meaning if they are viewed as the divine building blocks from which the created cosmos will emerge.

What may have been inscribed on the two end walls of the Second Transverse Hall is, of course, pure conjecture. Not a single trace remains. There is at least one reasonable possibility. In the building blocks of creation in the Books of the Earth there is no mention of mankind or directly of the

717 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012). The vignettes are in Chapter 5 and the texts in Chapter 6.

718 See above n. 708.

divine nature of the institution of Egyptian kingship. The Book of the Heavenly Cow, is a composition "first attested on the outermost of the four gilded shrines (Shrine I) of Tutankhamen, although in incomplete form. Three more or less complete versions occur in the tombs of Seti I, Ramesses II and Ramesses III, each in a subsidiary room of the sarcophagus chamber reserved exclusively for this book. Ramesses VI included a brief excerpt in the left niche of the third corridor of his tomb, which has no subsidiary rooms..."[719] The fact that the first "complete" version is in Seti's own tomb,[720] an excerpt exists on the *ɓa* theology in the tomb of Ramesses VI, for which the Osireion served as the template, and the nature of the content of the composition, all point to its probable use in the Osireion, specifically in the Second Transverse Hall, the *tɜṯnnt-pr*. "The central motif of the book is the rebellion of humankind against an aged sun god, Re, and its punishment by the fiery 'eye' of the god, the goddess Hathor. This 'fall' occasioned a total reordering of the world...", [721] a composition most appropriate for inclusion in Seti's own reordering of the world, his state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* to re-establish *mɜꜥt* after the Amarna Hersey. Furthermore, Spalinger points out "that the early domination of royal ideology within Pharaonic civilization, so typical of the Horus-Seth myth, is present in this composition."[722] "The pharaoh, physical representative of the gods on earth, partakes in the organizing [after the departure of the sun god]: mortal, he nonetheless endures like the sun god through his integration in the cosmos, rendered visually with the vignette of the king supporting the pillar of heaven. From the onset of the narrative, the royal character of the sun god's office is emphasized: he is called majesty (*ḥm*) and king of Upper and Lower Egypt (*nswt-bjtj*), his name in the latter case being written within a cartouche. In this way, the assimilation of the king with the sun god, a major theme in the so-called 'Litany of the Sun', [located on the architraves of the Central Hall in the Osireion] is further reinforced." [723]

The compositions on the bipartite ceiling of the *tɜṯnnt-pr* which appear to unfold out from the gigantic regeneration chamber below form a unit representing aspects of cyclical *nḥḥ* time, arising out of *ḏt* time and a "more developed" state in the creation of the cosmos. They concern the actions and movements of the sun god, the moon, and the stars in the regenerative body of the goddess Nut.

The Book of the Night is on the notional northern half of the ceiling, as are the other two copies of the Book of the Night inscribed on the ceilings of the Entrance Passage (reconstructed) and the First Transverse Hall. In all three copies of the Book of the Night found in the Osireion, the head of Nut is in the notional west and represents the western akhet, where the sun sets and enters the *ḏuat* to begin its

719 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 148.

720 Recall that the first complete version of the Book of the Gates was also found in Seti/s tomb inscribed on his sarcophagus and he also had another complete version in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion.

721 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 149. For his in depth study see: Der Agyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh (1982).

722 A. Spalinger, "The destruction of mankind: A transitional literary text" SAK 28 (2000), 269.

723 N. Guilhou, "Myth of the Heavenly Cow", UEE 2010, 4.

nocturnal journey traveling from the west to the east to the place of the (re)birth of the sun in the eastern akhet and sunrise.

Unlike the Books of Gates and Amduat which depict the transitional first hour of the night before the entry into the *ḏuat* proper in the second hour, the Book of the Night begins with the second hour which is inside the body of the goddess Nut.[724] (Plate 380) Thus, the whole of the Book of the Night is subject to the inversion principle of the netherworld. This is significant because it allows for the identification of the night journey of the sun god. The towers of the solar barque are called unwearying ones, *jḫmw-wrḏw*.[725] The unwearying ones are the stars that lie to the south of the ecliptic and among them are the thirty-six decans. In order for members of this group to enter the solar barque to serve as the towers, the barque must be moored along the southern bank of the celestial 'shifting waterway', *mr-nḫꜣj*, the ecliptic, which is represented by the middle register in the Book of the Night. This occurs around the time of the winter solstice, specifically at sunset. Then the sun is at its extreme southwestern most point along its journey across the sky. Indeed, just after sunset on the winter solstice, a group of unwearying stars could be observed setting in the night sky at the point on the horizon where the sun barque had moored. This would be the group of unwearying stars which set during the first transitional hour of the night to follow the sun barque into the *ḏuat*. According to the Book of the Night they numbered thirty and are led by the king, demonstrating again his active role in the creation. (Plate 145) Thus, the setting stars could be thought of or viewed as entering the barque of the sun god. It should be recalled that at both solstices, the sun appears to hover at the same point along the horizon for some three days, before the reversal in the direction of the sun's path becomes apparent to the observer, allowing time for the assembling of the towers.

The apparent contradiction in the placement of the three Books of the Night on the notional northern half of the ceilings in the Osireion and their southern orientation to the winter solstice is explained by their being located in the *ḏuat* and therefore subject to the law of inversion. While east and west of the *ḏuat* correspond to the east and west on the earthly plane, in the topsy-turvy upside-down realm of the *ḏuat* left and right become reversed, so that north becomes south and vice versa.[726] However, from the perspective of being inside the *ḏuat*, they are in their proper places.

In the Book of the Night in the Second Transverse Hall, is an unnamed divine male figure standing between the arms of the goddess. He appears to be leaving Nut's body. (Plate 379) There are multiple levels for the identification of this deity and each of great significance. Of all the heavenly

724 The scenes of the Book of the Night are actually depicted under the body of the goddess Nut but are meant to be inside, which explains why the sun god is not visible in the night sky.

725 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 124.

726 See above n. 365 in 5.3 for my comments on inversion in the *ḏuat*. See also J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Books of the Underworld (1995), Chapter 7 for his detailed discussion of the concept of inversion in the Netherworld.

bodies, there is only one that stands out, which appears to depart from the body of Nut and enter the sky in the west. It is the new crescent moon which reappears in the night sky shortly after sunset, low in the western horizon after having been rejuvenated in the *ḏuat* on *psḏntjw*. [727] The crescent moon symbolizes both the birth of Horus on the second day of the lunar month and Osiris' resurrection. [728] In the context of *zp tpj*, it represents the very first appearance of the crescent moon in the just created cosmos and thus the creation of the lunar cycle, which begins at its northern extreme. [729] As the vindication of Osiris, it also represents the creation of the *ḏuat* over which he reigned, which the texts state Atum did for Osiris. [730] The revivification of Osiris also leads to the conception of Horus which, as was shown, was ritually enacted on the island in the Central Hall. His conception is followed by his birth on the second day of the lunar month with the appearance of Horus-Moon low in the western horizon shortly after Atum-Re had entered the *ḏuat*. [731] This appearance of Horus at *zp tpj*, now as the king, establishes the pattern for the transmission of royal power and the start of dynastic rule in Egypt, as reestablished by Seti I to restore *mɜʿt* after the Amarna Heresy and at the same time legitimize his right to rule.

At another level, I take this unnamed deity to be Atum as he exits his creation. In the tomb of Ramesses VI he is identified as the king himself. [732] Atum and the king were closely associated and the king of course is the living Horus who is reborn each month as the new crescent moon. “The [Heliopolitan] Ennead was in fact the genealogical tree of Pharaoh headed by Atum and at the bottom Horus, the god connected with historical times. Pharaoh was of cosmic dimensions and primeval birth [at *zp tpj*]. He was crowned by Atum his father, who once ruled the earth but was said to be weary of

727 It should be noted that this scene in the Book of the Night supports its reconstructed placement on the notional northern half of the Entrance Passage as part of the rites for the new moon, the second ritual cycle in the Osireion. The two attested copies of the Book of the Night in the First and Second Transverse Hall are not part of the second ritual cycle of the rites for the new moon but are a part of the annual third cycle.

728 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 60.

729 Because the divine figure stands between or is embraced in the arms of the goddess Nut, he is not in the *ḏuat* proper and so is not subject to the inversion principle as is the rest of the Book of the Night. Therefore, as part of this world, his depiction on the notional northern half of the ceiling is correctly aligned to the lunar northern extreme. On the first occasion first crescent visibility symbolizing Horus is the product of the Heliopolitan creation process initiated by Atum, to whom this figure can also be equated.

730 In the invocation of Atum, the opening scene of the first ritual cycle in the Osireion, see the eighth verse.

731 Moon-Horus, who is in the sky, appears to have had his own barque at Seti's Mansion of Millions of years, where Moon-Horus is named in the Hall of Barques and may have been utilized during the rites for the rejuvenated Horus-Moon. See K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II (1979), II, 511, 15; Translations II (1996), 327-28; A. Caulfeild, Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902), 18, pl.19; K. Eaton, “Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment” in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.), The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 243.

732 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 409. Piankoff's assumption as the name/cartouche is absent from the depictions.

his reign [Book of the Heavenly Cow].” [733] So it would seem that at the same time both Atum, abdicating his reign, exits his creation and Horus as the newly crowned king begins his reign as he appears as the new crescent moon at the lunar northern extreme, which marks the start of the nineteen year lunar cycle that reconciles and realigns the movements of the moon with those of the sun. Finally, it should be noted that this divine figure as Atum appears to be witnessing another aspect of his creation which formed part of the third ritual cycle, the awakening of Osiris by the heir apparent and the daily transit of the solar barques also on the notional northern wall, the place of the winter solstice sunrise. (Plate 379)

The Book of the Night can also be viewed as a map of sorts. It is a map of the night sky on the winter solstice, after Nut has swallowed Atum-Re at sunset on the first occasion. Rather than the three registers being on top of each other, as they must be depicted in a two dimensional representation, they actually are meant to represent the celestial dome. In a sense, the Book of the Night is similar in some respects to those modern day star charts that have to be held above the viewer's head in order to properly align with the cardinal directions and the position of the stars at a given hour. [734] Each hour the lower portion of the modern star chart wheel has to be rotated to reflect the movement of the stars across the night sky. With the passing of each hour, some stars drop below the western horizon and new ones appear rising in the eastern horizon while others cross the meridian as they follow the apparent nocturnal movement of the sun god Re, which also accounts for the appearance of a new 'working' decanal star to measure each hour of the night.

The middle register of the Book of the Night in which the sun barque is depicted represents the ecliptic, the path of the sun through the sky, which the ancient Egyptians called the 'shifting waterway', *mr-nḫꜣj*. [735] The top and bottom registers are the two halves of the night sky, *ptj* 'two skies'. [736] (Plate 383) The lower register is the area south of the ecliptic. The top register is the area north of the ecliptic representing 'the Field of Rest', *sḫt-ḥtp*.[737] Consistent with the concept of *ḥtp*, there is no activity depicted, only rows of named deities spanning the hours of the night and totaling 124 divinities. [738] On one level, they may be equated with the imperishable ones, *jḫmw-sk*, the stars who never die. That is to say they are visible every night.

733 K. Mysliwiec, Studien zum Gott Atum I (1978), 121-122, author's translation; For an in depth study of the relation of the king to Atum, see E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991).

734 See for example The Star Finder: Guide to the Northern Sky (1995).

735 J. P. Allen, Review of R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten in JNES 61 (2002), 63.

736 Ibid., 63.

737 Ibid., 63.

738 G. Roulin, “The Book of the Night” in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1010. See also Appendix A for the 'blended' nature of this composition and hence the potential unreliability of the 124 deity count.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

"(O) Nut, spread yourself over your son
(Pyr. 777A [PT 427])

You have enclosed for yourself
the earth and all things within your arms;
You have placed for yourself this NN
as an Imperishable Star [*jḫm-sk*] within you.
(Pyr. 782D-e [PT 432])"[739]

In contrast, the bottom register is full of activity. (Plate 383) This area south of the ecliptic was called the Field of Reeds/Rushes, *sḫt-jꜣrw*.[740] It is a zone of transformation. The unwearying stars, *jḫmw-wrḏ*, rejuvenate here as do all but the damned. The temple of Osiris was also said to be located in the Field of Reeds.[741] In the lower register of the eighth hour of the Book of the Night, an enthroned Osiris is being revived by the falcon-headed Horus, (Plate 385) a central theme of the Osireion itself. Recall that this scene is also present in the Antechamber as part of the second ritual cycle, the rites for the new moon, and is likewise a key scene there, (Plate 224) pointing to the significance of the act of revivification by the son, Horus. In the Book of the Night, eighth hour, the enthroned Osiris and his son, as protector of his father, are positioned directly under the solar barque, which may allude to their uniting, necessary for their regeneration. However, the text plays down this aspect and state "only that the sun is 'passing near the door' of this Osirian domain without stopping..."[742] This subtly shifts the focus to the role of Horus, protector of his father, and the chief ritualist, the king, as the active power that causes the rejuvenation of Osiris. As we have already seen from the speech of Thoth in the rear stairway leading out to the sacred precinct above the Osireion, this active participation is explicitly stated.[743]

It is I [Thoth] who write it down.
I have descended into the Netherworld to Wennefer,

739 N. Billing, "Writing an Image – The Formulation of the Tree Goddess Motif in the Book of the Dead, Ch. 59" SAK 32 (2004), 47.

740 J. P. Allen, Review of R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzept in JNES 61 (2002), 63.

741 J. Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt" in Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt (1989) YES 3, 149 n. 81. "According to its title, ch. 145 of the Book of the Dead describes the 'gate of the field of reeds of the temple of Osiris' and localizes the field of reeds in the innermost part of the temple (the holy of holiest)." More frequently it is usually translated as the House of Osiris.

742 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.) Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1011.

743 For a penetrating analysis see A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 87-120.

and I found his soul [*ɓa*] at the supports of
Him who is in the Sarcophagus, his face uncovered.
For your [the king's] beauty had awakened him,
and you gave sight ('face') to the Lords of the Netherworld;
the westerners are in joy,
You having become the equivalent of Horus
since the great internment.
You are champion [protector] for Wennefer...

The Book of the Night follows the basic structure of the Book of Gates and Amduat, with its twelve divisions and three registers. However, "its contents differ fundamentally from these two compositions. The cosmographic component and the descriptions of the phenomena affecting the sun god, so important in the Amduat and in the Book of Gates, have no longer a central function in the Book of the Night." [744] They "have lost their importance in favor of the destiny of the pharaoh and of human beings", [745] thereby emphasizing a different and crucial aspect of the unfolding of creation. "This topsy-turvy world, full of meaning, reminds us of the condition of the world before creation. The sun god takes the two creating powers, Hu and Sia ('Utterance' and 'Perception'), into the depths with him to renew the work of creating the world. By means of his light and his voice, he causes the darkness and its secrets to be made visible, filling with new life the mummies stiffly lying there." [746] (Plates 381,145) Not only is the king depicted in the solar barque and in two forms at the head of the towers, but also accompanying and assisting Sia in the lower zone in the second hour. "The catalogue of human beings in the Hereafter [Field of Reeds] begins in the second hour... with three mummiform figures lying on beds – each figure is represented three times. (Plate 382) They are named the *Ꜣḫu*, the 'mummies (*sʿḥw*)' and the 'dead (*mtw*)' and symbolize all the human creatures of the Hereafter: the justified in their spiritual aspect as *Ꜣḫu* and in their material aspect as mummies, and the damned, the 'dead', with iconography identical to that of the justified. The creator of the Book of the Night has obviously been influenced by lists mentioning *ꜣḫw*, *mtw* and *nṯrw*, and has thus represented all the beings of the Hereafter. This 'list character' is accentuated by the disposition of the whole composition, with the cortege of gods and geniuses in the upper zones [Field of Hepet (top register) and the path of the sun god, the ecliptic (middle register)] and the cortege of human beings [and the enthroned Osiris] in the lower [Field of Reeds]." [747] As we have seen before with the litanies of Re and Osiris, also

744 Editors of AEB, AEB 96.0385 on G. Roulin, Le Livre de la Nuit (1996).

745 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1009. The second hour of the Book of the Night is found in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahri. The name of the hours are the same as those in the Amduat which seems to suggest that the two books were composed at roughly the same time and certainly before the Book of Gates.

746 E. Hornung, "The Discovery of the Unconscious in Ancient Egypt", Spring: An Annual of Archetypal Psychology and Jungian Thought (1986), 22.

747 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1010.

inscribed in the Osireion, this 'list character' serves an important function – to magically call their inhabitants into existence by the recitation of their names.

"At the end of the last hour, three scenes symbolize the sunrise (with Isis and Nephthys raising the disk), the whole solar cycle (the boats of the day and the night), and the transformation of Atum into Khepri."[748] (Plate 387 far right) According to Dorman more specifically, "the excerpt from the Book of the Night can be construed as describing what is pertinent only to the last hour of darkness – impending sunrise; in fact, the text is a clinically accurate description of natural childbirth on a cosmic scale."[749] "A cosmographic text showing analogies with the cult theological treatise of the rising sun published by J. Assmann [Der Konig als Sonnepriester (1970)], evokes the last phase of the nocturnal journey as an exit from the Dat [*ḏuat*], as an embarkation into the morning boat, as a progression in the Nun, as a transformation of the sun into Khepri, and also the whole solar cycle through the concise expression 'to enter the mouth, to come out of the vulva'. But it is the last passage which reveals the characteristics of the Book of the Night with the proclamation of the purpose of the [first] sunrise: 'in order to assure the existence of all men, small cattle and snakes which he [the sun god] has created [and to which the king will oversee on behalf of his father Atum-Re]'. This transitive aspect is not attested in the treatise of the rising sun or in the earlier Books of the Underworld. The Book of the Night ends as it begins, with emphasis not on the cosmographic elements but on the consequences of the presence of the sun god for human beings. This subject, already attested in the Book of Gates [in the first ritual cycle in the Osireion] as an addition to the cosmographic elements, has become a fundamental aspect of the Book of the Night."[750]

The concise composition that immediately precedes the Book of the Night, the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques has been discussed in detail in its key role as part of the third ritual cycle in the Osireion.[751] The composition on the opposite side of the pitched ceiling in the Second Transverse Hall, the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, is closely connected to the Book of the Night. (Plate 378) Together the back-to-back arched goddesses, which frame the two compositions, delineate the course of the sun god from its southernmost point along the ecliptic on the winter solstice to its northernmost point on the summer solstice, but also the monthly lunar cycle. This 'sister' composition known in ancient times as the "Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars" is called the Book of Nut by modern Egyptologists. "It describes in word and image the locations at the edges of the earth's surface and the sky's expanse, and explains in mythological terms the recurrent rising and setting of the main heavenly bodies in these outer regions and their movements across the sky... Like the other cosmographic texts

748 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1012.

749 P. Dorman, "Creation on the Potter's Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven" in E. Teeter, J. Larson, (eds.), Gold of Praise Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente (1999), 84. For further fascinating details of these and other related scenes see his 83-98.

750 G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 1012.

751 See above 5.6.

such as the Amduat and Book of the Gates, it is primarily concerned with the secrets of comic regeneration. Unlike those, though, it does not describe what happens inside the hidden *ḏuat*, but rather what happens at the junction of *ḏuat*, earth and sky, i.e. the eastern and western horizons, and how the sun, moon and stars journey from one end to the other."[752] Thus importantly, this composition served to emphasize other aspects of the unfolding of creation in the *tꜣ ṯnnt-pr* on the first occasion. According to von Lieven, the complete composition of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars consisted of the Nut vignette proper, a book on the decanal stars, a book on the moon, and a book on the planets.[753] Symons in her study highlighted the fact that "the text is unique in Egyptian literature because it combines the mythological creation scenario with a detailed description of the motion of celestial bodies. The text illustrates the way physical phenomena outside of direct human perception were described in ancient Egypt."[754] Furthermore, she makes the key point that "three sections of the Book of Nut together attempt to describe the entire celestial mechanism of the sun and the rising and setting stars,"[755] to which should be added that of the waxing and waning of the moon. This is most significant because the composition explicitly refers to *zp tpj* in a number of passages. Here, we see the very mechanism itself that will govern the movements of the sun, moon and stars being created in the *tꜣ ṯnnt-pr* in *ḏt* time before "the prime act of creation, the first sunrise',[756] which sets the cosmos in motion and perpetually re-creates it in *nḥḥ* time. "The 'first time' of creation established a repeatable mechanism of generation. This same mechanism is referred back to whenever some form of (re)creation is to be described [and called into existence].[757] Recall that there was a similar mechanism created on *zp tpj* in the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of the Gates in the first ritual cycle. (Plate 89) The empty scale-pans before the enthroned Osiris allude to the time (in *ḏt* time) before the first weighing of the heart had occurred and the first calculation of the difference to restore the Udat-eye to completeness unfolded in *nḥḥ* time.[758]

Quack "further indicates, the 'Nut Book' presents two separate decan lists, one which refers to an ideal beginning and a second, which presents concrete data."[759] (Plate 390) In the Osireion, the text (T2) directly above the head of Shu refers to the helical rising of Sothis/Sirius in the first month of *ꜣḫt*.

752 J. Dieleman, Review of Alexandra von Lieven, The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch in M. Kohbach, R. Lohlker, S. Prochazka, G. Setz (eds.), Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes (2012), 102.

753 Ibid., 102.

754 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Timekeeping and Cosmography in the New Kingdom (1999), 172.

755 Ibid., 171.

756 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts (1988), 25.

757 L. Troy, "The First Time: Homology and Complementarity as Structured Forces in Ancient Egyptian Cosmology" Cosmos, The Journal of the Traditional Cosmology Society 10 (1994), 38.

758 See above 3.3.

759 A. Spalinger, "Nut and the Egyptologists" SAK 41 (2012), 357.

However, it could also be translated as I *ꜣḫt* 1 given the abbreviated way in which it is written. (Plate 391) "Perhaps coincidence was at hand, since, as Neugebauer and Parker [EAT I, 54] pointed out, when Seti I's ceiling was being craved, this auspicious arrival of the star Sothis/Sirius occurred in the same Egyptian civil month. On the other hand, I [Spalinger] prefer to interpret the passage in an ideal way, if only because the beginning of the year is subsequently mentioned (II 40 [and Text U]) and one can see that some ordered calendrical arrangement was at hand. Neugebauer and Parker commented on the historical references to *prt špdt* in those two ceiling texts of the decans: IV *prt* 16. That date predicates a time frame in the Twelfth Dynasty: 1872 BC if we follow (in part) the Parker chronology with a northern Sothic sighting... Interesting and in fact highly coincidental is the well-known Illahun reference of this event: it, too, occurred on the same day. Whichever one is chosen, there remains the unalterable evidence that the texts on the two ceilings go back to the reign of Sesostris III (regnal year seven)."[760] The connection of the Osireion text directly to the reign of Sesostris III is significant and to be sure was no accident. According to O'Connor, "this complex [of Sesostris III/Senwosret III] was once one of Abydos' most impressive monuments [and may still have been when Seti designed his complex]. Organized along an axis of over 0.5km (0.3 miles), it has at the southwestern end a gigantic subterranean tomb (as well as some surface structures) and at the northeastern end a large temple."[761] Furthermore, this tomb it would seem has much in common with the Osireion. Recently, "Wegner has put forth a persuasive argument for the interpretation of Senwosret's tomb at Abydos as a functional, three-dimensional model of the underworld, similar to the two-dimensional representations found later in the Amduat.[762] According to his interpretation, the linear 'outer tomb' (oriented to local east-west) represents the entrance into the first half of the *Duat*, which terminates in the white limestone well shaft, corresponding to the burial place of Sokar-Osiris, in the fifth division of the Amduat. The second half of the tomb, with its predominantly curvilinear axis and prominent red casing stones, corresponds to the second half of the sun's nocturnal journey through the underworld, proceeding from the union of Osiris and Re. The location of the hidden burial chamber, which follows shortly after the Osirian well shaft, therefore corresponds quite literally to the *ʿt jmnt*, or 'hidden chamber', described in the Amduat's sixth hour."[763] This attempt by Seti to connect the Osireion to the prominent ancestor king Senwosret III would have served to enhance his own claim of legitimacy for his fledgling dynasty.

"The sun is said to exist in the southeastern sky 'behind Punt'. (I 15ff.) That is to say, it is located at the most southern point on the horizon of an observer and eastwards. Such a position ought to predicate the sun's birth at winter solstice. Furthermore, in a later section about the death of the sun at

760 A. Spalinger, "Nut and the Egyptologists" SAK 41 (2012), 359-360.

761 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 96.

762 J. Wegner, "The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos and Considerations on the Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb" in D. Silverman, W. Simpson, J. Wegner (eds.), Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2009), 103-169.

763 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 20-21.

evening when it enters the *ḏuat*, p.Carlsberg I says that in total darkness – incidentally the time when the decanal stars were operating – birds coming to Egypt are from the northwestern side down to the southeastern side. (IV 26ff.) Here, von Lieven discusses the northern location of the territory of *ḳbḥw*, while in the south the furthest region is called *rtḥ ḳꜣbt*.[764] She points out that *ḳbḥw* may, in fact, indicate the northwest, which is logical owing to the annual longitudinal motion of the sun seen in combination with its diurnal cycle. The papyrus also specifies the opposition of *rtḥ ḳꜣbt* with *srḳ-ḥtyt*. In I 22-3 we read: 'It occurs that his rear in *rtḥ ḳꜣbt* [which is darkness, while] his front is in *srḳ-ḥtyt*, which is light.' Hence, a southeast versus northwest orientation must be indicated because the account covers the rising and setting of the sun as well as its yearly movement."[765] This is certainly the case as is described in p.Carlsberg I and what one would expect to find in a composition concerning "the entire celestial mechanism of the sun and the rising and setting stars".[766] However, the earlier ceiling text in the Osireion is different. It explicitly states of the uniform darkness: "this is from her northwestern side up to her northeastern side",[767] and not from the northwestern side down to her southeastern side as is found in p.Carlsberg I. "The region of the sky that lies north of the sun's northernmost arc, at the summer solstice, is not visited by the sun and is therefore a point at which the outer darkness impinges on the world. The southern counterpart of this region, to the south of the arc of the winter solstice, was probably thought of in the same way."[768] This is significant at least with respect to the Nut figure itself because the positioning of the goddess's body is quite clearly oriented to the summer solstice. This is not to say that the composition in the Osireion does not refer to the complete annual circuit of the sun and the implied winter solstice behind the land of Punt, because it does. It is to say that the specific positioning of Nut in the vignette scene is orientated to the summer solstice. Its significance is that it compliments the winter solstice orientation of the figure of Nut in the Book of the Night on the opposite side of the bipartite ceiling in the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*. Together they create the complete annual solar circuit and a unified view of the goddess Nut as the celestial dome and the *ḏuat*.[769] It also highlights the value of having the proper context for a composition's use in the understanding of apparent

764 A. von Lieven, The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch in M. Kohbach, R. Lohlker, S. Prochazka, G. Setz (eds.), Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes (2012), 153-154.

765 A. Spalinger, "Nut and the Egyptologists" SAK 41 (2012), 364.

766 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Timekeeping and Cosmography in the New Kingdom (1999), 171.

767 J. P. Allen,"Corrigenda and Addenda" for Genesis in Ancient Egypt (1988).

768 Ibid.

769 The apparent contradiction in the placement of the Book of the Night on the notional northern half of the ceiling in the Osireion and its southern orientation to the winter solstice is explained by it being located in the *ḏuat* and therefore subject to the law of inversion. While east and west of the *ḏuat* correspond to the east and west on the earthly plane, in the topsy-turvy upside-down realm of the *ḏuat* left and right become reversed, so that north becomes south and vice versa. The same is true for the Book of Nut with its orientation to the summer solstice. However, from the perspective of being inside the *ḏuat*, they are in their proper places. See above n. 365 in 5.3 for my comments on inversion in the *ḏuat*. See also J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Books of the Underworld (1995), Chapter 7 for his detailed discussion of the concept of inversion in the Netherworld.

discrepancies in different versions of the same text.

"Significantly, the first text (P) ['eastern horizon'] has a depiction of the moon as a crescent. (Plate 392) Since the location is specified – namely, the east – it is self-evident that the lunar reference must indicate the end of the cycle. Therefore, the last phase of the moon is still visible but at a time when the sun has yet to rise in the eastern horizon. If the thin crescent does, in fact, indicate a specific phenomenon and is not just a general depiction, then the final day of the lunar month is at hand, not the first day, when the moon would be invisible."[770] Neugebauer and Parker commented that "the lunar crescent to the left of the text is that of last crescent, as the new crescent is seen in the west. The last crescent, was important, as its disappearance before dawn marked the first day of the lunar month."[771] Von Lieven also concluded that the crescent moon was most probably that of the last crescent, "Altlicht", as the texts speak at length about it, although she recognized that its depiction is problematic.[772] However, there is another plausible interpretation which may more accurately reflect the subtleties of the scene as the ancient Egyptians had it depicted. The horns of the crescent moon are facing in the "wrong direction", if it were meant to represent last crescent visibility. (Plates 390, 392, 70) In addition, the crescent moon is actually depicted on the buttocks of the goddess, indicating that it was intended to be inside the goddess' body and therefore not visible in the night sky, just as the sun god is no longer visible when he entered the mouth of the goddess in the west to regenerate in the *ḏuat.* (Plates 390, 393) The horns of the crescent moon as depicted are reversed i.e. inverted from how they appeared at last crescent visibility shortly before sunrise. This inversion, *sḫd*, occurs to all on entry into the topsy-turvy world of the *ḏuat.* Importantly, "even Wennefer [Osiris-Moon], the model of the blessed dead, can be said to be inverted in the Netherworld. In Chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased says:

ʿmk jrw.j sḫd
jnk Wnn-nfr

but my form is inverted
I am Wennefer."[773]

770 A. Spalinger, "Nut and the Egyptologists" SAK 41 (2012), 369.

771 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 81.

772 A. von Lieven, Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch (2007), 176-177. She acknowledged that the horns of the moon point to the left which is characteristic of the waxing moon. But she also cites the related text that refers to the path of the stars (i.e. that follow the sun from east to west on their diurnal journey when they are invisible) that starts from the vulva of Nut and runs along the belly to the mouth. From that she suggests that would mean that the lunar horns point against the direction of the movement of the moon (if it follows the diurnal path of stars), which in turn would be a characteristic feature of the waning moon.

773 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Books of the Underworld (1995), 651-652. See Chapter 7 for his detailed discussion of the concept of inversion in the Netherworld.

This all suggests that the moon depicted is, in fact, that of the new moon which is inside the body of Nut, regenerating in the *ḏuat* at the start of the lunar cycle.[774]

Putting together the pieces, the Nut vignette of the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars portrays a very specific moment in time. It is the sunrise of the first occasion, *zp tpj*. It occurs in conjunction with the summer solstice at the time of the blacked-out moon, the first day of the lunar month, and the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius on I *ꜣḫt* 1, New Year's Day. It is the start of a major cycle in *nḥḥ* time, arising on *zp tpj*. It marks the beginning of the civil year and perhaps was meant to represent the origin of the civil calendar, which was tied to the celestial cycles of the heliacal rising of Sothis, the summer solstice, and beginning of the lunar month. It heralded the imminent arrival of the all important life-giving inundation of the Nile, the efflux of Osiris.

According to Neugebauer and Parker in their analysis of the texts and vignette of the Book of Nut, "Chapter E returns to the sun and stars. It is the central astronomical section in which the relation between the sun and the decans, their appearance and disappearance in the course of the year are explained. It corresponds to the lists of decans and dates which occupy in S [the Osireion] and R [tomb of Ramesses IV] the middle part of the picture, to the right and to the left of Shu, 'the prince whose hand is under [supporting] the sky'. (Plate 394) The most important information which comes from this chapter is the fact that the decans indicate the hours of the night no longer by their successive rising but by their culmination or transit. The star of the 'first' (*tpt*) hour is the decan which has completed its 10 days as the first hour and is seen in the meridian at the beginning of the night, that is, sometimes after sunset. From then on a simple scheme controls the succession of the phenomena. It takes 90 days ('in the west') after finishing as the first hour star before the decan becomes enclosed (*šn*) by the *ḏuat.* At that time the decan is setting right after sunset and thus begins its period of invisibility, which is assumed to last 70 days. Reappearance from the *ḏuat* is called 'birth' (*ms*). From then on the decan is visible for a longer period each night, but it takes 80 days 'in the east' before the decan really does 'work', i.e., indicates an hour by its culmination. Since culmination at the end of work there have now elapsed 90+70+80=240 days. Because the whole circle of sidereal phenomena is schematically assumed to be 360 days long, we now have 120 days left for the 'working' of a decan. At first its culmination indicates the 12th hour, ten days later the 11th, and so on until it stops working after 120 days having indicated at last the first hour. This is the upon which the list of dates in S [the Osireion] and R [Ramesses IV] is based and which is commented upon in P [p.Carlsberg I]. Its strongly schematic character is unmistakable."[775] The layout of the thirty-six date sets under the body of Nut do indeed highlight the cyclical nature of the date list. (Plates 390, 394) Following Symons' schematic,

774 To witness the inversion principle in action turn Plate 392 upside down . Note that the crescent moon having inverted, *sḫd,* is now in the proper position for how it will reappear with first crescent visibility low in the western sky after having emerged from the mouth of Nut.

775 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 41.

the cycle begins in the lower left side (1) at the place of sunrise where the heliacal rising of the first decan, *knmt*, is born, *ms*. Each decanal star spends 80 days in the east (1-8), before it start its work, which lasts for 120 days (8-19 in columns). After the work, i.e. measuring time, has been completed, it appears in the west for another 90 days before its disappearance from the night sky, when it regenerates in the *ḏuat* for 70 days (20-36 in columns), before repeating the cycle.

The point to be made here is twofold. Both highlight the closely interconnected nature of the compositions that were selected to be used and modified if needed for the ceiling decoration of the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*. It represents the epicenter of the unfolding of creation on the first occasion from the primordial inertness of the Nun. Symons concluded that based on the New kingdom sources only, the star calendar in the Book of Nut "is not necessarily a direct descendant of the diagonal star clock but is more closely related to the precursor of the diagonal star clock, a list of stars which disappeared for seventy days."[776] The stars that disappear for seventy days are that special group of unwearying stars that the ancient Egyptians observed and selected to measure time by their movement, precisely why they were the focus of the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars. Movement in the eyes of the ancient Egyptians was what separated the created cosmos from the inertness of nonexistence, the Nun. Noteworthy, the two star lists or tables in the Nut vignette are both of the K group type (those that begin with the decan *knmt*) as is the star table in the Sloping Passage. The K group, if it does in fact record the setting stars as has been proposed,[777] would logically explain its use in the Osireion, itself a functioning model of the *Ḏuat*. Furthermore, recall that the scheme of the division for the thirty six decans into groups of 16 (9+7) and 20 (8+12) in the Nut vignette was also adopted for the arrangement of the thirty six decan deities flanking the Awakening of Osiris scene, which also occurs in the *ḏuat* portion of that composition and is depicted on the opposite side of the bipartite ceiling in the Second Transverse Hall. (Plate 370) Importantly, this arrangement directly links the two compositions through the underlying structure of the same schematic arrangement of the thirty six deities as decanal stars. This is not the only connection between these two compositions. Both prominently display the winged disk, *bḥdt*, the Behdetite, great god. (Plates 369, 390) In the Book of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, he is depicted at the top and by his position on the notional north wall represents the rising sun on the winter solstice.[778] In the Nut vignette, the winged disk is depicted entering the mouth of the goddess. Again by its position and location on the notional southern side of

776 S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Timekeeping and Cosmography in the New Kingdom (1999), 123.

777 S. Symons, "A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 1-22. According to her on going study, there are two different families of diagonal star tables: those that begin with the decan *ṯmꜣt*, the T group; and those that begin with the decan *knmt*, the K group. The reason for two separate groups is not yet clearly understood. She has proposed a new theory that the T group of decanal stars records rising stars, whereas the other group "perhaps intended to be a complimentary twin", the K group records setting stars.

778 While the composition suggests that the Behdetite is clearly connected to the entire solar circuit, when paired with the Nut vignette on the opposite side of the ceiling, the great god would be associated with the winter solstice sunrise because the composition is located deep inside the *ḏuat*, the inversion principle would be applicable.

the ceiling it represents the setting sun at the time of the summer solstice. Together they symbolize the annual solar circuit. The text at the mouth of Nut identifies the winged disk as *bḥdt*, the Behdetite. (Plates 393, 390)

> "When the Incarnation [*ḫm*] of this god enters is at her first hour of evening,
> becoming effective again in the embrace of his father Osiris,
> and becoming purified therein.
> When the Incarnation of this god rests in life in the *ḏuat* is
> at her second hour of pregnancy.
> Then the Incarnation of this god is governing the westerners,
> and giving directions in the *ḏuat.*
> Then the Incarnation of this god comes forth on earth again,
> having come into the world, young,
> his physical strength growing great again,
> like the first occasion of his primeval state.
> Then he is developed [*ḫpr*] into the great god, the winged disk [*bḥdt*, the Behdetite]." [779]

This text makes a further connection between the two compositions through Osiris, whose only depiction in the Nut vignette is as the crescent moon inside the body of the goddess.. Here, it is the embrace of his father Osiris-Moon which makes the sun god become effective, *ɜḫ*. This union of the sun god Re with Osiris-Moon as has been shown by the lunar number symbolism encoded in the composition to be one of the central themes of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. Further details of the effect of this uniting/embrace are described in the Nut vignette in the text by the solar disk before Nut's foot. (Plate 392)

> "The redness after birth,
> as he becomes pure in the embrace of his father Osiris.
> Then his father [Osiris-Moon] lives,
> as he becomes effective again through him [the sun god]." [780]

After the sun god had become effective through the embrace of his father, Osiris-Moon, i.e. their union, upon entering the mouth of Nut at the beginning of the night, at the end of the night and their union, the text states that Osiris-Moon also is made to live and become effective by the sun god through the embrace.[781] Note that the crescent moon is depicted above this text on the buttock of the goddess.

779 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Ancient Egypt The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts (1988), 2.

780 Ibid., 3.

781 The beginning and the end of the night represent the regions of western akhet and eastern akhet, respectively. They are as the texts indicate "the place of becoming effective", the akhet. See J. P. Allen, Genesis in Ancient Egypt (1988), 6, 19-21. See also the commentary on these texts by P. Dorman, "Creation on the Potter's Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven" in E. Teeter, J. Larson (eds.), Gold of Praise Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente (1999), 92-95

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The above interpretation with its emphasis on Osiris as the moon derives its validity in part from the timing of the events that are depicted in the Nut vignette of the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars. It portrays a very specific moment in time. It is the sunrise of the first occasion, *zp tpj*, which occurs in conjunction with the summer solstice and the helical rising of Sothis on I *ꜣḫt* 1, New Year's Day. Importantly, it is also at the time of the blacked-out moon, the first day of the lunar month and the creation of the lunar cycle. This is precisely why the lunar aspect of Osiris is emphasized. "Then his father Osiris lives" was the goal of the rites for the new moon and they were performed as part of the annual celebration of the coronation of the king on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day, which on the first occasion (and on the ideal calendar) was the first day of the lunar month. And for what purpose does his father live? It was so Isis could conceive their son and legitimate heir, Horus, and with him the means for the transfer of royal power from father Osiris Moon to son Horus Moon – one god in two persons that of divine kingship. "It is my [Parker's] belief that the whole character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to have, ultimately, a lunar explanation."[782]

The section of the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars on the moon (part of the so-called "Dramatic Text" adjacent to the Nut vignette) is fragmentary but significant. (Plates 395, 396) Its inclusion in the composition as part of the unfolding of creation in *nḥḥ* time on the first occasion attests to its importance and reinforces the lunar interpretation underlying the sections of the texts of the vignette of Nut discussed above. Von Lieven has made a number of important observations regarding the lunar text.[783] The text begins with the moon rising in the west, the day of first crescent visibility on the second day of the lunar month and has special significance as the birth date of the moon. A brief summary is added of its risings and thus the twenty eight days of its visibility. Each day of the lunar month is related to Horus and his eye whereas the description of the sunrise is explicitly equated to the Horus aspect of Re as the Behdetite.[784] The latter is well-known as the powerful solar deity Horus, whereas the Horus who occurs in the lunar section of the composition is known from the Horus and Seth myth, as the vulnerable son of Isis. Importantly, the Moon Text has little to do with the sun, where the sun plays only a marginal role and Horus (as the reincarnated Osiris, the one god of divine kingship in two persons) is here identified with the moon.[785] The text as it is preserved only completes the linear sequence of the lunar month days up to the full moon in the middle of the month (the waxing phase of the lunar cycle) and does not present the full twenty eight risings, but seemingly inexplicably returns to the twenty eighth day of the lunar month where the hitherto unrecognized name of the 28th lunar day is found, "the jubilee of Nut".[786] The exact mythological meaning of this name is

782 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

783 The following is taken from A. von Lieven, Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch (2007), 174-179 unless otherwise noted.

784 A. von Lieven, Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch (2007), 75 and 152.

785 Ibid., 175. "This shows clearly that the Moon Text is actually 'the beginning of other things' and it must originally have been separate texts that were nevertheless put together later." Author's translation from the German text.

786 Ibid., 95. See section 146.

unclear, as is the case with most other lunar day names. At the very least, it suggests a certain importance in the context of a celestial event that recurs after a period of thirty. Analogous to the thirty year Heb Sed celebration of the king's renewal (which Parker had suggested has a lunar basis [787]), Nut could celebrate her jubilee after thirty days, when exactly one month has elapsed. Consequently, the reason for this celebration must have been something to do with the moon. It is really strange that the 28th, not the 29th day is highlighted here. In fact, the beginning of the lunar month calendar with the 29th rising, *ꜥḥꜥ*, instead of the second day (first crescent visibility) is quite common, which makes the findings in the Nut Book all the more disconcerting. But as lunar months are not always the same length, the last crescent visibility can be as early the 28th (and this holds the key). The Nut Book seemingly operates on this basis. It should be noted, when the composition is viewed in context, this is not at all surprising. It is at the epicenter of the unfolding of the created cosmos inside the rising land, the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, at *zp tpj*. As a creation text by definition, it would have to allow for all possibilities. Here in this case for the beginning of the portion of the lunar cycle for regeneration and renewal, it would have to start with the earliest possible occurrence of last crescent visibility which von Lieven correctly identified as the 28th and not the 29th. She further comments that whether or not it is called the 28th or 29th day, it is a remarkable fact that at least in certain contexts for the beginning of the month is not the new moon or first crescent visibility, but was connected with the last crescent visibility of the so-called “Altlicht”, which is spoken about at length in the text. “Altlicht”, it should be noted, marked the start of the rites for the new moon and the third annual ritual cycle.

The texts on the notional south wall of the bipartite ceiling also include instructions for the construction of and use of a “shadow clock”. (Plates 397, 398) The shadow clock's function in this chamber was probably twofold. First as a device to mark off and measure the movement of the sun across the sky, it captures the motion of the sun god's movement, which in essence distinguishes it from inertness and hence nonexistence. Since the prime act of creation, the first sunrise, has not yet occurred, the device's depiction and function in the *tꜣṯnnt-pr* is much like the empty scale-pans in the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion. It is the mechanism created at *zp tpj* which will allow for the measurement of all future movement of the sun god on his diurnal journey. As such, it must have been considered by the ancient Egyptians to be a sacred device, functioning through the sun god's shadow emanating from the light of his solar disk. Lekov sees the shadow as “part of the movement of the *ḥa* [of Re]… [and] is to some extent linked with the disk [whose light creates it],” where he cites the Speech by Thoth as an important clue. [788] Recall that it is inscribed in the Stairway Passage leading out to the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion and more specifically, located directly above the tATnnt-pr, the Second Transverse Hall. Thoth's speech, where he describes the union of the *ḥa* of Re with his corpse, Osiris, and at the same time his shadow with the sun disk, refers to the actions done by the king in the rites for the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. Thus the shadow, a manifestation of the sun god, subtly links the shadow clock, a device to capture the sun god's movements through its shadow to this composition, which is located on the opposite side of the ceiling.

787 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

788 T. Lekov, “The Shadow of the dead and its representation” JES III (2010), 56.

Furthermore, the shadow clock compliments the vignette of Nut. Both are the means for marking time, one by day and one by night. Like the adjacent vignette of Nut, where in effect the goddess determines the movements of the stars, the shadow clock's location is also oriented to the summer solstice. Presumably, this sacred device when it begins to function will capture the sun's shadow, more specifically, its movement and thus its coming into being in the newly created cosmos on the first occasion. That is to say on I *ꜣḫt* 1, New Year's Day, with the heliacal rising of Sothis on the summer solstice at the time of the new moon.

The shadow clock may have also served a secondary function in the *tꜣ-ṯnnt-pr*. It could have been used by the king in the performance of the rites, possible by the sun god illuminating the depths of the *ḏuat*. Recall the words of Apuleius in his initiation into the Isis Mysteries:

> "I entered the boundary of death [the *ḏuat*],
> and as I stepped across Proserpina's threshold,
> I was carried by all the elements and returned;
> At midnight [the sixth hour of deep night],
> I caught sight of the sun [god],
> dazzling in radiant light,
> I approached the lower and upper gods
> and prayed to them face to face." [789]

The shadow clock in the dazzling radiant light could have been used to mark off the sun god's progress through the depths of the *ḏuat* and for the timing of the rites which must be performed at their proper time.

789 J. Assmann, "Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt" in W. Simpson (ed.) Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt (1989), 152.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

5.8 TOWARD THE SUNRISE ON THE FIRST OCCASION

Returning to the ritual cycle on I *prt* 1, the second conception of Horus as the living Horus, *Mn-mꜣʿt-rʿ*, ends the eighth hour of *wšꜣw*, the deep night, and begins the new phase, signaled by the start of the ninth hour, when the sun god leaves the lower *ḏuat*. (Plates 35, 31) In the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars, first attested in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, it states:

> "When the Incarnation of this god comes forth from the *ḏuat*,
> these stars come forth after him at the birthplace [*msqt*-region].
> Then he is reared in the birthplace [*msqt*-region].
> Then he becomes effective again through his father Osiris,
> in the Abydene nome [*tꜣ-wr*], on the first occasion of his primeval state.
> Then he is developed and goes away to the sky,
> in the hour of 'She Has Gone to Rest' [*sḥtp.n.s*]." [790]

> "That the order comes that he [sun god] withdraw toward mankind in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*.
> It happens that he orders his withdrawal towards mankind from the *ḏuat* in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*.
> It is the ninth hour of the night. That is what it (the text) means....

The ninth hour would then be the one in which the turn toward the later rising is begun." [791] It marks the movement out from *wšꜣw*, the deep night, and the Central Hall into the *msqt*-region and toward the eastern akhet, the Antechamber, where he (the sun god) is developed and goes away to the sky. In the context of *zp tpj*, it is the first sunrise. It also constitutes a major shift in the focus of the rituals.

The first act at this stage of the unfolding of the cosmos apparently would have been for the king to magically call into existence the night and day barques of the sun god, which would be used to enable the first sunrise. [792] This assumption is based on a reconstruction of the Osireion's ceilings possible by

790 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Ancient Egypt The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts (1988), 3.

791 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 50-51. p.Carlsberg I, C. II, 9-11.

792 A. Piankoff, C. Maystre, "Deux Plafonds dans les Tombes Royales" BIFAO 38 (1939), 65-70, notes the presence of Isis and Nephthys in the side by side night and day barques who normally assist in the transfer of the sun god at sunrise.

using the decoration in the tomb of Ramesses VI, for which the Osireion was its template.[793] (Plate 32) There would have been the depictions of the diagrams of the solar barques, resembling those of a set of instructions for the fashioning of the image of the solar barques. (Plates 405, 406, 407) Recall that this ritual action is paralleled at the start of the king's journey on the night of I *prt* 1 into the lower *ḏuat* to see his father, Osiris. At the beginning of the descent, the king must first magically construct his barque in order to cross the winding waterway. So here too at the beginning of the withdrawal from the lower *ḏuat*, the night and day barques of the sun god must be constructed so that the first sunrise will unfold. Their function suggests that the diagrams of the solar barques would have been found at the notional eastern end of the ceiling in the Central Hall by the entrance and above the proposed reconstructed scene of the twelfth hour of Amduat.[794] (Plates 32, 354, 353)

What follows next in the ritual cycle regretfully has been lost. The Book of Nut and p.Carlsberg I which spoke of the sun god's withdrawal in the ninth hour tells us little else. "The mention of Apophis ties directly in with the preceding lines, as it is in the ninth, tenth and eleventh hours of the Book of Gates that Re with his helpers subdue and chain Apophis."[795] It also connects the rising sun with the winged scarab. (Plates 390, 392) Unfortunately, an attempted reconstruction of the walls based on the tomb of Ramesses VI is not possible, since the ritual sequence for the living king to withdraw from the *ḏuat* was never intended to be part of the decoration program for the royal tomb. Nevertheless, while speculative, there is a basis for a plausible reconstruction of the lost sections before the decoration resumes in the Sloping Passage. The key rests with the identities of those who are leaving the *ḏuat.* We have already been told that Re is the one who is withdrawing. But the sun god is not alone. The king, the living Horus, who is conducting the rituals is also there and importantly so is the *ḅa* of Osiris. Recall from the Book of Caverns, he entered the solar barque with the disappearance of the last crescent moon and was thought to accompany Re at the time of the Blacked-out moon until its return to the night sky. Logically, the missing passages would involve the king as ritualist, the sun god Re and the moon god Osiris. It should be kept in mind that all three are undergoing major transformations as the creation of the cosmos continues to unfold, leading to the prime act of creation, the sunrise on the first occasion. The early Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus of Ani may provide the details. The two texts (BD 1 and 17) in the Sloping Passage that immediately follow the lost sections continue the theme of withdrawal from the *ḏuat.* They are both titled "Here begin the chapters of going out into the day..."[796]

793 See the commentary in Appendix A regarding the composition on the ceiling of corridor F and its diagrams of the solar barques.

794 It is also a possibility that the composition instead may have been depicted on the ceiling of the entrance way to the Central Hall. See Appendix A. Which ever was the case the calling into existence of the solar barques would have been the first action by the king as he departed the Central Hall at the beginning of the ninth hour.

795 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 51; comment on p.Carlsberg I, C. II, 16.

796 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead [Papyrus of Ani] (1994), plate 5 – BD 1. Both BD 1 and BD 17 in the Osireion begin with these same words.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Another important clue for the hypothetical reconstruction is found in Goelet's comments. "Like many New Kingdom BDs, Ani's papyrus begins not with Chapter 1, but with two hymns of praise to Re and Osiris... Directly following these is... the scene of judgment when the heart of the deceased is weighed against the feather of truth. Often Chapters 30A and 30B, which implore the heart's cooperation in this process, also appear in the initial section of a BD... Because they are the focal point of the papyrus, these hymns and the judgment scene are usually the finest parts of any BD. In these parts of the papyrus of Ani, the quality of both the hieroglyphic text and the accompanying vignette is unquestionably the best in the entire work. Painting these appears to have been the work of a master scribe."[797] It certainly points to their great significance and maybe even hints at the reason for their destruction in the Osireion. The lost texts decorated the wall of the notional east side of the twelve foot long passage that connects the Central Hall with the First Transverse Hall and the notional east side of the Hall of Two Truths, the First Transverse Hall. (Plate 31)

The passage leading back to the Hall of Two Truths was likely decorated with a hymn to be recited by the king for "Praising Re, when he rises in the eastern horizon of the sky".[798] As the opening text of this sequence of the ritual cycle, it carefully spells out a successful outcome, thereby magically insuring its unfolding. While there are numerous sun hymns, the contemporary version in Ani's papyrus has a surprisingly large number of relevant verses which suggests that it could have been easily adapted from its ritual use in the Osireion, as can be seen in the text. (Plates 417, 418) The king says:

> "Hail to you, you having come as Khepri [winged scarab],
> even Khepri who is the creator of the gods.
> You rise and shine on the back of your mother (the sky),
> having appeared in glory as King of the gods.
> Your mother Nut shall use her arms on your behalf in making greeting.
> The Manu-mountain [western horizon] receives you in peace,
> Maat embraces you at all seasons.
> May you give power and might in vindication [voice offering] –
> and a coming forth as a living *ba* to see Horakhti –
> to the *Ka* of [Menmaatre].
>
> He says: O all you gods of the *ba*-mansion
> who judge sky and earth in the balance,
> who give food and provisions;
> O Tatenen, Unique One, creator of mankind;
> O Southern, Northern, Western, and Eastern Enneads,
> give praise to Re, Lord of the Sky,

797 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead [Papyrus of Ani] (1994), 141. Commentary by O. Goelet.

798 Ibid., plate 1.

the Sovereign [Tatenen] who made the gods.[799]
Worship him in his goodly shape when he appears in the day barque.
May those who are above praise you,
May those who are below praise you,
May Thoth and Maat write to you daily;
your serpent-foe [Apophis] has been given over to the fire
and the rebel-serpent is fallen, his arms are bound,
Re has taken away his movements,
and the Children of Impotence are nonexistent.
The Mansion of the Prince is in festival, the noise of shouting is in the Great Place,
the gods are in joy, when they see Re in his appearing,
his rays flooding the lands.
The Majesty [Incarnation, *ḥm*] of this noble god proceeds,
he has entered the land of Manu,
the land is bright at his daily birth,
and he has attained his state of yesterday.....

I have taken hold of the bow-warp of the night barque
and the stern-warp of the day barque.
May he grant that I see the sun-disk and behold the moon unceasingly every day...
May I be received into the presence of Osiris
in the Land of Vindication [Hall of Two Truths].
For the *Ka* of [Menmaatre]."[800]

Note the presence in the text of the themes that lead to the sunrise including the subduing of Apophis hinted at in the Carlsberg papyrus and elaborated in the Book of Gates as well as the form of the newly born sun god as Khepri, depicted in the Nut vignette of the Book of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars. The presence of Tatenen so central a focus in the Osireion is a rare occurrence in both the sun hymns and the chapters of the Book of the Dead.[801] Yet here, he is the creator of mankind but also a manifestation of the sun god as the creator of the gods. In BD Pleyte 168, Tatenen serves as an epithet of Osiris. As we have seen the day and the night barques were depicted on the ceiling as part of this ritual sequence and appear here in the sun hymn, where there is also a reference to both the sun-disk and the moon. Finally, the king asks to be received into the presence of Osiris in the Land of Vindication, an apparent reference to the Hall of Two Truths to which he is about to reenter. "The

799 The Sovereign wears the characteristic crown of the god Tatenen and thus should be equated with him. See: R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead [Papyrus of Ani] (1994), plate 1. See Plate 418 Hymn to Re Papyrus Ani detail, sixth column from the right.

800 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead [Papyrus of Ani] (1994), plate 1. Note that the section omitted is paralleled in the speech of Thoth (BD 1) in the Sloping Passage.

801 Tatenen appears in only two versions of the many variants of the sun hymns and only six other chapters of the 190+ in the Book of the Dead.

hymn stresses two of the most important goals of the entire BD: to be accepted into the presence of Osiris, where the judgment would take place, and ultimately to join Re in his various sun barques, in order accompany the god there..." [802] In the case of this ritual cycle, the king together with Osiris will accompany the sun god on his withdrawal from the lower *ḏuat* toward the place of the sunrise.

As suggested by the arrangement in the papyrus of Ani, the solar hymn would have been followed by a scene of the rising sun, probably just inside the Hall of Two Truths on the notional north wall. By its location here being still in the *ḏuat*, it would signify the sunrise on the winter solstice at *zp tpj* and the creation of the solar cycle as the cosmos continues to unfold along the course of the ritual cycle. (Plate 419) "The iconography of such vignettes is so rich that they clearly were intended to convey additional theological concepts concerning the rising sun. An elongated and arched form of the sign *pt* 'sky' stretches across the top of the entire vignette... Directly beneath this is a personified sign for 'life', the well-known ankh, whose arms seem to be lifting the large red disk of the sun into the sky above. The ankh stands upon a djed-pillar. The disk, ankh, and djed-pillar are combined into a motif, whose origin and meaning have not been satisfactorily explained, associated with the god Osiris. As a word the motif means 'endurance', and therefore was extensively used as an allegorical figure, especially on amulets. In effect, the tripartite motif is a form of Osiris-Re, the syncretized deity who combines the chthonic and celestial aspects of the afterlife. Significantly, the text to the right of this vignette is a hymn to Osiris Wennefer, so that the scene is enclosed by praises to Osiris-Re's components. Flanking the Osiris-Re motif are the goddesses Isis (left) and Nephthys (right), who are both shown in a posture of adoration and squatting upon the sign *nbw* 'gold'... The 'gold' signs are themselves resting upon a reed mat. Beneath the mat and flanking it is a form of the sign for 'mountain' (*ḏw*). Thus, while showing the temporary dissolution of the syncretized Osiris-Re into his component deities, the scene illustrates the beginning of the sun's daily journey [at the time of the winter solstice on the first occasion], when it emerges out of the desert horizon after its nighttime journey underneath the earth and through the *ḏuat*. The entire vignette is framed by the image of the rolling desert on which stand six baboons worshiping the sun." [803] Recall the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques in the *tꜣ ṯnnt-pr*, where the same ankh djed-pillar motif is used to connect the rising sun god, the Behdetite, with the awakening Osiris, an earlier representation of the unfolding of the created cosmos through the successful dissolution of the syncretized Osiris-Re on the first occasion. (Plate 369)

Adjacent to the scene of the tripartite motif of Osiris-Re would have been a hymn to Osiris to be recited by the king. (Plate 420)

> "Worship of Osiris Wennefer, the Great God who dwells in the Thinite nome,
> King of Eternal Recurrence [*nḥḥ*], Lord of Eternal Sameness [*ḏt*]
> who passes millions of years in his lifetime,

802 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead [Papyrus of Ani] (1994), 154. Commentary by O. Goelet.

803 Ibid., 154.

first-born son of Nut, begotten of Geb, Heir, Lord of the *wrrt*-crown,
whose White Crown is tall, Sovereign of gods and men.
He has taken the crook and the flail and the office of his forefathers.
May your heart which is in the desert land be glad,
for your son Horus is firm on your throne,
while you have appeared as the Lord of Busiris, as the Ruler who is in Abydos.
The Two Lands flourish in vindication
because of you in the presence of the Lord of All.
All that exists is ushered in to him in his name of 'Face to whom men are ushered';
the Two lands are marshalled for him as leader in this his name of Sokar;
his might is far-reaching, one greatly feared in this his name of Osiris;
he passes over the length of Eternal Recurrence [*nḥḥ*] in his name of Wennefer.

Hail to you, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Ruler of Rulers,
who took possession of the Two Lands even in the womb of Nut;
he rules the plains of the Silent Land [*jgrt*],
even he the golden of body, blue of head, on whose arms is turquoise.
O Pillar of Myriads, broad of breast, kindly of countenance, who is in the Sacred Land:
May you grant power in the sky, might on earth, and vindication in the God's Domain,
a journeying downstream to Busiris as a living *ɓa*
a journeying upstream to Abydos as a heron;
to go in and out without hindrance at all gates of the *ḏuat*...." [804]

This recitation by the king, the living Horus on the night of I *prt* 1, the annual celebration of his coronation, in essence, is a reaffirmation of the successful transfer of royal power from the vindicated father Osiris to his son before the Two Maaty in the broad hall of Two Truths and in the presence of the Lord of All. It clearly indicates that each is in firm control in his new role. The scope of Osiris' domain and his awesome power is then elaborated on through his many names, including that of Sokar. In return for his voice offering, the king is granted unhindered access through the *ḏuat*, opening the way for them, i.e. the king as the living Horus, the sun god Re and the *ɓa* of Osiris, to continue their ritual journey leading to the first sunrise.

Continuing to follow the arrangement in the papyrus of Ani, the king would have proceeded to the scales. This scene most probably was on the adjacent notional east wall in the broad hall of Two Truths, the First Transverse Hall. Above the balance, a group of twelve deities are depicted who preside over the weighing. (Plate 421) They are: Re-Horakhti, great god who is midst of his barque; Atum; Shu, son of the sun; the lion-headed Tefnut, mistress of the sky, *nbt pt*; Geb; Nut, mistress of the sky, *nb*(*t*) *pt*; Isis and Nephthys together; Horus, great god; Hathor, mistress of the west; finally Hu (Authoritative Utterance) and Sia (Perception) also seated together, who are important manifestations

804 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead [Papyrus of Ani] (1994), plate 2 = Plate 420.

of the sun god. They are the "Great Tribunal" mentioned in the accompanying spell (BD 30B) and are a modified version of the Great Ennead in the Heliopolis creation myth.[805] Their presence is a necessity given their role in the prime act of creation, the first sunrise. Note too that the sun god who is depicted in the solar barque is Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, that special form of the sun god that manifest through the union of Re and Osiris and will rise on the first occasion.

What would have been weighed in the scales in the First Transverse Hall at first seems unclear. If it were to be the king's heart, it is problematic. We have already seen when the king was first entering this chamber and he recited BD 125A and B, the so-called Negative Confession, it was part of the final purification rites that were needed by him to enter into the presence of his father Osiris. Furthermore, on the rear wall of the Central Hall, on the right half of the second register, the king, depicted with heart in hand, is shown being brought before the enthroned Osiris by Anubis. (Plate 314) "Seeber has convincingly argued that this [scenes of the deceased shown carrying his heart] is the deceased [here the king] *after* he has been vindicated."[806] The speech by Anubis confirms this.

> Recitation by Anubis, who is in the place of embalming:
> Everything done, i.e. the many rituals performed, by the Dual King,
> Lord of the Two Lands , *bꜣ-n-rꜥ* [Merneptah]
> His numerous good deeds are twice great,
> put to the balance.
>
> Devoid of misdeeds,
> Not found existing in wrongdoing,
> Place his heart in his body for him.
> Your heart is firm (and) belongs to you [lit. is in his hand].[807]

This scene clearly shows that while the king was here to perform the rites for the benefit of his fathers Osiris and Re, he is himself being transfigured in the process. Seeber also points out that the king was never actually depicted in a scene of the weighing of his heart on the scale until the Late Period.[808] One possibility is that the pans of the scale were empty as they are in the Judgment Hall of Osiris scene in the first ritual cycle. Since the numerous good deeds of the king were said to have been put to the balance in the Central Hall, this seems unlikely. However, the so-called "weighing of the heart" vignette in the 21st Dynasty royal papyrus of Pinudjem I, *pꜥj-nḏm*, may hold the key.[809] (Plate 422) Below the vignette is the text of BD 30B, as in the papyrus of Ani. The king is depicted in the embrace

805 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead [Papyrus of Ani] (1994), 155. Based on commentary by O. Goelet.

806 J. van Dijk, "Entering the House of Hearts: An Addition to Chapter 151 in the Book of the Dead of Qenna" OMRO 75 (1995), 9.

807 See above 5.4 and H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 67.

808 C. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengererichts im Alten Agypten (1976), 186-187.

809 P. Cairo CG 40006.

of Anubis, whose arms form the sign of the *ḳa* and thus its power is being transferred to the king, paralleling the scene in the Central Hall where Anubis places the heart of the king in his body. Noteworthy in the vignette, there is no heart shown being weighed, but rather each pan of the scale holds a different size rectangular black block.[810] Perhaps it would be more correctly described as a mysterious black box to conceal its true nature from the uninitiated. Horus, Protector of his Father, sets the scale which is before the chief judge, the enthroned Osiris, the Ruler of Eternal Sameness (*ḏt*), signifying that the event is also taking place on the first occasion. In front of the balance sits the Lord of the Eight, Judge of Maat. Thoth is depicted in his manifestation as a baboon, wearing the lunar crescent and disk, symbolizing the monthly cycle of the moon and highlighting the role of the moon in this "weighing". Manassa has demonstrated that the purpose of the scale was "to measure the requirements of the eye of Horus [Udjat-eye], so that it might be refilled."[811] She views this as the key to understanding the significance of scene 33, the Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates, and is based on her improved translation of the cryptographic texts.[812] "Unerring divine judgment is expressed figuratively by the scales used to weigh precious metals with mathematical objectivity in treasury accounts."[813] At the same time,"the scale is a hypostasis of Thoth, and he is particularly identified with the indicator of the balance, the plummet (*ṯḥ*) [which] is expressed in an epithet of Thoth 'the precise plummet in the midst of the scale'....The requirements of the Udjat-eye which are weighed in this scale also measure out the provisions for the blessed dead, because the provisions themselves are metaphorically the Udjat-eye."[814] At the same time, the Udjat-eye – the sound eye that Horus gives to his father, Osiris, symbolizes his rejuvenation through the reassembling of its six parts to restore it and make it complete, which is said to have been done by Thoth with his own fingers.[815] It refers to Osiris at the completion of the waxing phase of the lunar cycle. That is to say when the moon is full. Importantly, "the dual lunar and solar natures of the Udjat-eye fit perfectly with the union of Re and Osiris [a theme central to the rising sun vignette which immediately precedes the weighing scene]... The restoration of the Udjat-eye [also] represents the template for the justification of Re in the Underworld.... For the solar god, it is not his heart that must be measured, but rather the ultimate expression of his well being and victory – the *wḏꜣt*-eye [depicted as a mysterious black box]. The *wḏꜣt*-eye is a paradigm of measurability, and its lunar identity makes the *wḏꜣt*-eye ideal for a Netherworldly metaphor. Book of the Dead Chapter 71 provides an unambiguous connection between the Udjat-eye and the scale..."[816]

810 C. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengererichts im Alten Agypten (1976), 74.

811 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates", RdE 57 (2006), 137.

812 Ibid., 109-141. See above 3.3 for a detailed analysis.

813 S. Quirke, "Judgment of the Dead" in D. Redford, The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 173.

814 Ibid., 127-129.

815 P. Boylan, Thoth The Hermes of Egypt (1922, Reprint 1987).

816 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates", RdE 57 (2006), 138-139.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

"O ye 7 utterances *ṯsw* who support the balance
this night of accounting for the Sound Eye..." [817]

"After filling the missing portions of the Udjat-eye with 'its requirements', the hymn [to the crescent moon] states that both Re and Osiris are *mɜʿ-ḫrw* against their enemies. [818] Victory and justification flow directly from the reconstitution of the eye. A measurement of the eye's lacking elements is thus a necessary prerequisite to the filling of the eye and triumph over *jsft*. Once filled, the eye will balance with Maat providing the template for the weighing of the heart..." [819]

"The texts and vignettes of BD 30 and BD125 [on the opposite side of the First Transverse Hall, the Hall of Two Truths] may seem to encapsulate an explicit code of ethics, but they are intended to establish a purity analogous to the purity of the priest entering a period of temple service." [820] Here in the ninth hour of the night, the rites provide the heightened state of purity necessary to withdraw from the lower *ḏuat* and proceed toward sunrise on the first occasion , the culmination of the creation process for bringing the cosmos into existence and the ultimate restoration of *mɜʿt* after the Amarna Heresy.

The final scene in the Hall of Two Truths, following the papyrus of Ani, is of the king making offerings before his father, the enshrined Osiris, Lord of Eternal Sameness, *ḏt*. (Plate 423) It would have been located on the notional southern wall before the doorway leading back into the Sloping Passage. It concluded the rites for the ninth hour of the night. (Plate 35) Osiris is clearly depicted in a restored state signifying that the Osiris-Moon's transfiguration is complete, so that he may appear in the night sky on I *prt* 2, reincarnated as his son Horus as the newly born crescent moon and symbolizing the creation of the lunar cycle on the first occasion.

Arching over these scenes on the reconstructed bipartite ceiling in the Hall of Two Truths is the portrayal of a further stage in the unfolding of creation in this ritual cycle with the first appearance of the Book of the Day on the notional southern half of the ceiling, reflecting the inverted nature of the *ḏuat*. [821] (Plate 132) It is paired with the in situ traces of the Book of the Night, forming the skies of the night of the winter solstice and the day of the summer solstice in preparation for the first sunrise and the beginning of the annual solar circuit. (Plate 388) These are the skies that the newly created solar barques will travel. Together they reinforce the message encoded in the rising sun vignette directly below them, foretelling the successful outcome of the prime act of creation. Note that the sun god is no longer ram-headed as in the night barque, but depicted as the risen sun, the falcon-headed Re-Horus of

817 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day (1974), 64.

818 F-R. Herbin, "Un Hymne a la Lune Croissante" BIFAO 82 (1982), 237-282. The hymn has its origins in the New Kingdom.

819 C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 140-141.

820 S. Quirke, "Judgment of the Dead" in D. Redford, The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 175-176.

821 See above 3.5 and Appendix A for comments on the Book of the Day and its placement.

of the Two Horizons in the Book of the Day. (Plate 140)

The king returns to the Sloping Passage to begin performing the rites for the tenth hour of the night. (Plates 35, 31) They are inscribed on the notional eastern wall and now again are written retrograde, leading the king back up the passage. It is upward sloping symbolizing the withdrawal from the lower *ḏuat* and the hours of the deep night, *wšɜw*, by the king, the sun god Re, and the *ḥa* of Osiris as they proceed toward the Antechamber, the eastern akhet, and the place of the first sunrise. Both texts bear the same title: "Here begin the chapters of going out into the day...", signifying a major shift in the focus of the rites at this stage of the ritual cycle. Both texts are specifically said to be used by the living. [822] They are in an excellent state of preservation and together run the entire length of the Sloping Passage. They are known as chapters one and seventeen of the Book of the Dead, with the vignettes of BD 17 depicted over them. The elaborate vignettes of BD 1 concerning a funerary procession to the tomb have no place here in this sequence of the ritual cycle which was part of the annual celebration of the king's coronation on the night of I *prt* 1 and consequently have been omitted. "BD 1 and 17 are frequently found at the beginning of manuscripts, often following upon each other in the sequence 1-17-18 [also likely the case in the Osireion]. Likewise a version of the hymn to the sun god, BD 15, is often included among these opening spells." [823] Furthermore, "Chapter 1 is not only a spell frequently introducing compilations of the Book of the Dead chapters, but a text expressing the basic idea underlying the entire text-collection we know as Book of the Dead. Through the magic of Thoth the deceased will be provided with everything he needs in the afterlife and his *ḥa* can can move freely between the worlds of the living and the dead." [824] Assmann points to the extraordinary, even canonical, popularity that BD 1 had achieved in the New Kingdom. The key underlying this was the concept that actual, earthly priesthood opened a way to immortality, for already during life, it conveyed divine presence through service to the gods, a presence that extended beyond death. [825] Thus, it would also explain why it was said to be useful for the living on earth. When a text or vignette is repeated in a papyrus or chapel, it usually served to highlight its importance. On the shrines of Tutankhamen, the speech by Thoth from BD 1 is repeated four times! It is inscribed on the door leaves of both the innermost and outermost shrine. It is also found twice in the second shrine. [826] Significantly, in the enigmatic composition on the exterior left side, BD 1 is paired with BD 17 and the giant figure of the

822 J. Gee, "The Use of the Daily Temple Liturgy in the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 75. Although it is not specifically stated in the Osireion versions, it is found in many other variants of both BD 1 and BD 17, and also the case with BD 18 which in all probability followed BD 17 in the Osireion.

823 N. Billing, "Re-assessing the Past Context and Tradition of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 181" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 1-2. The hymn of the sun god, BD 15, as I have suggested, may have been in the First Transverse Hall, the Hall of Two Truths.

824 O. Illes, "Single Spell Book of the Dead Papyri as Amulets" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 126.

825 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 200-208.

826 A. Piankoff, The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon (1955): 60, Shrine IV exterior doors; 97, Shrine II ceiling next to the figure of Nut; 122, Shrine II adjacent to the figure of the unified Re-Osiris; 136-137, Shrine I left wing of the door (interior side).

unified Re-Osiris. (Plate 170) “The Solar-Osirian nature is further expressed on the shrine through the use of excerpts from the Book of the Dead. To the right of the head of the giant deity is a portion of chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, beginning with *ỉnk Rᶜ m ḫᶜw.f*, “I am Re in his glorious appearances'. To the right of the feet of the great god is a portion [the speech by Thoth] of chapter 1 of the Book of the Dead, addressed to Osiris as 'Bull of the West'. The head of the giant deity, the disk of the sun, is in heaven, the body, Osiris, is in the Netherworld.”[827] While there is no depiction of the giant unified Re-Osiris per se in the Sloping Passage, the directional orientation and alignment of BD 1 and BD 17 in the second shrine correspond to those for the texts in the Sloping Passage. BD 1 is at the bottom of the Sloping Passage just as BD 1 is in the bottom register of Tutankhamen's second shrine. The bottom of the Sloping Passage is at the level of the Transverse Halls and the Central Hall which represent the lower *ɗuat* of the Netherworld, where “the body of Osiris is”. Actually, BD 1 even mentions the wrapping of the Dismembered One. The text of BD 17 starts further up the ascending corridor and runs to its end where it opens to the Antechamber, the eastern akhet. Re “in his glorious appearances” is depicted at the top of the lintel above the entrance to the Annex at its notional eastern end. The Osireion could even be considered an architectural rendition of the giant unified Re-Osiris.

The text of BD 1 to be recited by the king has been modified somewhat to fit its ritual purpose in the Osireion and consists of the title and the speech by Thoth addressed to the Bull of the West, Osiris and Osiris-Moon. The Bull of or in the West can also be interpreted as referring to the moon at the time of the Blacked-out moon, the new moon, on I *prt* 1. It reads: (Plate 272, columns 1-36)

Here begin the chapters of going out into the day,
the praises and ritual recitations (*sɜḫw*, lit. 'causing the state of akh')
for going out from the God's Domain.[828]
To be recited on the day of burial and of entering after going out into the day.

Said by Osiris, king *bɜ-n-Rᶜ, mɜᶜ-ḫrw*.

O Bull of/in the West, says Thoth, King of Eternity (*nḥḥ*) therein.
I am the god of protection.
I have fought for you, for I am one of those gods of the tribunal
which vindicated Osiris against (his) enemies on that day of judgment.
I belong to your company, Horus,[829]
for I am one of those gods, the children of Nut, who slew the enemies of Osiris
and keep the rebels away from him.
I belong to your company, Horus.

827 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Books of the Underworld (1995), 557.

828 From the progression of the ritual sequence unfolding here, translating 'm' as from makes better sense.

829 Elsewhere written as Osiris. Here modified such that Thoth's actions are directly aligned with Horus and thus the living Horus, the king. See: T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 5 and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 5.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

I have fought for you. I interceded of behalf of [your name].
I am Thoth, who vindicated Horus against his enemies on that day of judgment
in the great Mansion of the Prince which is in Heliopolis.
I am a Busirite, the son of a Busirite.
I was conceived in Busiris and born in Busiris.
I was with the mourners of Osiris on the shores [of the Washerman].
"Vindicate Osiris against his enemies" said Re to Thoth;
"vindicate Osiris against his enemies" said he, which I, Thoth, did.
I was with Horus on the day of wrapping the Dismembered One
and of the opening of the caverns for the washing of the Weary-hearted One
and secreting the entrance to the secrets [mysteries] in Rosetau.
I was with Horus as the protector of the shoulder of Osiris that was in Letopolis.
I was with Horus in celebrating the festivals of Osiris
and for making great offerings to Re
on the sixth and seventh-day festivals in Heliopolis.
I was a priest, the exalted one who was in the hill.
I was a prophet of Abydos on the day when the land [Tatenen] emerged.
I was the one who saw the mysteries in Rosetau.
I was the reader of the ritual of the *ɓa* in Busiris.
I was a sm-priest with his duties [officiating the funerary rites].
I was the chief master-craftsman on the day when the *ḥnw*-barque [of Sokar]
was put on its sledge.
It was I who seized the hoe on the day of hacking up the earth in Heracleopolis.

O you who bring the potent *ɓas* to the House of Osiris,
bring the *ɓa* of Osiris king Merenptah with you to the House of Osiris,
that he may see as you see, hear as you hear, stand as you stand and sit as you sit.
O you who give bread and beer to the potent (*mnḫ*) *ɓas*,
may you give bread and beer at all seasons to Osiris king Merenptah, *mɜʿ-ḫrw*.
O you who open the way and clear the paths for the potent *ɓas,*
open the way [for him] open the roads for Osiris king Merenptah, *mɜʿ-ḫrw*,
that he may come in freely and go out contented (*ḥtp*),
without being repelled or turned back.
May he enter praised and go out desired (*mrw*).
May his commands be done in the House of Osiris .
May king Merenptah go together with you (pl.), his *aḳḫ* together with you (pl.).[830]

The text is essentially divided into two parts. The second section in the Osireion version of BD 1 is the

830 Author's translation of the Osireion version of BD 1 is based on T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 5 and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 5-6.

one that directly relates to the ritual progression of the withdrawal from the *ḏuat*, just underway. (Plate 272, columns 26-36) It is in the form of a request by Thoth, the divine lector priest and the master of ritual, on behalf of the king, who recites the sacred words to an unnamed group, presumably those deities who are in the retinue of Osiris. Withdrawal from the *ḏuat* was not a given and was fraught with peril, for which the *ḥa* of the king needed all his faculties: to see, to hear, to stand and sit as you sit. The request for bread and beer is to be understood as a symbolic provisioning for what is needed to complete the journey. Furthermore, the way must be opened and the paths cleared. Leaving the House of Osiris is not to be opposed or hindered and the commands of the king are to be obeyed.

It is significant that this pivotal event appears to be reflected through the epithets chosen for the king's name. On the notional western wall of the Sloping Passage, representing the descent to the Hall of Two Truths, the First Transverse Hall, but before entering into the presence of his father, the king is designated as either *sꜣ Rᶜ*, 'son of Re', or simply *nswt*, 'king' with the 120 cartouches where the text is complete. Likewise in all cases, he is *mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*, 'true of voice'. (Plates 274, 275, 276) On the opposite notional eastern wall of the Sloping Passage having been in the presence of Osiris , rejuvenated and embraced him, the epithets designate the king as *wsjr nswt…, mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*, 'Osiris king..., true of voice', or just *wsjr…, mꜣᶜ-ḫrw* in the 27 of the 29 cases where the text is clear.[831] (Plates 272, 273, 274) The consistency in the designation of the king before and after the encounter with Osiris cannot be coincidental. One possible interpretation is that the designation of the living Horus, the king, as Osiris king suggests that the concept of divine kingship is meant to be stressed after their encounter, where Osiris is revivified and Horus posthumously conceived. It would appear to signify the complete cycle of kingship in life and the afterlife that arose on the first occasion and was celebrated annually through the coronation rites of the king. At another level, it may also allude to the lunar aspect of the god of divine kingship, that is to say Horus and Osiris, where the living king as Horus-Moon represents the waxing phase and Osiris king as Osiris-Moon, the waning phase. Together they symbolize the complete lunar cycle that manifests on *zp tpj* and was renewed as part of the rites for the annual coronation celebration on I *prt* 1 at the time of the Blacked-out moon.

The first part of BD 1, in essence, is a lengthy account of past events done by Thoth on behalf of Osiris and with or for Horus. That is to say his role in the cult of divine kingship. Thoth plays a decisive role in the vindication of Osiris and of Horus. He also specifically fought for both of them. He further proclaims that he is a Busirite, born and bred. Like Abydos in Upper Egypt, Busiris in the north was the sacred city of Osiris, making Osiris Thoth's patron deity by his declaration. Commanded

831 The 29 cases are part of the ritual sequence of the withdrawal from the lower *ḏuat* which includes the texts and vignettes of BD 1 and BD 17 in the Sloping Passage, and BD 42, BD 180 and BD 133 in the Antechamber. The context of the two exceptions also appear to be meaningful. The first is quoted above in BD 1. Here where the king is associated with his *aḫḫ*, rather than say his *ḥa*, and this is the only case in the texts where the king's *aḫḫ* occurs, he is simply referred to as *nswt*, assuming the text is complete. (Plate 272) The second instance appears in BD 133 on the lintel above the entrance to the Annex in the Antechamber, where the ritual cycle culminates with the sun god emerging out from the eastern akhet on the first occasion. Here the direct Osirian association is dropped and it is pharaoh as *nswt nb-tꜣwy, bꜣ-n-Rᶜ, sꜣ Rᶜ nb ḫᶜj, Mr-n-ptḥ, dj ᶜnḫ*, 'the king, lord of the Two Lands, Baenre, son of Re, lord of appearances, Merenptah, given life'. (Plate 235) Recall that on the night of I *prt* 1 at the time of the Blacked-out moon, the *ḥa* of Osiris is also traveling in the solar barque with the sun god and the king. In the two cases where both cartouches appear together in the texts, the designation is *wsjr nswt …, sꜣ Rᶜ …, mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*, 'Osiris king..., son of Re..., true of voice'.

by Re to vindicate Osiris against his enemies, that is what he did. As Assmann pointed out, together with Horus, Thoth, as the divine lector priest, participated in the sacred rituals in Rosetau, Letopolis and Heliopolis.[832] In Rosetau, these mysteries consist of the embalming of Osiris. The lunar nature of divine kingship is alluded to. Osiris is called the Dismembered One, a reference to the waning phase of the lunar cycle and the Weary-hearted One, i.e. Osiris dead, a reference to the time of the Blacked-out moon. "At Letopolis, the ritual had to do with the [protection] of the left shoulder of Osiris [part of the re-membering process]... At Heliopolis, the cult of the embalmed and buried Osiris was carried out in the form of the festival of the lunar month [on the sixth and seventh-day festivals]."[833] Noted earlier, this sixth-day festival was celebrated for the filling of the Udjat-eye for Horus by Thoth.[834] Finally, Thoth enumerates seven more of his priestly roles, with references related to the mysteries of Osiris and divine kingship.

It should be clear that all of these events had already occurred prior to Re's withdrawal from the lower *duat* in the ninth hour of the night on I *prt* 1. As such the lengthly speech by Thoth, forming the first section of BD 1, seems to be out of place since it plays no direct part in the ritual action underway at the beginning of the tenth hour, other than that of perhaps setting the background. To further complicate matters, the Osireion text explicitly states that it is to be recited on the day of the burial, (Plate 272 column 2) even though it was also said to be useful for the living as well in other versions. For Osiris this was on 30 Khoiak, the day *prior* to I *prt* 1. On the surface, this evidence would appear to suggest that the rituals performed in the lower *duat*, i.e. the Sloping Passage, two Transverse Halls and the Central Hall, were to take place on the night of 30 Khoiak, the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries, and not on I *prt* 1, as part of the annual celebration of the king's coronation. Furthermore, the timing of the recitation of BD 1 and thus this ritual cycle to the day of the burial of Osiris would add strong support for von Lieven's proposed reconstruction of the events taking place on the island in the Central Hall, if taken at face value. In short, she suggests that there would have been a large shrine representing the Embalming Hall of Osiris on the island. In it a life size figure of Osiris, lying on his belly on his lion-headed bier, was to be awakened by Horus, who places a staff tipped with a life-giving ankh to his nose thereby revivifying his father. The seventeen niches surrounding the island contained the protective deities who performed the Stundenwachen [at the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries on the night of 30 Khoiak].[835]

It is important to recognize that there are essentially two basic types of texts and compositions that form the vast corpus in the Osireion. There are those that directly constitute the three ritual cycles. The other group, equally important, supplements them and was needed to "complete" the newly

832 J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005), 203-204.

833 Ibid., 204.

834 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 86-87.

835 A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 177-186. See 5.5 above for a discussion of her ground-breaking article and her proposed reconstruction.

created cosmos as part of Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt*, 'repetition of births', "a program of necessary re-creations, a re-formation of the universal order, a total restructuring", that reached back to *zp tpj* in order to restore *mɜʿt* after the Amarna Heresy.[836] BD 1 has elements of both. The second section directly relates to the ritual action of the withdrawal from the *ḏuat*. The first section does not, which would account for the apparent inconsistency of the timing for the recitation of the spell. Given its near canonical status, extraordinary popularity in the New Kingdom, and use four times in the shrines of Tutankhamen, including one where it is directly tied to the unified Re-Osiris and BD 17, this speech of Thoth in BD 1, articulating his prominent role in the cult of divine kingship i.e. the cult of Osiris and Horus, with its primary use to have been on the day of burial, was deemed important enough to be preserved as part of the re-formation of universal order. Its recitation in the tenth hour of the night on I prt 1 served to call it into existence in *ḏt* time on *zp tpj*, as part of the "cosmic script" so to speak, so that it could be available for use as part of all burials in *nḥḥ* time.[837] In essence, it is not unlike the empty scale pans of the balance set before the enthroned Osiris in the Judgment Hall in the Book of the Gates, which was the mechanism created in Dt time to be used in all future weighings of the heart in *nḥḥ* time, that had yet to unfold. In addition, given the special status of BD 1 as a spell that frequently introduced compilations of the Book of the Dead chapters, but also is a text expressing the basic idea underlying this entire text-collection,[838] it could be considered a pars pro toto for the Book of the Dead that is being created in *ḏt* time as part of the "cosmic script", especially when recited along with BD 17, that immediately follows it in the Sloping Passage.

BD 17 is "a long spell equating the deceased's [the living Horus, the king's] passage from the tomb [here the House of Osiris] to daylight with that of the sun from night to day."[839] This is clear from the beginning of the title for the spell. (Plate 272 columns 37-38)

> Here begin the chapters of going out into the day,
> the praises and ritual recitations (*sɜḫw*, lit. 'causing the state of *ɜḫw*')
> for going out from and descending into the God's Domain...[840]

By the recitation of the spell, the king does not speak on behalf of his father Re, the son of Re speaks as his father. Again we see the begotten becoming the begetter, through the creative power of ritual recitation. This message is reinforced in the Osireion by the inclusion of only the first half of the spell and not the second part where the deceased "speaks to the sun in its identities of Re, Osiris, and

836 See above 1.2 for a discussion of this important program.

837 See J. P. Allen's useful analogy of a play and its performance for understanding *ḏt* and *nḥḥ* time in Genesis in Egypt (1988), 25-27.

838 O. Illes, "Single Spell Book of the Dead Papyri as Amulets" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 126.

839 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 31.

840 Author's translation of the Osireion version of BD 17 is based on T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 26-30 and R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 7-10.

Kheprer."[841] "Chapter 17 begins with a cosmogonic monologue of the creator god Amun or Re, with whom the deceased [the king as Osiris king Merenptah, true of voice] identifies himself: 'To me belonged the totality when I was alone in the Nun. I am Re in his appearing when he began to exert his dominion over that which he had created.' The purpose of this identification is to enable the deceased [the king as ritualist] to escape the darkness of the tomb [the House of Osiris], to travel in the barque of Re on his victorious journey through the underworld [specifically the *msqt*-region] to the brightness of his daily rebirth in the eastern horizon of heaven, to be like Re. It is one of the fundamental features of the mortuary literature and can be seen in the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts as well as in the Book of the Dead."[842] The fundamental importance of the speech of the creator god comprising the first half of BD 17 is precisely why it is found in the Osireion, as a necessary part of the re-formation of the universal order to establish *mꜣꜥt* in the wake of the Amarna Hersey. It too is part of the cosmic script called into existence in *ḏt* time at *zp tpj*.

Like many of the compositions in the Osireion, the extensive vignette of BD 17 is not found prior to the post-Amarna period. "This is also the case with the famous scenes of the rising and the setting sun [the so-called BD 16]."[843] (Plate 419) The elaborate series of vignettes selected for use in the Osireion are an integral part of this creation composition. (Plates 277, 278) Some of the scenes have no parallels and appear to be unique to the Osireion. Each will be discussed with its associated text. To be expected, the number symbolism embedded in their structure reveals some of the key underlying concepts in the composition. There are exactly thirty six deities including the figures of the king. As we have seen in the compositions of the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars (the Book of Nut) and the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques in the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, the Second Transverse Hall, the number thirty six can be equated with the thirty six decanal stars that mark off and measure the course of the Egyptian civil year and also the hours of the night. The hours of the night are indicated explicitly in the star table on the ceiling of the Sloping Passage directly above the vignettes of BD 17. (Plates 267, 266) Furthermore, as in the two compositions in the *tꜣṯnnt-pr*, the thirty six deities are divided into two groups of sixteen and twenty, mirroring what the decanal stars do, according to Neugebauer and Parker. "The star of the 'first' (*tpt*) hour is the decan which has completed its 10 days as the first hour and is seen in the meridian at the beginning of the night, that is, sometimes after sunset. From then on a simple scheme controls the succession of phenomena. It takes 90 days ('in the west') after finishing as first hour star before a decan becomes enclosed (*šn*) by the *Duat*. At that time the decan is setting right after sunset and thus begins its period of invisibility, which is assumed to last 70 days. Reappearance from the *Duat* is called 'birth' (*ms*). From then on the decan is visible for a longer period each night, but it takes 80 days 'in the east' before the decan really does 'work', i.e., indicates an hour by its culmination. Since culmination at the end of work there have now elapsed 90 + 70 + 80 = 240 days. Because the whole circle of sidereal phenomena is schematically assumed to be 360 days

841 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 31.

842 L. Zabkar, A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts (1968), 126.

843 M. Tarasenko, "The Illustrations of the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 during the 18th Dynasty" in M. Tarasenko (ed.) Pre-Islamic Near East: History, Religion, Culture (2014), 243. Quote from H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1991), 4.

long, we have now 120 days left for the 'working' of a decan. At first its culmination indicates the 12th hour, ten days later the 11th , and so on until it stops working after 120 days having indicated at last the first hour."[844] Following their scheme, the first of the sixteen deities, which are divided into two groups of nine and seven identifies their orientation. It is the emblem of the West, the Horus falcon and the feather of Maat on a standard (GSL-R 13) in the western horizon, which starts the sequence. (Plates 277, 279) The first nine deities, delineated by the two horizon hieroglyphs, (Plate 277) equate to the 90 days, that a star is visible in the western sky, after its "work" i.e., indicating the hour is completed. Then another group of seven deities are depicted that end with the sequence of Isis, Osiris and Nephthys as the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth. (Plates 277, 282) This group of seven decanal stars signifies the 70 days that a decanal star is not visible in the night sky and is regenerating in the *duat*, i.e. the West. Reappearance from the *Duat* is called ms, 'birth' and is represented by a divine royal figure holding an ankh, the sign of life. It is the seventeenth deity in the sequence. 80 days are spent 'in the east' before the decan really begins its work. The eighth deity, the twenty-fourth in the sequence, is Thoth, the Reckoner of Time, manifesting as a baboon. The 'working' of a decan for 120 days is symbolized by the last twelve deities, the first of whom is the divine Celestial Cow and the Sacred Eye of Re.

The number thirty six not only can be equated to the thirty six decans, but also to Osiris and the moon through the sacred Osirian numbers seventeen and nineteen. (Plate 36) There are subtle but clear references to the lunar cycle encoded in the ordering of the structure of the vignettes in the Osireion version. The sequence of Isis, Osiris and Nephthys as the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth divinities is significant. (Plate 282) In a later temple ritual known as the Ceremony of Glorifying Osiris in the God's Domain, Isis addresses Osiris.

> "... You will enter the sound eye and unite with it.
> Your hue will illuminate the land at night,
> when you come into being as Osiris the moon,
> Thoth the bull who rejuvenates in the sky each day.
> I have created the greater Ennead,
> the lesser Ennead has been provided,
> for the sound eye on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
> It means that the 'month' [a name for the moon] will be completed.
> Do not be distant, for I have effected an entry into the sound eye.
> It means the numinous image of Osiris will come into being.
> This means Thoth setting it in order with its constituent parts
> so as to remove injury from it.
> You will appear in the sky with Re on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
> Bulls will ejaculate and cows will become gravid
> when you are seen in the sky on this day."[845]

844 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 41.

845 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 144-145. For the early Ptolemaic dating for the papyrus of Imouthes MMA 35.9.21, see 67.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Osiris is said to enter the sound eye and unite with it on the fifteenth day of the lunar month, (*tp*) *smdt*. That is to say at the time of the full moon, which corresponds to Osiris' position as the fifteenth deity in the sequence of thirty six divinities in the vignette for BD 17. (Plate 277) Isis herself has provided the greater and lesser Enneads for the sound eye on the fifteenth day so that it and the lunar month will be completed. They symbolize the fourteen visible phases of the waxing and of the waning lunar cycle, corresponding to Isis' position as the fourteenth deity in the sequence. In addition, the fourteenth day of the lunar month is called *sjꜣw* and is the earliest day on which the full moon can occur. The sixteenth day of the lunar month is called *mspr sn-nw*, the 'second' arrival day (for the full moon), which corresponds to Nephthys' position as the sixteenth deity in the sequence. Her name *nb-ḥwt* means 'mistress of the mansion' and in this context it would signify the 'mansion of the moon'. The seventeenth day of the lunar month, like the fourteenth day, is also called *sjꜣw* and is the latest day on which the full moon can occur.[846] The corresponding deity in the vignette sequence is a divine royal figure holding an ankh, who can be safely identified as Osiris by his position. Recall that seventeen is the number sacred to Osiris representing his death by dismemberment before revivification and rebirth can occur, symbolized by the number nineteen. The nineteenth divinity in the vignette sequence is the Eye of Horus, which when sound was given by Horus to Osiris in order to rejuvenate him. (Plate 282) The twenty-first deity is Osiris, as an enshrined royal figure holding an ankh. (Plate 278) Twenty one signifies and is the sum of the parts of the Udjat-eye defining its monthly cycle; 1 + 2 + 3 = 6, the number of its pieces and 4 + 5 + 6 = 15, the number of days of its waxing phase from New Moon to the Full Moon, the restored Eye of Horus. (Plate 36) The thirty-first deity in the vignette sequence is Osiris as Osiris-Moon. The number thirty one, interpreted in a lunar context, symbolizes the limbs of Osiris which represent all possible combinations of phases for any single 29 or 30 day lunar month. Interestingly, the thirty-second divinity is the Udjat-eye, which Osiris-Moon faces. (Plates 278, 283) Thirty two is not usually a number associated with the lunar cycle. Here it probably represents the two lunar components, fifteen and seventeen. Fifteen is the number of days for the Udjat-eye to be restored and become complete, the full moon as the sound eye. Seventeen represents the length of the entire period when the moon first gradually becomes covered (waning) and then remained totally covered (invisible) during conjunction. Together they represent the period of the lunar cycle from the full moon to and including conjunction.

The full title for the Osireion version of BD 17 states: (Plate 272 columns 37-41)

> Here begin the chapters of going out into the day,
> the praises and ritual recitations (*sꜣḫw*, lit. 'causing the state of *aḫ*')
> for going out from and descending into the God's Domain,
> partaking of the beautiful West, taking any shape in which he desires to be,
> playing at senet sitting in a pavilion,
> and going forth as a living *ba*.
> So says Osiris king Merenptah, true of voice, after his mooring (death).

846 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 11-14.

It is beneficial (*sꜣḫw*) for one who recites them [on earth]." [847]

The last three lines are extremely important for understanding the ritual action that is taking place. Just as the sun god Re dies every night and as Osiris-Moon at the time of the Blacked-out moon dies (here on the night of I *prt* 1), so too does the Osiris king Merenptah die. But it is a ritual death, necessary for his transfiguration into a living *ɓa* so that he may go forth into the day at sunrise with Re and the *ɓa* of Osiris. What is *sꜣwḫ*, 'beneficial' here is its literal meaning, 'causing the state of *aḫ*' so that the king, transfigured, may depart from the Underworld and return to the land of the living with the sunrise on I *prt* 2 which, not surprising, is also the day that the new crescent moon reappears in the night sky for its rebirth as the vindicated Osiris reincarnated as Horus. And how does this transformation of the king occur – by becoming one with the sun god and creator, as we will see.

The first two scenes in the vignette of BD 17 directly relate to the title of the spell. The first identifies where the journey begins. (Plate 277) It depicts the Horus falcon and feather of maat on a staff, the emblem of the West (GSL-R 13), which rests in the mountain/horizon glyph (GSL-N 26) and together read as the western horizon, where offerings of bread and beer are also shown. The offerings of bread and beer also subtly tie the two scenes together. The senet ritual, to be recited by the king who is seated in the pavilion in the West, is formulated as a *ḥtp dj nswt*-formula, 'offering that the king gives', in the three copies of the great game-text for the 'play of passing'. [848]

In the second scene, Osiris king Baenre Merenptah, *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, 'true of voice', sits in a pavilion "playing" senet. (Plates 277, 279) Senet, in essence, is a ritual action to be performed in the tenth hour of the night by the king in the ascending Sloping Passage as part of the means for passage out from the House of Osiris in the lower *ḍuat* and into the daylight, i.e., the eastern akhet, the Antechamber. It is called *znt nt ḥʿb*, 'play of passing', but here is certainly no game. "It is an allegory for the successful transition into the afterlife [and passage through the Underworld]." [849] At the completion of the senet ritual as recorded in the great game-text, the player is declared *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, 'true of voice', as is the king seated in the pavilion. [850] The image of the *znt* game board in the vignette and its mention in the rubic of

847 Notably, 'on earth' is not included in the Osireion version, pointing to its ritual purpose for use in the Osireion. Author's translation of the Osireion version of BD 17 is based on: T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 26-30; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 7-10; J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 13-24, 30-35, 70, 88; and R. Shalomi-Hen, Classifying the Divine Determinatives and Categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17 (2000), 6-24.

848 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 373-374. In addition, many eighteenth and nineteenth dynasty game boards are inscribed with the *ḥtp dj nswt*-formula and others are decorated with offering scenes.

849 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), commentary by Goelet, 158.

850 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 380.

the spell are unique for the BD corpus.[851] "The great game-text strongly suggests that it also had a function in rites of initiation, being used to reveal secret knowledge either about the senet game itself or more essential truths about the nature of the afterlife,"[852] To which it should be added, the workings of the cycles of the sun, moon and the stars.

"During the eighteenth dynasty senet underwent some major changes. Each player used five draughtsmen instead of seven."[853] Yet the senet board before the king clearly has six, three of each type, hinting at a lunar meaning for the 'play of passing'. (Plate 279) The choice is not random.[854] As we have seen, six is the quintessential number symbolizing the lunar cycle and uniquely Egyptian. The sixth day of the lunar month was an important festival, celebrating the filling of the eye of Horus. Six is the number of pieces of the left eye of Horus, the restored Udjat-eye. The sum of its six parts in relation to the 30-day civil month yields a precise measure of the length of the (lunar) synodic month. The two types of playing pieces, which appear to be jackals and hounds, in a lunar context would signify the waxing and waning phases of the moon. In a solar context, "the Egyptians may well have recognized a homophonic relationship between the words *bꜣ* and *jbꜣ*, 'draughtsmen', when they associated the passage of the *ɓa* with the free movement of the draughtsmen on the game board... In the great game-text, the draughtsmen symbolize the jackals which haul the sun barque. Significantly, these jackals are called *bꜣw*, '*ɓaṣ*', in the Book of the Night."[855] A third century A.D. document, Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 470, relates the senet board "to the lunar calendar, and seemingly was employed as a device to plot the course of the synodical month."[856] Its late date does not necessarily rule out its relevance. Recall that the papyrus Carlsberg I from the second century A. D. is an extensive commentary on the composition first attested in the Osireion, called the Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars with its famous Nut vignette.[857] "The text of pOxyrhynchus 470 makes a series of calendrical

851 M. Tarasenko, "The Illustrations of the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 during the 18th Dynasty" in M. Tarasenko (ed.) Pre-Islamic Near East: History, Religion, Culture (2014), 244.

852 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 372.

853 P. Piccione, "In Search of the Meaning of Senet" Archaeology 33/4 (1980), 57.

854 Piccione astutely observed that "just as the game-text reveals essential notions about passage through the underworld, so the same is true of the New Kingdom senet-scenes. Patterns in the disposition of the scenes on the walls, doors and in door-thickness of tombs reveal by their very placement, the senet-scenes themselves evoke the physical passage of the deceased into the burial (viz. Netherworld), as well as the subsequent passage of the *ɓa* into and out of the tomb." P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 372. This is certainly also the case in the Osireion for its placement of the senet-scene in the ascending Sloping Passage leading out from the House of Osiris and into the eastern akhet so that the king can participate in the first sunrise. However, the main point to be made here is that by extension this same principle would hold true in the selection of the number of pieces and type to be depicted on the senet game board. Piccione also noted that "the paraphernalia of the senet game was altered when it was adapted to an astronomical purpose." Ibid., 348.

855 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 371.

856 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 344.

857 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 37-42.

equations between the senet game and the synodical month, dealing primarily with the time of lunar conjunction and probably the phases of the moon. If Pieper is correct in his restoration, the fragmentary beginning refers to the light (of the moon) being eclipsed, meaning perhaps the unlighted state of the moon at the beginning of the new lunar month. The text then makes the calculation that the sum of the consecutive squares from the fifteenth to the thirtieth squares, i.e., 15 + 16 + 17 + 18 etc.... + 30 = 360 (the number of days in the civil year), being a value which is assigned to those squares. The text specifically associates the 30 squares of the senet board with the Egyptian 30-day cycle of lunar conjunction. According to the document, the thirtieth day, being the thirtieth square, represents the day of conjunction, and it is described as the day when the moon is invisible [lightless]. Thus, the new moon is said to occur on the last day of the [civil] month [in those months when last crescent visibility fell of the twenty-ninth day of the 30-day civil month].... In certain sections, pOxyrhynchus 470 seems to be a literal translation of the Egyptian original, since the syntax therein appears more akin to Egyptian than Greek. In one line, it clearly refers to the original as its source: 'the book says...' Therefore, consistent with the Egyptian source material and the native Egyptian origin of the senet board, the description of the conjunction day would be of Egyptian origin and not influenced by Greek astronomical notions.[858] The association of the god Horus with the last day of the month is significant. In the myth of Horus and Seth, the loss of Horus' eye, as the right eye of the sun god, is associated with the vanishing moon and with its ultimate restoration by Thoth [in BD 17]. Thus, the eyes serve as a reference to both the new and the full moons. The point is aptly demonstrated in two senet boards of Late Period date in which Square no. 30 is decorated with the inscription *jrt-ḥr*, 'Eye of Horus'.... Since there is actual manipulation of pieces, the evidence would suggest that the draught board was adapted for real use as an astronomical device or chart. Seemingly, as a lunar clock of some kind, it might have measured the passage of the month by advancing the counters through the squares according to some principle now lost, although perhaps related to the arithmetic progression of numbers 15-30, equaling the sum of 360 [the number of days in the Egyptian civil year].”[859] That the last square of the board represents the time of the Blacked-out moon or to use Depuydt's more precise terminology “last crescent invisibility” as does the first, is significant.[860] Notably, it symbolizes both the successful completion and the start of a new lunar cycle. But, it also was a relatively rare occurrence, which may have held some significance in the 'play of passing' especially with regard to the calculation of the synchronization of the lunar cycle with that of the solar cycle, measured by the Egyptian civil year. In the 25-year cycle in p.Carlsberg 9, there are 300 months and exactly 309 lunations[861] (Plate 36) Of the nine additional lunations, there are “five involving epagomenal days and the four cases in which two

858 The inscription was copied from 50-138 years after Ptolemy published Almagest, his landmark treatise on ancient astronomy, a text for which our Greco-Egyptian papyrus shows no affinities.

859 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 346-348.

860 L. Depuydt, “The Hieroglyphic Representation of the Moon's Absence (*Psḏntyw*)” in L. Lesko (ed.), Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward (1998), 73.

861 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 14-15. Underlying this cycle are the facts that 25 Egyptian civil years have 9,125 days and that 309 lunar months (divided into 16 years of 12 months and 9 years of 13 months) have 9,124.95231 days.

lunar months begin in a single civil month, the first on Day 1 and the second on Day 30."[862] This, of course, is exactly the situation in the 'play of passing' and the senet board, suggesting it was a matter of special importance to the ancient Egyptians.

Importantly, Piccione points out that 'the coupling of the senet game with astronomy and lunar observation might seem incongruous, were it not for the Greek notion that there did exist in Egypt a relationship between Egyptian astronomy and the game of draughts, for when Plato listed the technological achievements of the Egyptians, he included: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, the game of draughts, draughts-playing and letters, specifically in that order – as quoted by Eustathius of Thessalonica. Further quoted by the latter, Plato described an Egyptian board of the fourth century B.C., which was 'marked as though it were a game of draughts': a board by means of which the Egyptians treat the movements of the sun, and the moon and the eclipses."[863] Piccione further suggests that "certain calendrical aspects of the game board are found perhaps as early as the New Kingdom, although they are not as fully-formed as they would appear much later."[864]

"The presence of Thoth in Square 1, specifically, might also have meaning for the Egyptian calendar. Obviously, in the initial position, *pr-ḏḥtj* echoes *ḏhwtyt*, the Feast of Thoth... it constituted the first of the twelve months of the solar year (Thoth). That the location of Thoth in the first square is not merely coincidental for our discussion is also suggested by the decoration of the last square on the board. At the other end of the board, Square no. 30 is regularly occupied in the New Kingdom and later by the god Horus or Re-Horakhti. As the final square on the board, this *pr-ḥr/Rᶜ-ḥr-ɜḫtj* coincides with the month of *Rᶜ-ḥr-ɜḫtj,* a variant of the name of wp-rnpt, and it is the twelfth and last month of the lunar year. In the civil calendar, the last month of the solar year is *mswt Rᶜ-*(*ḥr-ɜḫtj*) (Mesore), a variant name for which is also *pɜ šmt-ḥr*, 'The Going Forth of Horus'. Thus, the first and last squares of the senet board accord nearly identically with the first and last months of the lunar and civil years. In this aspect, the gameboard would seem to signify the start and end of the year."[865]

Piccione concludes from his study on the game of senet that there is a duality of the meaning. It should be added that this also holds equally true for the Osireion version of BD 17. "Just as the game had efficacy for a solar-based resurrection (i.e., in recreating the passage through the netherworld and resultant ascension of the sun god), so it was also effective for purely lunar resurrection in the cycle of the moon's waning and waxing to full ascension as the full moon (i.e., as the Eye of Horus or Osiris himself). It is the union of Re and Osiris in the netherworld that the solar universe is reconciled with the lunar. They become one in the netherworld; they become one in senet. It should come as no surprise that the Egyptians could have interpreted senet so. As this merger of day and night, sun and

862 L. Depuydt, Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt (1997), 202.

863 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990),349.

864 Ibid., 350-351.

865 Ibid., 355.

moon was essential for solar and lunar resurrection, it would have been reflected in the patterns of the senet game and the spiritual resurrection which it evokes... In the New kingdom and thereafter, it is a means of achieving apotheosis with the sun god when still alive [which is its ritual function in the Osireion], while after death, the life achieved through senet is resurrection and life eternal." [866]

Following the scene of the king sitting in the pavilion of the West in the act of performing the ritual of 'play of passing', symbolizing his journey through the underworld, he is depicted twice kneeling with arms raised in praise before a triad of deities. (Plate 277) Atypically, the royal name is split between the two figures of the king. The first, **[***nswt-bjt***]** ***nfr*** **[***nṯr***]** *bꜣ-n-Rᶜ mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*, "Dual King, young god, Baenre, true of voice' contains his throne name given to him at his coronation. The "title also identifies the king as the current incarnation of a line of royal ancestors". [867] The second is his nomen, the Sun's Son name, *sꜣ Rᶜ nb ḫᶜw mr-n-ptḥ mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*, 'Sun's Sun, lord of appearances, Merenptah, true of voice', given to him at birth. In the context of the coronation rites underway on the night of I *prt* 1 and as the text translated below explicitly states, "his son Horus was caused to rule", it would seem to suggest that the king is being bestowed with his royal titulary in the presence of: the falcon-headed Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, the manifestation of the sun god that arises out of the nightly union of Re with Osiris and first appears with sunrise on the first occasion; the goddess Nut, who gives birth to the sun god every day; and Atum/Atum-Re, the creator, whose functional office and authority the king has inherited. [868] Notably, this configuration of deities coupled with the dual aspect of kingship depicted here is unique to the Osireion vignette of BD 17. [869] The final scene in this first group in the vignette is of the sun-disk rising from the eastern akhet on zp tpj, placed between two lions. (Plate 277) They are identified as the lion-pair Ruty in TT 360 (19th Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II). [870] Shu and Tefnut are often described and depicted as two lions. [871] In this scene, the role of the two lions as Shu and Tefnut, the animating force of the creator Atum also signifying *nḥḥ* time and *ḏt* time respectively, literally are shown supporting the prime act of creation, the first sunrise. As the tenth member of the Heliopolitan creation process and the tenth deity in this first group of scenes in the

866 P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990), 368 and 343.

867 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (Third Edition 2014), 83.

868 In the first episode in the Chapel of Re-Horakhti in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, Atum is depicted in the same manner, wearing the solar disk with uraeus. R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 63 and fig. 1. For earlier aspects in the process of the transfer of royal power in the Central Hall, see 5.4 above.

869 The closest parallel, if one would call it that, is in the papyrus of *Nḫt*, BM EA 10471 + 10473 dated to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Following the scene of playing senet in a pavilion, *Nḫt* is depicted kneeling with arms raised in praise before four gods, ReHorakhti, Thoth and possibly Hu and Sia. This scene is immediately followed by another where *Nḫt* in the same position is before the four deities, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Horus. For a description and depiction of these scenes see M. Tarasenko, "The Illustrations of the Book of the Dead Chapter 17 during the 18th Dynasty" in M. Tarasenko (ed.) Pre-Islamic Near East: History, Religion, Culture (2014), 244-245.

870 M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengrabern des Neuen Reiches (1984),18 and 100.

871 See above 5.4.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

vignette of BD 17, represented as the sun-disk, *sꜣ Rᶜ* 'the Sun's Son', Horus, *nb ḫᶜw* 'Lord of Appearances' rises from the eastern akhet in his manifestation as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. This prime act of creation initiates the coming into being of the cosmos in *nḥḥ* time and with it divine kingship. Re, *ᶜꜣ nṯr*, 'the great god', rules the heavens and the Sun's Son, the living Horus, *nfr nṯr*, 'the young god' rules the Two Lands. At the same time, Horus is the son and incarnation of Osiris, whose potent *ɓa* rules the *ɗuat.*

The first group of scenes with its ten deities in the vignette of BD 17 can be read sequentially. (Plate 277) The Horus-falcon, symbol of the king, alights in the western horizon where offerings are made. Now enthroned in the pavilion of the West, the king, as the living Horus, performs the ritual of the 'play of passage', guiding him safely through the underworld to the eastern akhet and the first sunrise, and through this process is bestowed with his royal titulary on the night of I *prt* 1, during the annual renewal of his coronation. Placed at the beginning of this lengthy spell, it magically insures a successful outcome through its ritual recitation The associated texts augment the vignette and develop the themes unfolding on the first occasion, zp tpj, to a greater extent.[872] (Plates 272-73 columns 41-56)

S 1 The word of the the All-lord developed.
I am Atum when I existed alone in the Nun
I am Re in his [first] appearances when he began to rule what he had made.
[What does it mean?] It is Re beginning to appear over that which exists,
[before] the supports/uplifting of Shu had come into being,
he [Re] being on the high ground/hill in Hermopolis (city of Eight),
[when given to him] the children of the Feeble One, *bdšt*, on the hill in [Hermopolis.

S 2 I am] the great god, the self-created/developed.
He is the waters. It is Nun, father of [the gods].
Otherwise said: It is Re who created all his names [Lord of the Ennead
Who is he?] It is Re who/when he created his names [and his members.
It means the coming into existence of the] gods who are after him (in his retinue).
I am the un[opposable one of the gods.
Who is he? He is Atum in his (solar) disk.
Otherwise said: He is Re when he rises in the] eastern horizon of [the sky.

S 3 Yesterday is mine, I know tomorrow.
What does it mean? As for yesterday, it is Osiris.
As for tomorrow, it is Re on the day,
when the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed
and] his son Horus [was caused to rule.

872 Using T. G. Allen's numbering scheme, they constitute sections S 1, S 2, and S 3. T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 27. They are found in columns 41-56 of the Osireion text: (Plates 272, 273); S 1, columns 41-46; S 2, columns 47-52; S 3, columns 52-56.

It is the day of We Are Enduring.
It is the burial of Osiris being directed by his father Re.][873]

The text is structured as a monologue by the creator god, the demiurge who sets the unfolding of creation in motion. "The creation itself is described as the development of the creator's word."[874] The divine word is at the heart of the Memphite creation process and its introduction here serves to bring this important aspect of the unfolding of creation process and creation itself into existence. "Until he speaks, the world has not yet been (re)created."[875] The creator's dual identity is revealed, but this identity is couched in the terms of his developing nature in the process of the unfolding of creation. "I am Atum, *jnk tm*, when I existed alone in the Nun. (Plate 273 column 42) I am Re, *jnk rˁ*, in his [first] appearances when he began to rule what he had made. (Plate 273 column 43) The creator is transfigured by his own process of the unfolding of creation, so that Atum, the initiator of creation, becomes Re at the first sunrise, the prime act of Atum's creation. "Dr. Servajean explains the construction *jnk* + nominal predicate in terms of performativity,... The expression shows the exact equivalence of the speaker [here the king, the living Horus, as ritualist] and the deity named in the predicate."[876] By the recitation of the spell, the king himself becomes, or better still, is transformed into his fathers Atum and Re, and the sole source of creation and its unfolding on the first occasion. The begotten becomes the begetter through the power of magic [Heka] unleashed by the ritual recitation of the divine word. "Becoming Magic [Heka]... I am the one whom the Sole Lord made before two things had developed in this world... when something came from his mouth... I, in fact, am the son of the one who bore all... All was mine before you developed, gods. Go [bow] down, you who came at the end! I am magic [Heka], *jnk ḥkɜ*." (CT 261)[877]

The text indicates that it is at a very early stage of the unfolding of creation, because the uplifting of the supports of Shu had not yet come into being. That is to say, Shu has not separated Nut from Geb, the sky from the earth. The demiurge as Re is on the primordial mound in the city of Eight, when the children of *bdšt* were given to him.[878] These children of the Feeble One are apparently the children

873 Author's translation of the Osireion version of BD 17 is based on: T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 26-30;R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 7-10; J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 13-24, 30-35, 70, 88; and R. Shalomi-Hen, Classifying the Divine Determinatives and Categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17 (2000), 6-24.

874 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 31. See also his chapter four for the role of the heart and tongue, and the divine word, 38-47.

875 T. DuQuesne, Review of F. Servajean, Les formules des transformations du Livre des Morts, DE 58 (2004), 96.

876 Ibid., 97.

877 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 37.

878 "*jst rdj n.f msw bdšt*" is also translated as "when he destroyed the Children of Impotence (or Powerless, Feeble One) by R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), Plate 7 and M Tarasenko, "Mythological Allusions Connected with Cosmogony in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 340. However, this is less likely because later in the text in S 15 "the children of the Feeble One were being punished for what they had done." (Plate 274 column 126)

of Apophis or his allies and as such are the enemies the sun god and the unfolding of creation.[879] However, despite their efforts they were powerless against the forces of creation.

I am the great god, the self -created. "Two gods can be thought of as 'self-developing' – that is, not dependent on the act of creation for their existence. Interestingly, the Coffin Texts identify only one of these, the Primeval Waters [Nun] that existed before creation."[880] Nun, father of the gods, however, "was not an 'active' creator, though he was considered the oldest god, the one who gave birth to Atum; Nun himself personified a somewhat inert, pre-creative condition of a demiurge-god. He enters the active stage of creation only with the appearance of a primeval hill, per se with the personification of Atum. Nevertheless, on some monuments Nun is shown as an 'active' demiurge – notably, an illustration of the Book of Gates (the last register) on the sarcophagus of Seti I [and in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion], on which Nun raises 'from inside himself' a barque of Re-Atum with suite – this is definitely an act of creation, the cosmographic image of the birth of the sun from the primeval ocean."[881] (Plates 122, 121)

The text identifies the other self-developing great god as Re who created his names and his members – the coming into existence of the gods who are after him. The gods who are after him represent his development into the elements of nature.[882] "Undoubtedly, this is a question of theogony – the creation of the Ennead of Heliopolis. Correspondingly, the gods of the Ennead are represented as parts of the body of its creator – Atum-Re... Having created the hill (or rather, having self-appeared as a hill), anthropomorphous Atum-Re calls the names of his 'parts of the body' (pronouncing the name is identified with the act of creation) and by this way the deities were come into being. As Wilson mentioned: 'Parts of the body exist apart, each having its own qualities, and, thus, they could be identified with different deities... each time you pronounce a name a new god is born.'[883] However, as all the gods are the parts of their creator's body, they remain in full dependence on him, forming his suite – the Ennead in this case."[884] I am the unopposable one of the gods. "The adjective 'unopposable' suggests a view of creation as inevitable. This applies both to the development of the original source

879 M Tarasenko, "Mythological Allusions Connected with Cosmogony in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 344-348. As allies J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 70, n. 118 and E. Hornung, The Egyptian Book of Gates (2014), 372.

880 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 32.

881 M Tarasenko, "Mythological Allusions Connected with Cosmogony in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 348. See above 3.4 for a discussion of the significance of the final scene of the Book of Gates.

882 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 33.

883 J. Wilson, "Egypt: The Nature of the Universe" in H. Frankfort, H. A. Frankfort, J. Wilson, T. Jacobsen, w. Irwin, The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man (1946, reprint 1977), 53.

884 M Tarasenko, "Mythological Allusions Connected with Cosmogony in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 349.

into the sun ('Atum in his disk') as well as to the sunrise itself [on the first occasion, *zp tpj*]".[885] Yesterday is mine, I know tomorrow. "This line links the original creation [in *ḏt* time] with the cycle of daily life [in *nḥḥ* time]... The references to the original creation serve as a background to the more apposite concern for how the 'inevitability' of the sun's cycle relates to the deceased's hope for new life. [In its ritual context in the Osireion, it relates to the king's departure, joined together with the sun god, I am Re, from the *msqt*-region to the eastern akhet for the first sunrise.] The creation produced not only existence but also change. As the determinant of all life, the sun both embodies in itself the pattern of existence ('Yesterday is mine') and determines the ongoing development of that pattern ("I know tomorrow'). The glosses equate this duality on the one hand with Osiris, the principle of potent new life, and on the other with the sun, the manifest realization of that potential. The two together embody the cycle of life – a cycle that began at the creation ('the day when the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed') and continues in daily life ('the day of We Are Enduring'). In human terms, this equates to the cycle of the generations: 'It is the burial of Osiris and causing his son Horus to rule'."[886] In the Osireion context of the rites for the annual coronation ceremony on the night of I *prt* 1, it is the re-creation and establishment of the legitimate means for the transfer of royal power. As will be seen in section S15, the cycle that began creation, the day when the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed , and the legitimate means for the transfer of royal power from father Osiris to son Horus form the conclusion to the Osireion version of BD 17, just as it does here for this first group of ten deities in the vignette and its accompanying texts. Recall that ten is the number that was sacred to Horus and divine kingship. Horus, as the tenth member, is the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process who came into being on the day when the enemies of the Lord to the Limit (Atum) were destroyed.

By the Middle Kingdom much of the meaning of this spell was already obscure. Nevertheless, its importance must have been recognized. This is proven by the glosses – 'What does it mean?' or 'Who is that?' and that more glosses were added during the New Kingdom, including the elaborate vignette. It is significant that BD 17 was chosen to be included in the reordering to reestablish maat after the Amarna Heresy as part of Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm-msw*t. Therefore, its recitation by the king on the night of I *prt* 1 was a necessary part of the rites for the annual renewal to reestablish cosmic order and for the king's safe return to the land of the living on earth. Importantly, its recitation also helped to define the nature of the world that he would be returning to, which is an illusive concept for the modern western mind as obscure to us as the meaning of the original spell must have been to the ancient redactors. Furthermore, the glosses indicate that no one apparently fully understood what the spell was about, but its vital importance was not doubted which in itself is interesting. It provides an insight into understanding the function of Heka and the power of ritual recitation. To call into being what was clearly not understood appears to be a leap in faith, not to mention a risky affair. But it may also have served as a sort of prototype for the many things in the created cosmos that are not easily explained or even understood – yet, they do exist. This aspect of the unfolding of creation is not introduced until relatively late in the ritual process during the tenth hour of the night.

885 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 33.

886 Ibid., 33-34.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The twenty six deities that form the remainder of the vignette do not appear to be so easily segmented into groups with the exceptions of the next six concerning sections S4-S6 and the last six, which relate to sections S14 and S15 of the text. The text for sections S5-S13 found in the Osireion version of BD 17 is as follows.

S 4 (Plate 273 columns 56-60)
[It is in accordance with my say that the god's battleship was made,
As for the god's battleship,] it is the West.
[It was made in order to battle the god's enemies.
What is it then?] It is the West. This [was made against the gods' *ɓas*
in accordance with the command of] Osiris.
Otherwise said: [this is what the Re caused every god to board.
Then he himself fought for them.
I know this Great God who is in it.
Who is he? He is] Osiris.
Otherwise said: [His name is Acclaimer of Re.
he is the *ɓa* of Re, by means of which he copulates himself.]

S 5 (Plate 273 columns 61-64)
I am the great Phoenix, *bnw*, [that is in Heliopolis,
the accountant] of that which exists.
Who [is he? It is Osiris. As for that which exists,]
It is *nḥḥ*, Eternal Recurrence, together with *ḏt*, Eternal Sameness .
[As for Eternal Recurrence, it is day; as for Eternal Sameness], it is the night.
Otherwise said... (Lost and I am unaware of a parallel for this clause.) [887]

Sections S4 and S5 concern the three deities depicted before an offering table that follow the scene of the two lions supporting the eastern horizon and the first sunrise. (Plates 277, 281) The first two deities appear as twins, each holding the sign of life. One wears the double crown, *sḫmty*, and the other the Atef-crown, *ɜtf*. Section S4 identifies the two gods as Re and Osiris. The one twin Osiris, wearing the Atef-crown, is beside the *bnw*-bird, the Great Phoenix in Heliopolis. In the Pyramid Texts, the *bnw*-bird "is described as one of the forms of the Heliopolitan sun god Atum. This link with the creator sun god is maintained in the Middle Kingdom where the Benu of Re is said to be the means by which Atum came into being in the primeval water [Nun]. Like that of the sun god, the Benu's own birth is attributed to self-generation... The Benu is also found as a symbol of anticipated rebirth in the Underworld." [888] It is associated with Atum and Re, but also with Osiris. [889] In section S5, it is

887 Author's translation of the Osireion version of BD 17 which includes sections S1- S15 is based on: T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 26-30;R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 7-10; J. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 13-24, 30-35, 70, 88.

888 G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986), 57.

889 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 212.

specifically identified as Osiris. The *bnw*-bird in the vignette of BD 17 in the papyrus of the steward of Seti I, Hunefer (p.BM 9901), is clearly labeled as the *ḥa* of Re. "He is the *ḥa* of Re, by means of which he copulates himself." The he, "the Great God", can thus be identified with both Osiris and Re, suggesting that it is the union of these two gods that is being alluded to here. But it also embodies the theme of the creator's self-generation. The first twin deity represents Re as Atum, the creator, donned with the double crown as he normally is depicted. The third deity, the *bnw*-bird is the means of Atum's self-generation. In a like manner, the second of the twins is Osiris and the *bnw*-bird is his means of rebirth, just as Osiris is the means of the sun god's regeneration and rebirth. That is why Osiris is identified as the *bnw*-bird, the Great Phoenix. Subtly, the three deities describe the creation of the sun and the moon on the first occasion. The text, S5, connects them to *nḥḥ* time and *ḏt* time – Eternal Recurrence and Eternal Sameness. Said another way, it is the day and it is the night that is created on *zp tpj*. Furthermore, the pairing of Atum and Osiris also alludes to not only the beginning of creation but to its end as well. Recall from BD 175, Atum says: "I will dispatch the elders and destroy all that I have made; the earth shall return to the Primordial Water [Nun], to the surging flood, as in its original state. But I will remain with Osiris..." [889]

Commenting of the meaning of the texts of sections S4 and S5, Allen offers these important insights. "Continued existence is a recurring battle for re-creation, exemplified in the sun's nightly journey ('It is the West'), where he combats the forces that can keep this re-creation from happening... The Coffin Texts glosses identify the principal force at work in the struggle for existence as the sun. Book of the Dead copies [including the Osireion version] add the notion of the sun as Osiris, the principle with which the sun becomes merged in the *ḏuat*. This principle is what gives the sun its power to produce life... In the Egyptian view, life is the ongoing recurrence of the pattern of existence created in the beginning [*zp tpj*]. The ultimate symbol and determinant of that cycle is the sun. Creation is the triumph of light over darkness – a cycle in which darkness is not so much the antagonist of light as its unrealized potential: darkness is light waiting to happen. The pattern of existence is potential in the same way, the potential [cosmic] script of the play of life. The daily realization of that potential – the 'acting out' of the play – is true existence. What makes possible the transition from potential to actual is the principle of re-creation, Osiris – the same force that produces a live plant from the potential of an apparently lifeless seed." [890]

At another level these three deities in the vignette commented upon in the texts of sections S4 and S5, can also be viewed as representing the first half of a group of six deities. The number six alerts us to an underlying lunar symbolism for this grouping in the vignette. Atum, the creator, Osiris-Moon and the Great Phoenix, the *bnw*-bird, combine to form the expansive aspect of the waxing cycle from the new moon on I *prt* 1. The three deities who follow them – the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth – equate to the period of the full moon, as has already been shown.[891] They are Isis, Osiris and Nephthys.

889 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 29.

890 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 34-35.

891 See above in 5.8 for the earlier discussion on lunar symbolism for the thirty six divinities in the Osireion vignette of BD 17. Like the vignette itself, the lunar symbolism embedded in its structure is unique to the Osireion.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

(Plates 277, 282) The two goddesses are easily identified by their headdresses consisting of their names and Osiris by his royal regalia, as Ruler of the West, who is distinguishable from the king, depicted in royal dress of the living monarch. This group of six divine figures represents the period of the lunar cycle from the new moon through the full moon, the waxing cycle and its completion. Notably, the seventeenth deity in the sequence also a manifestation of Osiris as Osiris-Moon faces in the opposite direction from the fifteenth deity, Osiris when he enters the full moon, and the sixteenth deity the Mistress of the (Lunar) Mansion, Nephthys, signifying the second arrival day of the full moon, *mspr sn-nw*. The reversed direction that Osiris-Moon faces, who is the seventeenth deity in the vignette sequence, signifies the beginning of the waning phase of the cycle, and mirrors how the moon actually appears in the night sky. The number seventeen, sacred to Osiris, symbolizes his waning i.e. , the dismemberment and finally his death when the moon is no longer visible in the night sky. (Plate 36) The following texts of sections S6 and S7 refer to mythical aspects of these four deities.

S 6 (Plate 273 columns 64-69a)
[I am Min at his going forth, I have set the plumes on my head.
What does it mean? As for Min, he is Horus who protects his father.
As for] his going forth, it means his birth.
As for the his double plumes on his head,
it means that Isis together with Nephthys went and put themselves on his head
when they were the Two Kites, *ḏrty*, and they were firm on his head.
Otherwise said: It is the two great uraei which are on the brow of my father Atum.
Otherwise said: The plumes, *šwty*, on his head are his eye[s].

S 7 (Plate 273 columns 69a-69b)
When I was in my land, I came into my city [Heliopolis].
What is it? It is the horizon, *ꜣḫt*, of my father Atum.

The text identifies the male deity as Min at his going forth, a manifestation of Horus who protects his father. 'At his going forth' was a common designation for the god in procession. "A ceremony honoring Min, featuring a procession of a statue of the god, sometimes took place during the royal coronation as a means of ensuring the king's potency. Similar rituals occurred during sed-festivals (royal jubilees)."[892] The text equates his going forth with his birth. In its lunar context, the birth of Horus occurred on the second day of the lunar month with first crescent visibility. As Parker had pointed out, "the new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as the king of the dead and of his son and successor Horus as king of the living [after their joint coronation on I *prt* 1].[893] The joint coronation symbolizes that of divine kingship, ruling over both realms of the living and of the afterlife. One god in two persons, manifesting as Horus of the living and Osiris of the dead. At the conclusion of the rites on the night of I *prt* 1 in the Osireion, with the sunrise on I *prt* 2, the second day of the lunar

892 E. Romanosky, "Min" in D. Redford (ed), The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 219.

893 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

month on the ideal calendar and on *zp tpj*, the newly born king Horus, son of Re, makes his appearance in glory, *ḫʿw*. That evening shortly after sunset the new crescent moon makes its appearance, *ḫʿw*, low in the western horizon, as the newly born king Horus-Moon, the incarnation of Osiris as his son. In the First Hall of the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, Min-Horus, son of Isis, is depicted in a shrine. (Plate 311) He is depicted in exactly the same form as the six statues of Osiris on the rear wall of the Central Hall in the Osireion, (Plate 303) linking Min-Horus to Osiris himself, divine kingship, and the fifteenth deity in the vignette of BD 17 in the Sloping Passage. One god in two persons, Osiris and Horus – the dual nature of divine kingship. Furthermore, as we have seen, Osiris is said to enter the sound eye and unite with it on the fifteenth day of the lunar month. That is to say at the time of the full moon, which corresponds to Osiris' position as the fifteenth deity in the sequence of thirty six divinities in the vignette for BD 17. On the day of the full moon, Osiris-Moon makes his appearance in glory, *ḫʿw*, at sunset rising from the eastern akhet. Its brilliance illuminates the sky all night long and sets after sunrise on the next day. The word *ḫʿw* also means the rise of the sun and by extension the rise of the moon.[894] It "describes at once the rising of celestial bodies as well as the king's assumption of the throne [here on I *prt* 1], and thus points to the cosmic character of kingship and its association with crowns."[895]

The associated crown is the double plumes, *šwty*, put on Horus' head by Isis and Nephthys. The *šwty*-crown also symbolizes luminosity, one of the most prominent outer characteristics of the gods expressing their cosmic nature and can be bestowed on the king.[896] The text identifies them as Isis and Nephthys when they were the Two Kites, *ḏrty*, as they are depicted in the vignette. (Plate 277) "Otherwise said: they are the two great uraei on the brow of my father Atum. The plumes on his head are his eye[s]." The double plumes, *šwty*, Isis and Nephthys, the Two Kites, *ḏrty*, and the two great uraei, "all refer to the same structural foundation seen in the role of the feminine as the medium of renewal and formulated in terms of a sequential dualism incorporating the duality of the eye, and the interaction of the eye and the night sky."[897] Notably, in the other depictions of this scene of Isis, Osiris and Nephthys, Osiris is always mummified and lying prone. However here as Osiris-Moon, he is shown seated with his royal regalia indicative of his rejuvenated state, equating him to the full moon as the fifteenth deity in the sequence of the thirty six deities in the vignette. "According to the myth, the first thing that occurs is the reconstitution of the body of the god by his sisters Isis and Nephthys. The body, which is either missing [i.e. not visible in the night sky at the time of the Blacked-out moon] or scattered in pieces [signifying the end of the waning phase of the lunar cycle], has to be sought out and gathered together by the goddesses [as the Two Kites]. Isis and Nephthys initiate the process of resurrection by placing their brother between them [as is depicted in the vignette]... the Book of the

894 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 708.

895 K. Goebs, "Some Cosmic Aspects of the Royal Crowns" in C. Eyre (ed), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998), 447.

896 Ibid., 459.

897 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history (1986), 131.

Dead, chapter seventeen relates the goddesses to a combination of parallel feminine dualisms, the two feathers, the two eyes, the uraei."[898] Interestingly, Troy has demonstrated that the names of Isis and Nephthys are "associated with two different throne types. The complimentary natures of these two thrones are seen in the manner in which they are employed. The *st*-throne [of Isis] is a common element used in the name of Osiris. The *ḥwt*-throne [found in Nephthys' name, *nbt-ḥwt*] is associated with Horus in the name of Hathor as *ḥwt-ḥr* [throne of Horus]. The two thrones appear to allude to the double nature of the kingship as consisting of both father and son."[899] Importantly, the dual nature of divine kingship also can be interpreted as extending over both realms of this world and the next.

The two great uraei, *jrʿty*,which are on the brow of my father Atum. Specifying Atum signals the unfolding of an aspect of the creation. "The sun, like the moon, is composed of disk [Atum who is in his disk] and rays. In Egyptian terminology, the disc is given a masculine designation with the term *jtn* ... The rays of the disk are personified by the cobra, often found associated with the solar disk. The feminine identification of the cobra is well established in Egyptian mythology... The cobra is identified as the brow ornament of the god Re. In this role it becomes the uraeus, Egyptian *jʿrt*. Examining the names Re (*rʿ*) and *jʿrt*, the pattern of inversion can be seen to repeat itself. The term *jʿrt* appears to be derived from the verb *jʿr* 'to rise'. Hornung notes the use of the verb *jʿr* to pun on the name Re. According to Barta the name Re is also derived from verb *jʿr*, written as a paranomasia, that is in reverse form. Following this reasoning, the name Re (*rʿ*) and *jʿrt* are male and female versions of the same name, written in an inverse relationship to one another, an inversion which reflects that of their symbolic gender modes. The composition of the solar disk as consisting of male-uterine and female-phallic elements is analogous to the androgyny of the pre-creation state. It also takes up the theme of the interaction of opposition found in the *zp tpj*. In Atum's act of creation it was the mouth and the hand of the god that served as manifestations of the uterine and phallic elements... The solar disk both complements and parallels the composition of the primeval source [Atum]. The use of the inverted gender modes emphasizes the concept of the interaction of opposition as prerequisite for creation while reaffirming the indissoluable unity of those elements of opposition. The use of sexual symbolism in this context retains a reference to the natural world [which arises out of the Heliopolitan creation process initiated by Atum] and to the interdependence of male and female in the reproduction of life [established by the first act of creation, the coming into being of Shu and Tefnut]."[900]

"The vulture and the cobra function as complements in their connotative value as mother and daughter. The reformulation of this symbolism, as the two cobras, indicates a movement towards a preference for the interpretation of complementarity as parallelism, in the presentation of the feminine prototype. This symbolism also emphasizes Egypt's status as the created world. This parallelism, found in the imagery of the two daughters, and two sisters, is also found in reference to the two eyes of the god, as symbols for the complementarity of night and day. The two eyes are incorporated into the

898 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history (1986), 36-37.

899 Ibid., 37-38.

900 Ibid., 20-21.

complex of feminine duality... As the two eyes of the god, the opposition of east and west comes into play. The specific association of the two feathers with the two zones of the horizons supplies another element which illuminates their connotational value... The Coffin Texts use the image of the feather as means of conveying the creator god's capacity for renewal. When applied to Atum, the two feathers thus become his children Shu and Tefnut... Here the two feathers are given male and female personifications. The dualism of the two children of Atum are equated with the female dualism of the two cobras, the two feathers and the two eyes."[901]

The plumes, *šwty*, on his head (Horus who protects his father) are his eye[s]. While other versions of section S6 explicitly indicate that it is his two eyes, the Osireion version does not. Rather it states: it is his eye, *jrt.f pw*... and it is clearly singular even though there is adequate space to indicate two eyes. (Plate 273, column 68) This suggests that what is being emphasized in the Osireion text is a reference specifically to the restored eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye. It is the left eye of Horus when it is complete symbolizing the moon, when it is full on the fifteenth day of the lunar month which corresponds to the position of the deity in the carefully crafted Osireion version of the vignette for BD 17.

The dualism of the two feathers, the *šwty*-crown, Isis and Nephthys, the Two Kites, and the two great uraei is subtly carried over into section S7 and relates to the seventeenth deity in the vignette sequence, which has a dual identity. The text informs us that upon entering his land (Egypt) he went to his city (Heliopolis), which is also known as the horizon of his father Atum. The unnamed royal divinity depicted in the vignette is sitting in his temple holding the ankh sign. (Plate 277) As the seventeenth deity, he can be equated to Osiris-Moon. Recall that the reversed direction that this deity faces from the fifteenth and sixteenth divinities signifies the beginning of the waning phase of the lunar cycle, and mirrors how the moon actually appears in the night sky. (Plate 70) The number seventeen is, of course, sacred to Osiris, symbolizing his waning, i.e. the dismemberment and finally his death when the moon is longer visible in the night sky. (Plate 36) While the city of the sun was a major cult center for Re and the creator Atum, Osiris also had an important cult center in Heliopolis, where he is identified with the *bnw*-bird, the Great Phoenix. The *bnw*-bird is the means of Atum's self-generation. In a like manner, Osiris as the *bnw*-bird is also the means of the sun god Re's regeneration and rebirth through their nightly union. As for the horizon of Atum, it is the place of the unfolding of the prime act of creation, the first sunrise. It is also the place before the original creation, where "the *bnw*-bird finally came to rest on a rock [the horizon of Atum] at which point its cry broke the primeval silence and was said to have determined what was and what was not to be in the unfolding of creation [a pun on the meaning of Atum, *tm*]."[902] "Until he speaks [from the sacred stone of Heliopolis], the world has not yet been (re)created. The horizon which he occupies in one of these texts may be construed as the location from which he begins his celestial ascent. The presence of a 'you' is not implied here, because the individual is engaging in magical creation rather than communication."[903] Additionally, the horizon

901 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history (1986), 126 and 128.

902 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 212.

903 T. DuQuesne, Review of F. Servajean, Les formules des transformations du Livre des Morts, DE 58 (2004), 96.

of Atum can be equated with Osiris, who is in the eastern akhet where the union with Re occurs "at the portal of the horizon, and may even be envisaged as forming the portal himself."[904]

The father son constellation is emphasized by the phrase: "it is the horizon of my father Atum", as it is in section S6: "the two great uraei which are on the brow of my father Atum". Horus is called the son of Atum, already in the Pyramid Texts ([PT 454] pyr. 874b and [PT 465] pyr. 881b).[905] It provides the second identity for the seventeenth figure in the vignette sequence as Horus. Osiris and Horus combined in this one image of the seventeenth figure symbolizes divine kingship. (Plates 277, 282) The royal figure holding the ankh sign can be read as "the living king", who by his recitation of the text calls into existence his father Atum and in so doing divine kingship. The begotten again becomes the begetter. "The double function of begetter and begotten is constantly reiterated [in all three of the ritual cycles in the Osireion]. It is an essential component of divine birth and hence the process of renewal... The differentiation of the original unity [Atum] into complementary elements forms the pattern which the Egyptians apply to all levels of creation and all forms of transition. The initial transition from chaos to cosmos, the first time *zp tpj*, provides the paradigm for all transformation, as manifestations of the binary potential of the pre-creation state."[906] In the Osireion, it forms the cornerstone of Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* to reestablish *mꜣʿt* on the first occasion in the wake of the Amarna Hersey.

Not only is the horizon of Atum the place of the unfolding of the prime act of creation, the first sunrise in the eastern horizon, it also is the western horizon where the aging sun god Atum sets. These two horizons of Atum "become the oppositions of the birth process, conception (west) and birth (east)... The opposition of conception and birth is associated with the dualistic function of the goddess [Nut, who spans the two horizons] in the rejuvenation of the god. She is wife at the western horizon where she receives the seed of the god. At the eastern horizon she is the mother of the god, expelling him from her body."[907] It would seem then, that the "horizon of my father Atum" encompasses all that he has created. Subtly there may even be an allusion to Atum's destruction of the created cosmos encoded in the number symbolism of the seventeenth deity and the name Atum, *tm*. "Tm means both 'complete, finish' and 'not be'. Both connotations are associated with Atum."[908] The number seventeen signifies dismemberment, which may not only be of that of moon, but also by extension the end of the solar cycle. Recall from BD 175, Atum says: "I will dispatch the elders and destroy all that I have made; the earth shall return to the Primordial Water [Nun], to the surging flood, as in its original state. But I will remain with Osiris..."[909]

904 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 621. See 4.6 above.

905 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history (1986), 28.

906 Ibid., 27 and 146.

907 Ibid., 27.

908 J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt (1988), 9.

909 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), Plate 29.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The eighteenth and nineteenth deities appear to be an elaboration on the theme of the 'horizon of Atum', but do not appear to be directly addressed by the text. The fecundity figure labeled Heh, millions of years, symbolizing infinity, is depicted with a blue body with wavy water lines to emphasize his watery nature in the early nineteenth dynasty papyrus of Ani.[910] The figure, which also holds the renpet sign, literally could be read as the 'waters of infinity', on one level suggesting that it signifies the Nun. There are instances of Nun depicted as a fecundity figure in the New Kingdom, supporting the validity of this interpretation.[911] Importantly, his hand extends out and appears to rest directly on the oval containing the feathered Horus eye linking the two in the Osireion vignette, which is apparently unique. (Plates 282, 272) Baines notes that the hand always extends over the oval as a protective gesture.[912] This is clearly a different action from that of directly touching the oval, which signifies that it is coming forth from the Nun. Goedicke had suggested that "the eye in the oval frame placed between the two [androgynous] figures could be understood as a symbol of what is fashioned (*jrt*), i.e., 'the creation'."[913] This dovetails nicely with the concept of the 'horizon of Atum', the creator. Baines also pointed out that "the symbolism of the feathered Horus eye, as against the normal *wḏȝt* eye, has not yet been investigated in detail, but its use as a hieroglyph reading *jmȝḫw* 'honored (dead) one' shows that it, too, belongs in the general area of resurrection."[914] This is a most interesting observation, given that the feathered Horus eye is the nineteenth divinity in the vignette sequence of BD 17 in the Osireion. The number nineteen, which is sacred to Osiris, symbolizes his resurrection and vindication. Recall that his rebirth is as the incarnation of his son Horus, connecting the feathered Horus eye, the 'honored one' to the rejuvenated Osiris. The feathered Horus eye itself as an element of Horus also represents the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process, which rises out of the 'horizon of his father Atum' from the Nun on the first occasion, *zp tpj*. Moreover, the feathered Horus eye as both Osiris and Horus must also symbolize divine kingship, one god in two forms. The eighteenth and nineteenth deities are also connected to the twentieth divinity in the vignette through the two fecundity figures. (Plates 277, 278) In the papyrus of Ani, the androgynous divinity is labeled the Great Green,*wȝḏ-wr*.[915] "The Great Green, from the earliest texts was regarded as the primeval ocean which surrounded the Land of Egypt. In the Pyramid Texts Pepi is called the 'primeval mound of the world surrounded by *wȝḏ-wr'*... The term could apply to any large body of water... and it could also be water in general, particularly the inundation waters which might seem to be the primeval ocean closing in over the land... It is also the water in the sacred lake, where the king purifies himself."[916] It is to this last point that the

910 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 8 and 159.

911 J. Baines, Fecundity Figures (1985), 96 fig. 63, 174, 194, and 154. "Nun is not known as a fecundity figure before the New Kingdom."

912 Ibid., 326-328.

913 H. Goedicke, "Ancient Egyptian Vision of Eschatology" JSSEA 25 (1995), 41.

914 J. Baines, Fecundity Figures (1985), 327.

915 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 8 and 159.

916 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 205-206.

text of section S8 addresses itself.

S 8 (Plate 273 columns 69b-76)
Wrong has been removed, evil has been dispelled.
What does it mean?
It means the navel cord was cut. All the evil which was on me has been removed.
What does it mean? It means that I was purified, *wꜤb*, on the day of my birth
in the two great and stately ponds which are in Heracleopolis
on that day of the oblation by the common folk to the Great God who is in them.
What are they?
The name of the one is Million(s), *ḥḥ*; the name of the other is Great Green, *wȝḏ-wr*.
They are the Lake of Natron together with the Lake of Maet.
Otherwise said: Guide of Millions is the name of one. Great Green is the name of the other.
Otherwise said: Seed of Millions is the name of one. Great Green is the name of the other.
As for this Great God who is therein, it is Re himself.

The Lake of Natron and the Lake of Maet are agents of a solar purification, as indicated by the presence of Re, in preparation for the journey through Rosetau to the Field of Reeds described in the next section of the text.[917] The purification of the king, the son of Atum, is tied to his moment of birth, in essence, causing his (re)birth. Next to the twin lakes of purification , the gates to Rosetau are open. (Plate 278) Seated inside is a divine royal figure, the twenty-first deity in the sequence. He is depicted in the same manner as the seventeenth divine royal figure, facing in the same direction and holding an ankh. It appears to be the same god. On one level, it is Osiris, ruling over the West from the Field of Reeds. The number symbolism supports this interpretation. The number twenty one is the sum of the parts of the Udjat-eye, the sound eye of Horus that he gave to his father to rejuvenate him. It defines the monthly lunar cycle. 1 + 2 + 3 = 6, the number of pieces of the Udjat-eye, and 4 + 5 + 6 = 15, the number of days of its waxing from new moon to the full moon, the restored Eye of Horus.

S 9 (Plate 273 columns 76-84)
I go on the road that I know, *rḫ*, in front of the Isle of the Just Ones/Righteous.
What is it? It is Rosetau (the Sloping Passage in the Osireion).
The southern gate is in Naref;
the northern gate is in the Mound of Osiris, *qrst Wsjr* (determined with GSL N21).
As for the island, *jw*, of the Righteous, it is Abydos.
Otherwise said: It is the road on which my father Atum went
as he proceeded to the Field of Reeds,
arriving at the land of the horizon-dwellers, *ȝḫw*, by means of the sacred gate.
What is that? The Field of Reeds (which lies to the south of the ecliptic)
which bears the food for the gods around the shrine.
As for that sacred gate, it is the uplifting of the sky by Shu.

917 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 8 and 159. Maet is an unknown substance spelled differently from maat.

What is that? The northern gate, it is the gate of the *Duat.*
Otherwise said: It is the double doors (of the Sloping Passage) through which Atum passed when he proceeded to the eastern akhet of the sky (the Antechamber).

In the Osireion, this journey upon the road that the king is said to 'know', *rḫ*, takes on a special significance. It is all part of the third ritual cycle that the king has already completed earlier on the night of I *prt* 1. To 'know', *rḫ*, has the deeper sense of to experience something, which is clearly what the king has already done. Its recounting here would appear to be redundant, but it is not. As Willems recognized, "it is clear that it [BD 17] is a transformation spell which has the aim of transforming the speaker into the sun god."[918] The goal in this part of the ritual is to become one with the sun god, i.e., I am Re, so that the king may participate in the sun rise as a means for his return to the land of the living, here at daybreak on I *prt* 2. But like the dual purification in the preceding section, indeed like all fifteen sections of BD 17, they are essential for achieving this transformation and therefore must be called into existence here for the king's use on all other nights of the year, so that he may pass through the double door like/as Atum and proceed to the eastern akhet of the sky for the sunrise. This is precisely why it was deemed necessary that it be written into the cosmic script, being (re)created in the Osireion on the first occasion, as part of Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* to restore *mꜣʿt*.

Facing the enshrined Osiris are two deities also holding the ankh sign. (Plate 278) The three form a unit. Section S10 of the text identifies them as Hu and Sia, who are in the presence of Re and follow after the king's father Re every day. This suggests another identity for the enshrined royal figure. It is both Osiris and Re, the United One of the West, *dbꜣ-dmḏ*. Hu and Sia are said to be the gods who came into being from the creative power and act of the letting of blood from Re's own phallus and that the king is endowed with the powers of Authority and Perception by his recitation of this spell.

S 10 (Plate 273 columns 84-87)
O you who are in my presence, give me your hands,
for indeed I (the king) am he who came into being through you.
What does it mean? It means the blood which fell from the phallus of Re
when he took to cutting himself. Then there came into being the gods
who are in the presence of Re, [it is Hu, Authority,] together with Sia, Perception.
They follow after my father Re every day.

The twenty-fourth divinity is Thoth, manifested as the sacred baboon. (Plate 278) Although lost, the baboon appears to be holding an object in his hand. In the papyrus of Hunefer, p.BM 9901, Thoth is depicted holding the Udjat-eye, which may also have been the case here.[919] As the twenty-fourth deity in the vignette sequence, Thoth is the Lord of Eternal Recurrence, *nb nḥḥ*, cyclical time to which the number twenty-four refers. The sacred baboon is presumably offering the Udjat-eye, the Sound Eye to

918 H. Willems, "Anubis as a Judge" in A. Schoars, H. Willems (eds.), Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years (1998), 721.

919 E. Rossiter, The Book of the Dead Papyri of Ani, Hunefer, Anhai (1984), 86.

the celestial cow, *mḥt-wrt*, the Great Flood, a conceptualization of primeval creation.[920] The pairing of lunar and solar imagery is more readily apparent here than in the prior grouping of deities. The texts of sections S11 and S12 provide concise mythic narratives on the eye of Horus and the eye of Re.

S 11 (Plate 273 columns 88-94)

Filling of the Eye after it had been injured on that day when the two rivals fought.
What is that? It is the day when Horus fought Seth, *stḫ* (written *stš*),
when he injured Horus' face and Horus snatched away Seth's testicles.
What does it mean? It means Thoth himself who did this with his own fingers.
I lifted up the hair, *šnw*, from the Sound Eye at its time of raging *nšn*.
What does it mean? It means the right eye of Re when it raged against him
after he had sent it out. What is that? It is the uplifting of the hair from it
when he (Thoth) fetched it in life, prosperity and heath without any weakness.
Otherwise said: It means that his eye was sick when it wept a second time
and then Thoth spat on it (to heal it).

S 12 (Plates 273, 274 columns 94-100)

I have seen this Re who was born yesterday
from the buttocks of *mḥt-wrt*, the Great Flood.
If I be hale, *wḏꜣ*, then he be hale.
If he be hale then I Osiris king *Bꜣ-n-rꜥ* son of Re Merenptah, true of voice, be hale.
What does it mean? It means the waters of the sky.
Otherwise said: It is the image of the Eye of Re on the morning of his daily birth.
As for *mḥt-wrt*, the Great Flood, she is the sound Eye of Re, every day.
Because I am one the Attendants who are in the following of Horus.
[One who] speaks in behalf of his beloved Lord.
Who are they? They are Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef.

The Contending of Horus and Seth, the epic struggle between the two rivals is well known.[921] At its core it is the myth concerning royal succession. Here the focus is on the injury to the eye of Horus and its restoration by Thoth, who did it with his own fingers. It is the mythic explanation for the phenomenon of the waxing and waning of the moon in the night sky. The filling of the eye symbolizes the waxing phase of the lunar cycle until it is complete. The ritual act of filling the eye by the king, imitating Thoth's actions,[922] is part of the rites done at the time of the new moon to assist in restoring the moon to the night sky. In the context of *zp tpj*, it is the creation of the lunar cycle. The sound eye was known as the Udjat-eye, after it has been restored, and signifies the full moon. Encoded in the Udjat-eye and its six pieces is a very sophisticated and extremely precise measure of the length of the

920 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 174.

921 See the classic study by J. G. Griffiths, The Conflict of Horus & Seth (1960).

922 H. Te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion (1977), 34.

synodic (lunar) month, a tribute to the ancient Egyptians' observational skills. [923]

The Sound Eye written with the hieroglyph for the Udjat-eye (Plate 273 column 91) is identified here now as the right eye of Re, when it raged against Re after he had sent it out. Thoth and the king in the ritual act of lifting the hair, *šnw*, from the Sound Eye at its time of raging, *nšn*, embodies a pun on raging, *nšn*, and hair *šnw*. [924] The action of the lifting of the hair is at the same time the act of lifting the Sound Eye's rage so that when Thoth brought it back it was pacified in life, prosperity and health without any weakness. In ritual magical practice, the spitting on the weeping eye by Thoth, who is 'lord/possessor of magic', [925] heals and restores the Sound Eye.

According to the text, the scene of the offering of the Udjat-eye, the Sound Eye, to *mḥt-wrt*, the Great Flood, now takes on a double meaning. Not only is the Sound Eye the left lunar eye, it is also the right eye of Re which Thoth offers/provides to the celestial goddess for its birth from her buttocks. "In either case the return of the Eye marks the assumption of kingship by the High God and the end of the age of inchoate chaos." [926] This ritual action makes the sun god hale with his birth at sunrise. By performing the rite through its recitation, it also transfigures Osiris king Merenptah vindicated, *mɜʿ-ḫrw*, and makes him hale at sunrise with/as the sun god. Otherwise stated, I am Re. The celestial waters can be equated with those arising out of the Nun on the first occasion, while the image of the eye of Re comes forth from the Great Flood at its birth.

In the vignette, the four sons of Horus are depicted around the *qrs*-shrine of Osiris, *qrs nt wsjr*, and are associated with section S13 of the text. (Plate 278)

S 13 (Plate 274 columns 100-115)
Hail to you [lords of] truth, tribunal which is behind Osiris,
who put terror [into the doers of] wrong, *jsft*,
who are after Her who makes content and protects, *ḥtp.s-ḫw.s*.
I have come to you [that you may] drive out all the evil [which] is on me
like you did for those 9 *aḳḫw* who are in the retinue of Sepa [a manifestation of Osiris], [927]

923 G. Priskin, "The Eye of Horus and the Synodic Month" DE 53 (2002), 75-81.

924 R. Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (1978), 225.

925 P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922, reprint 1987), 189.

926 R. Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (1978), 94.

927 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904, reprint 1989), 15. "8. Osiris Sepa. This curious epithet has a centipede as its proper determinative. It is the title of the mutilated Osiris whose body was torn to pieces." Note that it is found among the group of fourteen manifestations of Osiris invoked by the king as part of the rites at the time of the new moon to cause the moon to reappear in the night sky. This list is found in the Second Hypostyle Hall of Seti/s Mansion of Millions of Years where the rites for the new moon were in all likelihood performed and also as part of the Litany of Osiris in the Antechamber of the Osireion. See above 4.6.

whose seats Anubis made ready on that day of 'Come Thence'.
Who are they? [As for these lords of truth, they are] Thoth together with Isdes, *jsds-jb*.
As for the tribunal which is behind Osiris, Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef,
it is these who are behind the Big Dipper, *msḫtyw* lit. Foreleg, in the northern sky.
As for those who put terror into the doers of wrong,
who are in the retinue of Her who makes content and protects, *ḥtp.s-ḫw.s*,
They are the Sobekian crocodiles, *sb*(*k*)*jw*, that are in the water.
As for Her who makes content and protects, *ḥtp.s-ḫw.s*, it is the Eye of Re.
Otherwise said: It is the flame which follows after Osiris, consuming the *ɓas* of his enemies.
As for all the evil which is on me Osiris king *Bꜣ-n-rꜥ* son of Re Merenptah, true of voice,
[it is what I have done among the lords of eternity ever since]
he descended from his mother's body/womb.
As for these *aḳḫw* Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, He who sees [his father,
He who is under his moringa-tree, and] Horus with no eyes, *ḥr-ḫntj-n-jrtj* ,
it is they who were set by Anubis as protection for the burial, *qrs*, of Osiris.
Otherwise [said: Behind] his *wꜥbt-pr*, lit. house of purification of the body of Osiris
i.e. embalming place.
Otherwise said: As for these 9 *aḳḫw,* [seven named] (they are) Nedjehnedjeh; Iakedked;
Bull, his name of flame set for him in front of his burning; He who entered into him who
is in his hour; the Red-eyed who is in the Mansion, *ḥwt*, of Red Linen; the Radiant
One who comes out after having turned back/ backward; He who sees in the night
what he shall bring [by day. As for the head of this tribunal, his name is He who
subdued the Great One. As for that day of] You Come Thence, it means that
Osiris said to Re, Come [to me that I may see you – so said he] in the West.

The king "is addressing a group of deities identified as a tribunal whose aim is evidently to punish persons opposed to Osiris [in the protection of the god]. The judges are said to be in the following of Her who makes content and protects. A gloss elsewhere in the spell explains that this goddess is a fiery snake [cobra] which has been placed behind Osiris to burn his enemies... [the king] requests them to clear him of evil, probably an illusion to purification.[928] He wishes to be treated in the same fashion as a group of seven spirits 'whose place has been made by Anubis'... This group is then specified by listing the names of each member [thereby calling them into existence]. It appears that they are none other than the guardians participating in the hourly vigil around the corpse of the Osirian deceased, a group which is well-known from the Ptolemaic temple ritual published by H. Junker under the name Stundenwachen, but also from other sources."[929] Only the four sons of Horus are depicted around the

928 H. Willems, "Anubis as a Judge" in A. Schoars, H. Willems (eds.), Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years (1998), 723 n. 16. "A very extensive and clear instance of the expression *dr ḏwt* having both the meaning of 'destroying evil' and ritual purification occurs in Edfou II, p. 144, 4-8."

929 Ibid., 722-723 and 723 n. 18.

qrs-shrine in the vignette, highlighting their importance. The baboon-headed Imsety, usually associated with the south, and the human-headed Hapy with the north precede the *qrs*-shrine to the left. To the right, the jackal-headed Duamutef, associated with the east, and the falcon-headed Qebesenuef with the west flank the other side of the shrine. According to the Pyramid Texts, the sons of Horus are *ḥas* of Horus.[930] They also figure prominently in BD 151, where their functions are clearly explained.

> I am Imsety, your son, O Osiris. I have come that I may be your magical protection.
> I have caused your house to flourish enduringly – (repeat) twice.
> Just as Ptah has commanded me and Re himself has commanded.
>
> I am Hapy, your son, O Osiris. I have come that I may be your magical protection.
> I have attached for you your head and your limbs.
> I have smitten down your enemies beneath you for you.
> I have given you your head eternally – (repeat) twice...
>
> I [Duamutef] am your beloved son, Horus [i.e. Horus, protector of his father].
> I have come that I may protect my father Osiris from the one who does injury to him.
> I have placed him [Seth] under your feet eternally, enduringly – (repeat) twice.
>
> I am Qebesenuef, your son, O Osiris. I have come that I may be your magical protection.
> I unite for you your bones and assemble for you your members.
> I have brought your heart for you. I have put it in its place/seat in your body for you.
> I have caused that your house flourish after you, (so that) you may live eternally.[931]

The magical protection of Osiris is stressed by each and provides a shield spanning the four cardinal directions, making it impenetrable. The actions by Hapy and Qebesenuef of uniting Osiris' limbs and assembling his members at one level is a clear reference to Osiris as the moon and ties them directly to the lunar cycle. Because this occurs in the *qrs*-shrine, it takes place in the *ḏuat* at the time of the new moon here on I *prt* 1 in preparation for the moon's reappearance in the night sky. Imsety on the command of Ptah and Re and Duamutef as Horus, protector of his father, insure that the process of reassembling can proceed so that Osiris may live eternally, i.e., ever repeating the recurring lunar cycle.

The hourly vigil was initiated on the night before the burial as a protective rite but was meant to continue for eternity, hence their stellar identity. Anubis placed this tribunal behind Osiris. It is these *aḫw* who are behind the Great Bear/Big Dipper, *msḫtyw* lit. 'Foreleg', in the northern sky. (Plate 274 column 105) In the Osireion version, twice it specifies 9 *aḫw* instead of the seven which are named and constitute the standard version of BD 17. Because it is repeated a second time ten columns apart, it

930 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 88-89.

931 Author's translation of BD 151 is based on: T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 26-30;R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), Plates 7-10.

is unlikely to have been a mistake. (Plate 274 column 102 and 112) We have already seen a similar technique employed by the ancient Egyptians, as a form of additional protection against an unwanted incursion, in at least two other instances in critical passages, which would have led to disastrous consequences for the uninitiated traveler in the *ḏuat*. The same would be the case here for the one who did not know the names of the other two stellar deities.[932] If the mention of 9 *ꜣḫw* was not an error, the answer may be found in the deciphering of the meaning underlying the tethering of *msḫtjw*, the foreleg of the bull in the northern sky. It symbolizes Seth and his potential threat to Osiris for which end, Anubis dispatched the 9 *ꜣḫw* to prevent. It alludes to astronomical knowledge beyond the obvious, the 7 *ꜣḫw*, which is considerably more difficult to observe and thus in a certain sense secret knowledge, but is referred to elsewhere in the Osireion. "The Book of Day and Night, from the time of Ramesses VI [and in the Osireion, the template for his tomb], tells how Meskhetiu is the thigh of Seth, which is fixed in the northern sky by a chain of gold attached to two mooring posts, and is guarded by Isis in the form of a hippopotamus. The reference here is to the dismemberment of Seth in animal form. A Ptolemaic text, the Papyrus Jumilhac, relates that Horus was responsible for cutting off Seth's foreleg and then raising it 'to the middle of the sky, deities being there to guard it [the 9 *ꜣḫw*], the Foreleg of the northern sky, and the Great Hippopotamus [*rrt wrt*] holds it so that it cannot travel among the gods'. Two further texts, this time of the Roman period from Esna, provide more information concerning the tethering of Meskhetiu. According to one, 'It is Isis as a female hippopotamus who is there to fetter the Thigh in the northern sky in order not to let it go upside down into the *ḏuat*. It shall be always with her, being the goddess Ipy in Hippopotamus form in the sky, and she shall not release it forever and ever.' The other text, however, assigns the same role to Sothis, that is, the star Sirius, 'who fetters the Thigh in the northern sky, not letting it go upside down into the *ḏuat*' [importantly, because this is where Osiris is]... If, however, it is in fact possible to have Meskhetiu tethered by Sothis, even though that star is in the southern sky, then this knowledge may allow us to identify, at least in part, the northern constellation of the Hippopotamus, which according to the Esna texts acted as Sothis' partner in preventing Meskhentiu from leaving the northern sky... The notion that Meskhetiu is tied in such a way that it cannot enter the *ḏuat*, or, in other words, set below the horizon, makes sense astronomically since it was for the Egyptians a circumpolar constellation, never rising from below the horizon nor setting below it, but always visible at night above the horizon and circling the (invisible) north celestial pole... If this star [Sirius] is indeed supposed to act as one of the tetherers of Meskhetiu, then it would make sense to seek the other (the Hippopotamus) at some equivalent point elsewhere along the horizon. And indeed such a star is to be found. Vega, after Sirius one of the brightest stars in the Egyptian sky, was to be seen rising directly opposite Sirius, on the north-eastern horizon. Visually, it might be argued, these two bright stars acted as the pegs for imaginary lines [chains of gold] joining them to the Big Dipper. Such an interpretation of Vega's role in the Egyptian conception of the night sky suggests that the constellation of the Hippopotamus should include Vega in some way. Davis's identification of the Hippopotamus with Ophiuchus also allows for Hercules, Draco and Lyra (within the last of which

932 See above 4.5 on BD 42 and 5.3 on BD 99 for these deliberate omissions.

Vega lies) to represent the cords and stake, or mooring post, tied to the Bull, Meskhetiu, as they are seen in tomb paintings. This accords reasonably well with the interpretation presented here, in that the Hippopotamus would actually tether Meskhetiu via Vega as the mooring post."[933] The two unnamed *aḫw* could well then have been Sothis and Ipy. "Isis is, of course, the link between Hippopotamus [Ipy] and Sothis."[934] As an additional protective measure to those provided by the seven *aḫw*, the tethering of the Foreleg of Seth by the two *aḫw*, whose names are not given and hence secret, would seem to virtually assure Osiris' eternal safety.

The seven named *aḫw* are clearly identified in the text and are straightforward: Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, He who sees his father, He who is under his morgina-tree, and Horus the Eyeless. So what then was the purpose for the second gloss identifying the seven *aḫw* with decidedly more obscure names? They are: Nedjehnedjeh; Iakedked; Bull, his name of flame set for him in front of his burning; He who entered into him who is in his hour; the Red-eyed who is in the Mansion, *ḥwt*, of Red Linen; the Radiant One who comes out after having turned back/ backward; He who sees in the night what he shall bring by day. It would seem that it is likely a form of a magical incantation calling forth a protective shield of some sort for Osiris and for the securing of the Foreleg of Seth in the northern sky. Its exact pronunciation would be essential for its effectiveness as well as its intended purpose, however, it is forever lost.

The final gloss of section S13 is significant and ties it to the text of sections S14 and S15. 'As for that day of You Come Thence, it means that Osiris said to Re, Come to me that I may see you – so said he in the West, alluding to the uniting of their *ḫas*.'

The text of sections S14 and S15 elaborates on the final six divinities depicted in the vignette sequence of the Osireion version of BD 17. (Plate 278) Six is the quintessential number symbolizing the lunar cycle and uniquely Egyptian, highlighting the underlying lunar interpretation for this grouping. The six are not specifically named in the vignette, but their identities can be determined. They are: Osiris, wearing his atef-crown; the Udjat-eye, the restored left eye of Horus; the Great Cat, *mjw*, enshrined; and the three ram-headed *ḫas* of Atum-Re, Shu and the *ḫa* which is in Mendes, *ḏdwt*.[935]

933 R. Hannah, "The Tethering of Meskhentiu" GM 160 (1997), 33-5.

934 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III (1969), 191.

935 In the Papyrus of Hunefer (p.BM 9901) also from the reign of Seti I, there are five *ḫas* depicted and named in the vignette. They are Re, Shu, Tefnut, Geb and the *ḫa* which is in Mendes, *ḏdwt*, all of which are also identified by name in the text of sections S14 or S15. While there would have been ample room on the long wall of the Sloping Passage to depict all five *ḫas*, the ancient Egyptian designers choose to portray only three of the five. This was clearly a conscious decision. Apparently, the importance of maintaining the deity count at thirty six took precedence. However, in choosing to depict the first two *ḫas* and the final one as I have assumed, a pars pro toto is established representing the group of five. See: http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/budge1899/0092 for the vignette in p.BM 9901.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The thirty-first deity, Osiris is Osiris-Moon. The number thirty one, interpreted in a lunar context, symbolizes the limbs of Osiris which represent all possible combinations of phases for any single 29 or 30 day lunar month. Interestingly, the thirty-second divinity which faces Osiris-Moon and forms a pair, is the Udjat-eye, depicted specifically as the restored left eye of Horus. Thirty two is not usually a number associated with the lunar cycle. Here it probably represents the two lunar components, fifteen and seventeen. Fifteen is the number of days for the Udjat-eye to be restored and become complete, the full moon as the sound eye. Seventeen represents the length of the entire period when the moon first gradually becomes covered (waning) and then remained totally covered (invisible) during conjunction. Together they represent the period of the lunar cycle from the full moon to and including conjunction.

S 14 (Plate 274 columns 115-120)
I am his double *ḥa*, *bɜ.fy*, which are within the Two Fledglings/Progeny.
Who is he? It is Osiris when he entered into Mendes, *ḏdwt*.
He found the *ḥa* of Re there and embraced one another.
Then his double *ḥa*, *bɜ.fy*, came into being.
As for his double *ḥa*, *bɜ.fy*, it is Horus, Protector of his Father
together with Horus with no disks, *ḥr-ḫntj-n-jtn*[*tj*].
Otherwise said: As for his double *ḥa*, *bɜ.fy*, which are within the Two Fledglings/Progeny ,
It is the *ḥa* of Re. It is the *ḥa* of Osiris. It is the *ḥa* of Shu. It is the *ḥa* of Tefnut.
It is the *ḥa* which is in Mendes, *ḏdwt*.

S 15 (Plate 274 columns 120-126)
I am the Great Cat, who split the ished-tree on its side in Heliopolis
on that night of making battle, I (Re) warding off the rebels and
on that day wherein the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed.
What does it mean? As for the Great Cat, it is Re himself,
He was called Cat when Sia said [of him; he was cat-like,] *mjw*, in what he did,
and that was how his name came into being.
Otherwise said: They were making an *jmyt-pr* (written decree) for Geb and for Osiris.
Otherwise said: As for [the splitting of the ished-tree on its side] in Heliopolis,
the children of the Feeble One, *bdšt*, were being punished for what they had done.

The glosses of section S14 offer multiple levels for the interpretation of the double *ḥa* which are within the Two Fledglings/Progeny. "This much cited passage concerns the moment when Re and Osiris meet at the end of the night. At this short moment, the two gods embrace each other and became a single being with two *ḥas* [double ba, *bɜ.fy*]. It is the moment when Osiris receives the life-giving sunrays of Re. Spell 335 [= BD 17] seems to situate the event at the end of the night [supported by its position at the top of the Sloping Passage and again in BD 180 in the eastern akhet, the Antechamber]. Hence, the merger of Re and Osiris is also the starting point of a new episode in the life-cycle of the sun. The temporary union of Re and Osiris is, in other words, vital for the existence of both deities.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Finally, some passages of Spell [CT] 335 identify the speaker [here the king] with the rising sun. This is indicated, among other things, by its title 'Going out into the day', after which the opening words proceed with an account of sunrise. The speaker here claims to be 'Re at his first sunrise, when he goes forth from the horizon' [on the first occasion]."[936] The fact that this cultic embrace occurs in Mendes, *ḏdwt*, is significant. "The mythological statement made there is that the *ɓas* of Osiris and Re merged when they embraced one another in Mendes. The geographical setting of the event can be explained from the fact that a local divinity, the Ram [*ɓa*] of Mendes, was considered to be a manifestation of both Re and Osiris. He appears very often in contexts where Re and Osiris are syncretistically related..."[937] This would also explain the final gloss of section S14: 'It is the *ɓa* which is in Mendes.'

The gloss that immediately follows the double *ɓa* coming into being identifies it as Horus, Protector of his Father, together with Horus with no disks, *ḥr-ḫntj-n-jtn*[*tj*].[938] Here the emphasis is shifted away from the uniting of Osiris with Re to the constellation of Horus and his father, alluding to divine kingship and the transfer of royal power. Not surprisingly, it has a decidedly lunar character. It is clearly reflected by the choice in the vignette of the depictions of Osiris-Moon and the Udjat-eye, the left restored eye of Horus, discussed above, rather than say the contemporary well-known (and unique) scene from the Papyrus of Ani of the *ɓas* of Re and Osiris between the two djed-pillars of Mendes, *ḏdwt*. (Plate 284)

The Two Fledglings/Progeny are also equated directly to the initial stage of the Heliopolitan creation process, through their identity as the *ɓa* of Shu and the *ɓa* of Tefnut. "The speaker is probably their father Atum [i.e., the king reciting the spell as the begotten becoming the begetter], as elsewhere in the text. Nevertheless, the glosses state that he is 'Osiris, when he entered Mendes, where he found the *ɓa* of Re. Then the one embraced the other. Then (they) became the One with Two *Ɓas* ' (CT IV, 276/7c-280/1a [= CT335]). The apparent contradiction can be easily resolved once it is realized that the two fledglings, Shu and Tefnut, impersonate the two celestial eyes, i.e. sun and moon. These, in their turn, were considered forms of Re and Osiris. Hence, the speaker probably means to say that his two *ɓas* are in the sun and the moon, i.e. that they are Re and Osiris combined in one personality. This explanation agrees perfectly with the statement made in the gloss."[939]

936 H. Willems, "The Embalmer Embalmed" in J. van Dijk (ed.), Essays in ancient Egypt: in honour of Herman te Velde (1997),363.

937 H. Willems, Chests of Life (1988), 153-154.

938 It is unclear to me from the hieroglyphs (Plate 274 column 118) as to whether Horus with no disks (i.e. eyes) – indicating the time of the new moon when the rites were taking place was intended or Horus with his two disks – referring to the time of the full moon was actually intended as the vignette of the restored Udjat-eye would suggest. Perhaps the ambiguity was intentional, alluding to the waxing lunar cycle or the complete lunar cycle.

939 H. Willems, Chests of Life (1988), 153.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

The fifteenth and final section of the Osireion version of BD 17 reiterates key elements of the same themes that opened the chapter. Here, Re manifests as the Great Cat in vindication, shown enshrined in the vignette as a lion-headed deity wielding knives. (Plate 278, 283) On that night of making battle in Heliopolis, he warded off the rebels and on that day the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed and the children of the Feeble One, *bdšt*, punished for what they had done. These children of the Feeble One, *bdšt*, are apparently those of Apophis or his allies and as such are the enemies of the sun god and the unfolding of creation. However, despite their efforts they were powerless against the forces of creation, here in the form of the knife wielding lion-headed Great Cat. The action of the ritual recitation of the spell pitted the king with his fathers Atum and Re in the struggle against the forces of chaos, thereby insuring their subjugation. Chaos cannot be destroyed only arrested, for without chaos there could be no created cosmos. The two "exist as a union of opposition".[940] With the (re)creation of the cosmos, divine kingship and the means for the transmission of royal power was restored on the first occasion, having been disrupted by the child of the Feeble One, Akhenaten. Horus was caused to rule by the making of an *jmyt-pr* (written decree) for Geb and for Osiris by Shu.[941] The third theme, reiterating its importance, follows from the opening statement – the word of the All-lord developed. Subtly encoded in the episode of how the name of the Great Cat came into being by what Sia said is the power that lies in the word. That is to say the power that lies in naming things – the magical power of ritual recitation as a force of creation. By his recitation of the conclusion of this spell, the king progresses in his own transfiguration, having assimilating himself first with the twin *ɓas* and then the Great Cat, Re himself. I am Re! The king, joined with the double *ɓa* of Re and Osiris, *bз-dmḏ*, is now at the top of the Sloping Passage at the end of the eleventh hour and about to enter the eastern akhet, the Antechamber, in final preparation for the first sunrise on *zp tpj*. With this sunrise, the newly created cosmos will come into existence as *wḥm mswt*, the beginning of the Renaissance. "Cosmic equilibrium as exemplified by the union of Osiris and Re [together with the king]" will be restored.[942] Maat is forever reestablished, bringing with her the final end to the Amarna episode.

There remains to mention two additional structural elements in the design of the Osireion version of BD 17 and its vignette. The division of the text into fifteen sections points not so subtly to its lunar nature. The significance of the number fifteen in a lunar context is that it symbolizes the progression from the Blacked-out moon on the first day of the lunar month to the moon when it is full on the fifteenth day of the month, the waxing phase of the monthly cycle, which can be connected to the first and last divinities shown in the vignette sequence. The first scene in the vignette is of the Horus falcon perched on the hieroglyphic sign for the West, specifically depicted here as the western horizon, hinting at its dual meaning. (Plate 277) As the sign of the West, it signifies the *ḏuat*, where the Blacked-out moon is at the start of the lunar month, i.e. not visible in the night sky. But, it is also where the birth of Horus occurs on the second day of the lunar month, when the new crescent moon

940 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History (1986), 145.

941 For the importance of the *jmty-pr* in the transmission of royal power in the post Amarna period see above I.2 and 1.3.

942 T. DuQuesne, "The Osiris-Re Conjunction" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006), 29.

reappears briefly in the night sky, low in the western horizon shortly after sunset. At the time of the full moon on the fifteenth day, the moon can be seen rising in the east at sunset and setting in the west after sunrise. They are the twin bulls, Horus with his two eyes. "You [Osiris-Moon] will appear in the sky with Re on the fifteenth day of the lunar month. Bulls will ejaculate and cows will become gravid, when you are seen in the sky on this day."[943] This is an apt description of the double *ɓa* of Re and Osiris, the *ɓa* which is in Mendes, (Plate 278) which is also the thirty-sixth and final divinity in the Osireion vignette sequence of BD 17. Interestingly, there are also a total of fifteen ankhs held by fifteen deities in the vignette. The fifteen ankhs symbolizing life could be interpreted as a reference to the fifteen day cycle of the waxing moon.

Returning to the ritual cycle, the king passes through the doorway into the eastern akhet, the Antechamber, where he turns to face the eastern horizon and will begin to recite BD 18 at the beginning of the twelfth hour of the night. (Plates 35, 30) The text of BD 18 concerns Thoth's role in the vindication of Osiris, reincarnated as his son Horus and thus the king himself, before the ten Great Councils which are with both Re and Osiris. Thoth plays a vital role at key turning points especially so here in the third ritual cycle. Recall that he is found at the entrance to the Central Hall in BD 183. His speech from BD 1 appears at the bottom of the Sloping Passage initiating the ascent out from the lower *ḏuat.* Here at the (re)entry point into the eastern akhet (literally the place of becoming *aḫ*), which would be the third instance, Thoth in BD 18 initiates the final sequence of the third ritual cycle. The knowledge contained in BD 18, necessary for knowing the gods in the underworld, would facilitate the movement out from the eastern akhet to successfully complete sunrise on the first occasion. However, to travel in the solar barque with Re one has to become effective (*aḫ*) where one of the key requisites is to be "true of voice", *mɜꜥ-ḫrw*, that is to say vindicated, which is the function of BD 18.

BD 19, a Persian-Ptolemaic Period derivation of BD 18 reveals the truly royal nature of this spell.

> To be said by the chief ritualist, the king
> [speaking of his mythic prototype Horus]:
>
> "Your Father Atum binds for you
> this beautiful wreath of vindication on your brow.
> Live, beloved of the Gods;
> may you live forever.
> Osiris presiding over the westerners
> has vindicated you against your enemies
> Your Father Geb assigns to you his whole inheritance.
> Come!
> Praise be to you as one vindicated

943 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 144-145.

(O) Horus, son of Isis and son of Osiris,
on the throne of your Father (Osiris),
overthrowing your enemies.
He definitely assigns to you the whole of the Two Lands.
Atum has assigned and the Ennead has confirmed
the two regions of beauty to the vindicated one,
Horus, the son of Isis and son of Osiris, forever and ever,
(even to) Osiris N [the chief ritualist, the king].
Osiris presiding over the westerners
[as he, Osiris is so-named and depicted on the wall directly opposite this text.]
the two sanctuaries of the Gods together,
and every God and every Goddess
who is in the sky and in the earth
are vindicating Horus, the son of Isis and son of Osiris,
against his enemies before Osiris presiding over the westerners,
[Exactly as Osiris is depicted on the notional south wall directly opposite
this text and as is stated in Horus' speech before his father BD 173. (Plate 225)]
Wennefer, the son of Nut,
on this day of his vindication against Seth and his confederates." [944]
[Then follow the ten Great Councils who are with Re and with Osiris.]

Remarkably, this variant of BD 18 captures and embodies the essence of the third ritual cycle. Were there an earlier existent version of BD 19 prior to the Persian-Ptolemaic Period, one would be tempted to argue that this version was the variant of BD 18 inscribed in the Osireion.

In the Papyrus of Ani (early Nineteenth Dynasty) BD 18 is repeated twice, pointing to the chapter's significance. In the second rendition in p.Ani, which Goelet considers the core document, it begins with a depiction of a door. Interestingly, the door is not mentioned in either the introduction or the text.[945] It corresponds to the "false door" immediately preceding BD 18 on the notional north wall of the Antechamber connecting it to the Sloping Passage. (Plate 231) Finally, it should be noted that the gods of the ten Great Councils, a number sacred to Horus and kingship on the earth would balance BD 142, the Litany of Osiris, the Ruler of the West, on the opposite notional southern wall, maintaining the symmetry of the decoration program of the Antechamber, the place of becoming *aḫ*.

Returning now to the performance of the third ritual cycle, recall that the king is depicted standing, facing the eastern horizon, burning incense and making offerings. (Plate 217) After the burning of incense to invoke the gods and the making of offerings to Atum and the thirty one gods of the ten Great

944 Translation is based on T. G. Allen, The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum (1960), 105-106; T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day (1974), 34-35.

945 R. Faulkner, O. Goelet, "The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 161, plate 23.

Councils, (Plate 231) the king, as ritualist reciting BD 18, calls upon Thoth to bring him into the presence of each of the ten Great Councils.

> ["O Thoth, who vindicated Osiris against his enemies,
> vindicate the Osiris Ani [here the king as the living Horus], the vindicated
> against his enemies
> in the presence of the council which is with Re and Osiris,
> and which is in Heliopolis..."] [946]

The first Great Council in Heliopolis who are Atum, Shu and Tefnut and together symbolize the initiation of the creation of the cosmos on zp tpj and with it "the destruction of the gang of Seth when he repeated his offenses." [947] That is to say the dismemberment of Osiris-Moon into fourteen pieces and likewise the Udjat-eye, the Eye of Horus, into six parts. Importantly, repeating his offenses clearly refers to the monthly waning phase of the lunar cycle. The thirty one gods of the ten Great Councils which were spawned by Atum, the creator, represent all combinations of phases possible for any twenty-nine or thirty-day lunar month. [948] They were in all probability depicted along the top of the notional north wall in the Antechamber above the text of BD 18. Recall that both are reconstructed. The wall is completely destroyed. [949]

The second is the Great Council in Busiris who are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, Protector of his Father on that night of erecting the Djed-pillar (*ḏd*) in Busiris (*ḏdw*). [950] These are the deities who revivified Osiris on the night of 30 Khoiak (IIII *ꜣḫt* 30) at the culmination of the Osiris Mysteries. The erecting of the Djed-pillar symbolizes the successful rejuvenation of the *ḥa* of Osiris that was done on that night.

The third Great Council in Letopolis is Horus with no eyes in his forehead and Thoth who is with the Council of Naref. [951] Horus with no eyes signify the periods when the moon and the sun are not visible, which are the nights of last crescent visibility and the Blacked-out Moon (New Moon), when the rites for the New Moon were performed, which were also part of the third ritual cycle. Thoth, who restored the injured eye of Horus with his own fingers making it sound, i.e. the Udjat-eye, is in Naref which literally means "he cannot be evicted" [952] This suggests that Thoth cannot be stopped from

946 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plates 23-24, which also depict the 31 gods of the ten great councils.

947 Ibid., plate 23.

948 See above 4.6, Appendix C Ancient Egyptian Lunar Number Symbolism, and Plate 36 Table IV.

949 See above 4.5.

950 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 23.

951 Ibid., plate 23.

952 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 35 n. 56.

repairing the Eye of Horus to make it sound again which represents the restoring waxing phase of the lunar cycle, leading to the full moon. "As to the night of the evening meal in Letopolis, it is the dawn at the burial of Osiris."[953] Presumably this refers to the dawn of the Day of the Blacked-out Moon.

The fourth Great Council in Pe and Dep is Horus, Isis, Imsety and Hapi on the night of erecting the Shrine of Horus which was erected for him as an inheritance from the property of his father. This was erected by order of Seth to his confederates.[954] Fittingly, it is before the Great Council of the revered ancestors in Pe and Dep that Horus and Osiris have been vindicated. With this, the pattern for the transfer of royal power from father to son has been (re)established on *zp tpj*. The legitimacy of this pattern is acknowledged by Seth, the contender for the throne of Egypt, who orders a shrine to be erected for Horus, in his recognition of Horus' rightful role as the Lord of the Two Lands. That it is the fourth Great Council holds its own significance. Four is the sacred number symbolizing completeness and totality.[955] It also has a powerful magical function in its connection with the four cardinal directions. This importance is highlighted in the directions for the performance of this ritual at the end of the later variant of BD 18, known as BD 19.

> "Horus has repeated praise 4 times,
> for his enemies have fallen, overthrown and slain;
> and Osiris N. [here the king] has repeated praise 4 times
> for all his enemies [dead or alive] are fallen, overthrown and slain.
> Horus the son of Isis and son of Osiris
> has repeated millions of jubilees,
> for all his enemies are fallen, overthrown and slain.
> They have been transported to the place of execution,
> the slaughtering-block of the easterners.
> They have been decapitated,
> They have been strangled, their arms have been cut off,
> their breasts have been removed.
> They have been given (to the Great) Annihilator in the valley;
> [where] they shall never escape from the custody of Geb."[956]

Not only is this spell to be repeated four times by the king's prototype Horus in the mythical realm, it is also to be repeated four more times by the king as the living Horus and chief ritualist. The number four is also used for the complete containment and destruction of all their enemies, who are now in the custody of Geb, the earth god, from which there is no possibility for escape. In the Book of Caverns as

953 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 23.

954 Ibid., plate 23.

955 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 144.

956 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 35.

we have already seen, the king, as he in effect reiterates again in BD 18 proclaims:

> "Oh beheaded ones, without their heads,
> foremost of the place of destruction!
> Oh fallen ones, without their *bas*
> foremost of the place of destruction!
> Oh overturned ones, fettered ones
> foremost of the place of destruction!
> Oh enemies of the ruler of the underworld, Osiris Foremost of the West,
> behold I have commanded you to destruction!
> I have assigned you to non-existence!"[957]

The accompanying illustration[s] in the tomb of Ramesses VI [and in the earliest version found in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion] corresponds exactly to this description, showing decapitated bodies and severed heads as well as enemies falling and upside down – all in sets of four, paralleling the four limestone figures in the second Mirgissa deposit [a state sanctioned execration ritual].... Common to both is the human corpse, condemned in the netherworld by Horus, and in Mirgissa by Horus' earthly incarnation, the pharaoh. The implications of this similarity are clear: the ritual destruction envisioned in the text of Amduat [and the Book of Caverns cited above] must derive from genuine earthly ceremonies similar, if not identical, to the execration ritual. The royal funerary texts thus are thus in reality neither exclusively royal nor funerary, but derive – at least in part – from state rituals performed by the priesthood in public for earthly benefit."[958] In the context of the Osireion rites, the visible "earthly benefit" will be the first sunrise of the created cosmos on *zp tpj* as well as the prototype for the monthly reappearance of the moon to the night sky with its first crescent visibility. Just as important to the ancient Egyptians, the pattern is established on the first occasion for the legitimate transmission of royal power from father Osiris to son Horus. These are the goals of the third ritual cycle (and the second) depicted in the Osireion, which have been encoded in the first four of the Great Councils. The other six Great Councils all relate to these events, but in a more obscure manner. Perhaps their real significance was to bring the total of Great Councils to number ten, thereby embodying the concept of kingship and the means for the transmission of royal power encoded in this sacred number to Horus. That the gods of the ten Great Councils who emerged from the creator Atum number thirty one directly links kingship to the lunar cycle through the number symbolism. Recall Parker's remarks. "It is my belief that the whole character of Egyptian kingship in its transmission from father to son will be found to have, ultimately, a lunar explanation. The dying Horus is the waning moon. Horus dead becomes Osiris, and the moon is invisible. The new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as the king of the dead and of his son and successor Horus as king of the living. The ceremony of the Sed is also understandable on a lunar basis. The King normally celebrated it for the first time in his 30th year. The 29 years he has reigned may be compared to the 29 days of the lunar month from the day of the new

957 See above 4.3 and Plates 180, 185, 190.

958 R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993), 168-170.

crescent, the second day, to day 30 [the day of last crescent visibility when the rites for the New Moon began in the Osireion]. Like the moon, the king, Horus of the Living, has run his course. In his 30th year, *psḏntyw*, he dies and is reborn as the youthful Horus, the crescent moon, strong and vigorous."[959]

Having completed the recitations of BD 18, the king here identified clearly as Men-maat-Re *mꜣʿ-ḥrw*,[960] makes the final preparations for his departure with Re and the *ḥa* of Osiris from the eastern akhet. Here he must now complete his transfiguration into an effective *aḫ* started in BD 18, which is necessary for his entering the solar barque. The spell to achieve this final stage of transformation is known as BD 42, the so-called Gliedervergottung. It follows BD 18 and is on the left side of the doorway to the Annex, whose door would remain closed at this point of the ritual cycle. The text is written retrograde and is abbreviated here, moving this second night of the third ritual cycle closer to its conclusion. Starting in the far column on the left the text reads: (Plates 233, 232)

"[Spell] for warding off the slaughtering (*ḥsf šʿd*)
which is made in Nn-nset (Heracliopolis)
by king *mn-mꜣʿt-rʿ mꜣʿ-ḥrw*, true of voice, [and therefore vindicated].

Strong One of the White crown, Image of the gods
I am the Child! [I am the rising sun!] (four times)
O [kid of the Eldest (Atum)
you say on this] day
The slaughterhouse is equipped with what you know
and you have come to it.
O great tamarisk-tree
I am Re! Enduring in praises,
I am the great god within the tamarisk-tree
[Osiris is the great one of the *jšd*-tree]
How good it is the disk upon/with him (?)
I am Re! Enduring in praises (four times)
I am … going forth [when] this Re goes forth."[961]

This spell for warding off the slaughtering can be a form of defensive magic used to repel demons and other hostile beings.[962] The verb *ḥsf*, to ward off, "is very often [also] used to indicate action against

959 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80 n. 23.

960 The king's name is not in a cartouche which Brand suggests is used when referring to a deified pharaoh quite appropriate for BD 42 used to deify the limbs.

961 Translation is based on M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 9; R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 105; and T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 48.

962 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 106-110.

the enemies par excellence in the Egyptian mythology, namely Seth and Apopis."[963]

Set against the backdrop of Heracleopolis, in the opening columns of the recitation, the king identifies himself directly with Re as the rising sun, which is the prime event of the first occasion. What follows is the king's identification of his bodily parts with two groups of nine deities, the two Enneads which will complete his deification. It is taken from the Litany of Re, the Book of Praising Re in the West, Praising the United One in the West.[964] But here the emphasis shifts as the king identifies himself directly with Osiris. The meaning behind this shift is subtle but clear. When addressing individual parts of his royal body, he is as Osiris at the time of the New Moon. He is dismembered. This state is a result of his direct participation in the ritually induced transfigurations that are underway. The act of naming each deity who rules over the associated royal body part brings it into existence. In reciting this portion of the spell, the king, true of voice, effectively causes the rememberment of both his own body and of Osiris as the Moon. The process unfolds from the top of the head to the bottom of the toes, which is an important meditation technique.[965] I cite only four of the eighteen inscribed verses in the Osireion version of BD 42 which are of particular interest. (Plate 232)

(1) "The hair of Osiris Men-maat-Re, true of voice, is as the Nun.
(2) The face of Osiris Men-Maat-Re, true of voice, is as Re...
(12) The phallus of Osiris Men-maat-Re, true of voice, is as Osiris...
(15) The hinter parts of Osiris Men-maat-Re, true of voice, is as the Eye of Horus..."[966]

As with all creation, it begins in (1) the Nun. Out of the primordial abyss arises Atum, the creator as the face of (2) Re. The phallus of the king is (12) Osiris as the potent regenerative force of his *ɓa* that is now restored. The hinter parts of the king is as (15) the Eye of Horus. The royal face as the sun shines during the day, while the Eye of Horus illuminates the night, hence its position in the hind part of the royal body. As the fifteenth recitation determined with the Udjat-eye, the restored eye, indicates it symbolizes the full moon. (Plate 232) The hale royal body illuminates the day and the night as its potent *ɓa* regenerates the created cosmos on the first occasion. In every sense he is the Lord of All.

"This ritual integrated the body of the deceased [here the living Horus, the king] into the immanent forces of nature as expressed through the plurality of the gods.... In a long litany [which dates back to

963 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 106 n. 644.

964 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 228. Thutmose III shroud, lines 168-172. See A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964), 20, 38-39 and Plate 1. In the version in the Litany of Re, there are twenty-four bodily parts that are deified most probably equated to the twenty-four hours of *nḥḥ*, cyclical time that arose with the advent of the first occasion.

965 This also follows the pattern of the medical papyri, according to Goelet in R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 168.

966 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 9. I have substituted the original name of Seti I in place of the recarved cartouche of his grandson Merenptah.

the Pyramid Texts PT 539] the king asserts his bodily parts to be identified with different gods of the pantheon, and from the result of which he shall ascend to the sky."[967] In the Osireion, it is recited to enter the solar barque with Re and the *ba* of Osiris for the first sunrise. "The multiplicity of the divine images assimilated with each one of the bodily parts facilitates this return to the one creative source: the many, polytheistic forms achieve the one theological unity of the 'first time'."[968]

It should be noted that the Osireion version of this spell is not complete. It omits the nineteenth body part in the "standard version", the twenty fingers and toes who are live cobras. Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris, symbolizing his rememberment and his rebirth. The king Men-maat-Re, who is true of voice (column 1 on Plate 232) would know of this omission and recite it to correctly complete his deification. With the rememberment of his nineteen Osirian body parts he is transfigured and he is Re:

> "[Not one of my members] is without a god.
> Thoth is the magical protection of my whole body;
> I am Re every day...."[969]

Recall that it was Thoth who initiated this transformation into an effective *aḫ* in the preceding spell BD 18. Now with the process complete, his magic protects the object of the king's deification – I am Re every day.

This omission would be critical. Without reciting it, the king's deification would not be complete. He could not escape from the underworld. He could not enter the solar barque to rise with the sun god and the *ba* of Osiris for the first sunrise. Without his presence, there could be no first occasion – no created cosmos! This omission appears to have been clearly intentional. We have already seen this technique used by the ancient Egyptian initiates earlier in the third ritual cycle to thwart a successful crossing to the House of Osiris.[970]

On the other hand, the depiction of the eighteen deities as two Enneads may have been to emphasize the lunar nature of this overtly solar spell i.e. I am Re every day, (Plate 233) especially since BD 42 is used here in the context of the Rites for the New Moon.[971] In the later 'Ceremony of

966 N. Billing, "The Corridor Chamber. An Investigation of the Function and Symbolism of an Architectural Element in the Old Kingdom Pyramids" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007), 190.

968 P. Kousculis, "Magic in Greco-Roman Egypt" MAA 2 (2002), 15.

969 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 48.

970 See above 5.3.

971 There may have also been a further reference to the lunar cycle through the number eighteen. The day after the full moon group is day 18 called *jʿḥ*, day of the moon, clearly the second half of the lunar cycle, its waning, was underway by the eighteenth of the lunar month. See R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

Glorifying Osiris in the God's Domain' (the *ḏuat*), preserved in P. MMA 35.9.21, which was performed during the Mysteries of Osiris in the month of Khoiak,[972] Isis says:

> "You [Osiris] will enter the sound eye and unite with it.
> Your hue will illuminate the land at night,
> when you come into being as Osiris the moon,
> Thoth the bull who rejuvenates in the sky each day.
> I [Isis] have created the greater Ennead, the lesser Ennead has been provided,
> for the sound eye on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
> It means that the 'month' [Here a name for the moon.] will be completed.
> Do not be distant, for I have effected an entry into the sound eye.
> It means that the numinous image of Osiris will come into being.
> This means Thoth setting it in order with its constituent parts
> so as to remove injury from it.
> You will appear in the sky with Re on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
> Bulls will ejaculate and cows will become gravid
> when you [Osiris as the full moon] are seen in the sky on this day."[973]

Here the relationship linking the Two Enneads and the sound eye of Osiris-Moon is explicit. Setting Osiris-Moon in order with its constituent parts by Thoth is analogous to the deification of the body parts of the king which is achieved by the recitation of BD 42 by the king, who is at the same time the son of the sun, Re, and the son of the moon, Osiris.

The final spell in the third ritual cycle for the night of I *prt* 1 is located above the door to the Annex at the top of the notional east wall of the Antechamber. (Plates 30, 235) It is the place where the sun will rise out of the eastern akhet on *zp tpj*. From the few remaining traces, I was able to ascertain that the text is, in fact, Chapter 133 of the Book of the Dead.[974] "Ch[apter] 133 … 'to be performed (on) the first day of the month' [Blacked-out Moon Day], corresponds to what, in the CT, was the beginning of the Book of the Two Ways, namely CT [1029]. Once transmitted to the BD, this spell became one of the pivotal texts concerning solar theology..."[975] The rubics for this spell point to its potency and its magical ritual use:

> "To be said over a barque four cubits long

972 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 135.

973 Ibid., 144-145.

974 Compare the text on the lintel above the door to the Annex on my Plate 232 with E. Naville, Das agyptische Totenbuch II (1971 reprint), 343-344.

975 R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006), 74.

made of papyrus strips,
and having the Council of Nomes on board,
with a starry sky made and purified
with natron and incense,
after you had made an image of Re
with Nubian pigment on a new bowl,
put at the prow of this barque
and after you had placed an image of this Blessed One,
whose initiation you have desired,
into the barque.
This means that he shall sail in the barque of Re
and Re himself shall see him therein.
Do not use for anyone except yourself -
even your father, or your son.
Be you very careful!
This is (for) initiating the Blessed One
into the mind (*jb*) of Re
and making him mighty before the Ennead...
To be said in addition to this statement
that Horus used for his father Osiris
Wennefer alive forever and ever.
Since Re looks upon this Blessed One as himself,
has looked upon him as (upon) the Ennead,
great is the fear of him in the hearts of the blessed and the dead.
His *ɓa* shall stay alive forever;
it shall not die again in the god's domain.
He is not kept away from the gates,
from the portals of the pits and
the gate of the god's domain.
He shall not be left out on the judgment day;
he shall be triumphant against his enemies.
His offerings shall be on the alter of Re daily." [976]

The use by Horus for his father Osiris Wennefer, alive forever and ever attests to its effectiveness. CT 1029 (BD 133) "explains the purpose of the work [the Book of the Two Ways], which is bridging Diesseits und Jenseits and of enabling the soul [*ɓa*] to live anew each day." [977] Here in the Osireion it is Re, the *ɓa* of Osiris and the Lord of Appearances, [978] the king, who will be born anew with the sunrise

976 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 108-109. These rubrics are not found in the Osireion version of BD 133.

977 T. DuQuesne, "Guide to the Ways of Re-setawe" DE 31 (1995), 110.

978 As the king is called in the opening column of BD 133. See Plate 235.

as is described in BD 133.

"Re appears [in his horizon]
his Ennead following after him
[of which the *ba* of Osiris and the deified king are a part];
the god issues from the secret [hidden] place,
and trembling falls on the eastern horizon of the sky at the voice of Nut;
she clears the ways for Re
before the Eldest One, who turns about
[Reverses direction to travel from east to west during the day].
Raise yourself, O Re who are in your shrine [i.e. Day Barque],
[1] that you may lap up the breezes.
[2] May you swallow the north wind,
[3] may you swallow the spine [vertebrae of Apophis?],
[4] may you entrap the day,
[5] may you kiss Maat,
[6] may you divide your suite
[This marks the division of the day into two halves].
[7] May you sail the Sacred Barque to the Lower Sky,
[8] may the Elders run to and fro at your voice;
[9] may you reckon up your bones,
[10] may you gather your members together,
[11] may you turn your face to the beautiful West,
[12] may you return anew every day,
for you are the golden image
which bares the likeness of the sun-disk
[lit. that under (lies) the union of the disks],
the sky being possessed with trembling
at your recurrence every day.
The horizon is joyful,
and there is acclamation within your bounds." [979]

This rather lengthy description of the unfolding sunrise has been structured such that the twelve stanzas describing the sun god's actions, forms a parallel to the division of the day into twelve hours. The second half of the spell in its complete version also was structured such that there are twelve statements pertaining to Osiris N. [980] In the Osireion version, there appear to be only eight because the chapter ends with the watery abyss of the Nun from which the sun god, the *ba* of Osiris, and the king rise. Recall that this was when they began to depart from the hours of the deep night and the Nun.

979 Translation based primarily on R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 21; and some insertions from T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), 108; and those of the author.

980 T. G. Allen, The Book of the Dead (1974), Spell 133b on 108.

5. THE OSIRIS MYSTERIES AND THE CONCEPTION OF HORUS

"As for the gods who are in the sky
who behold the king, true of voice, [981]
they have offered up praise as though to Re,
for the king, true of voice, is a great one
who seeks out the *wrrt*-crown of Re [982]
and reckons up his needs;
the king, true of voice, is one alone
who affairs flourish in that first company
of those who are in the presence of Re [including the *ḥa* of Osiris];
the king, true of voice, is hale on earth
and in the God's Domain [the *ḏuat*],
the king, true of voice, is hale like Re.
The king, true of voice, will run
and will not be weary in this land forever.
How good it is to see with the eyes,
while the ears hear Maat, twice over,
the king, true of voice, (receives offerings)
increased twice over in Heliopolis.
The king, true of voice, is Re
whose courses are concealed in the suite of Nun!" [983]

The version of BD 133 inscribed in the Osireion ends as it began in the opening of the preceding spell BD 42 with the affirmation of the king, the living Horus, true of voice, that I am Re.

The only remaining fragment of the vignette which was depicted directly above the text of BD 133 is telling. (Plate 235) It is the tail of a uraeus which allows for a reliable reconstruction of the scene using the parallels with the final scene of the Book of Gates, where the two uraei flank the scene and the standard vignette for BD 133. [984] (Plates 121, 236) The role of the twin uraei is two fold. Depicted in their most deadly form, Isis and Nephthys stand alert protecting the solar barque and by so doing assist and insure that the sunrise will unfold. Like in the Book of the Day, the sun god would have appeared with a falcon's head rather than in his ram-headed nocturnal form. [985] (Plate 140) In all

981 While traces remain of the king's name and 'true of voice' in the Osireion version of BD 133 (Plate 235), the *ḥa* of Osiris does not so I omit it here.

982 "This spell [PT 637] is the first of many instances in the corpus where the possession of the *wrrt*-crown is explicitly linked to the resurrection of Osiris [here Osiris-Moon] and/or his legitimate rule, generally over the nightly half of the cosmic cycle, as becomes apparent in those cases in which rule is transferred to him from or by Re." K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 38.

983 See above n. 979.

984 The standard vignette is a form of the sun god in his solar barque.

985 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 117.

probability, it would have been a depiction of Re-Horakhti, Re-Horus of the two akhets (horizons), that specific form of the sun god that arose out of the union of Re and Osiris which is the theme of BD 180 inscribed below it on the doorway opposite BD 42.[986] (Plate 233) From the rubrics, the solar barque is said to be four cubits in length (7 ft.) which would easily fit in the space above the doorway to the Annex. Accompanying Re-Horakhti, the *ɓa* of Osiris would have been in the prow of the barque. His presence in the solar barque explains the moon's absence from the night sky at the time of the New Moon. As in the final scene of the Book of Gates, the king would also have been in the solar barque in order to come into existence with the first sunrise. Recall that Re-Horakhti, Osiris, and the king were depicted together in the opening scenes of the first ritual cycle, thematically linking the ritual cycles in the Osireion.[987] Thus the sun and the moon, the two eyes of the Elder Horus,[988] together with the living Horus, the king, all manifest on *zp tpj*. Finally, the last word in the hieroglyphic text in the Osireion version of BD 133 is “Nun”, suggesting that here too, the solar barque is rising out of the Nun. (Plate 235) This concludes the rites at the end of the twelfth hour on the second night of third ritual cycle in the Osireion with sunrise on I *prt* 2, the day of first crescent visibility, when Osiris-Moon returns to the night sky reincarnated as his son Horus-Moon. The second day of the lunar month on the ideal calendar and on the first occasion was the birth of Horus, the son of Osiris and of Re.

986 BD 180 in the Antechamber was to be used in the monthly Rites for the New Moon, but unlikely in the annual (third) ritual cycle where the union of Re with Osiris were elaborately portrayed and enacted in the complex below the Antechamber.

987 See above 3.1.

988 The Elder Horus was present in the opening text of the first ritual cycle. See above 3.1.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE THE SUBTERRANEAN COMPLEX

6.1 PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION

Above the massive subterranean structure an even larger area appears to have been sectioned off from the rest of the temple precinct by an inner enclosure wall. (Plate 25) Because of its size and the enormous amount of debris that Mariette had dumped in the area behind the Mansion of Millions of Years in his clearance of that temple in 1863,[1] this area has never been properly explored. Furthermore while it is far from clear, it is generally assumed that the roof of the Central Hall was never finished; adding to the difficulty in rendering an accurate reconstruction of the Sacred Precinct as it was intended in Seti's original design. Thus, the full extent and possible structures within the inner enclosure wall are yet to be determined. A satellite mapping and further clearance where warranted could provide better clarity and even uncover some real surprises. Nevertheless, with what sketchy features that are known and some intriguing clues, a general, albeit very preliminary reconstruction of this most important Sacred Precinct can be determined. Barguet touched on the potential significance of this Sacred Precinct with the Osireion lying below. He astutely suggested that to understand the purpose of Seti's Abydene complex, one should start with the “cenotaph” which played the main role.[2]

In order to understand the purpose and functions of the Sacred Precinct, its scope must first be outlined. Then follows a detailed discussion of each of its key features, providing the supporting evidence and suppositions. The chapter concludes with an analysis of its celestial alignments and well-integrated relationship to the greater sacred Abydene landscape.

From the traces that remain, the evidence does suggest that an inner enclosure wall surrounded a large area above the Osireion. It connected to the back notional southeastern corner of the Mansion of

1 A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902), 1.

2 P. Barguet, “Note Sur le Complexe Architectural de Seti I a Abydos” Kemi 16 (1962), 21. Author's translation.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Millions of Years, as Frankfort's excavations revealed.[3] (Plate 24) The notional western extent of the enclosure wall was never explored nor the possibility for a gate aligned with the desert entrance pylon of the main temenos wall, which lies on the main axis of the temple and the Central Hall of the Osireion. However, the width of the enclosed Sacred Precinct can be readily determined. It is 78 m. (256 ft.), which is just wide enough to house a structure the size of king Khasekhemwy's massive mud-brick enclosure, built at the end of the second dynasty and known today as the Shunet el Zebib. Importantly, there is more than sufficient space at the rear of the temple precinct to accommodate its 133.5 m. (438 ft.) maximum length.[4] In fact, a wall that length would end directly above the portion of the Entrance Passage of the subterranean Osireion where the decoration begins. (Plate 50) Recall that the first 32 meters of the Entrance Passage is undecorated mud-brick and it would lie outside of the inner enclosure wall of the Sacred Precinct. (Plate 25) This could be just a coincidence, were it not for these additional facts. Caulfeild noted that “the north (notional west) temenos wall is not parallel to the north (notional west) temple wall and if the lines were extended would meet to the east (notional north) [of the temple]”, which he attributed to being a hasty piece of work.[5] However, this is unlikely the case. The skewing of the temenos wall in all probability was deliberate. (Plate 23) As discussed above, the Entrance Archway of the Osireion built into the base of the temenos wall is aligned to the moon at its northern limit and in the direction of Khasekhemwy's second dynasty enclosure in the North Cemetery either, intersecting it diagonally or more probably just to the notional north where Djer's enclosure lies buried like the Osireion. The parallax phenomenon encountered when using Google Earth prevents a more precise alignment.[6] This would seem to be a more suitable explanation for the nonparallel orientation of the notional west temenos wall in relation to the temple wall. Finally there is the important hieratic ostraka found in the Entrance Passage of the Osireion which was written when the complex was under construction. (Plate 53, 54) It reads:

> “Fourth month of *prt* Day 22 (IIII *prt* 22)
> Amount of work done by the Gang of the Left.
> What it dragged from the Quay of the Castle/Fortress, *bḫnw,* of Menmaatre
> to the south of Menmaatre is Serviceable [Beneficial] to Osiris...” [7]

According to Gunn: “This document has more than one feature of interest. In the first place it gives us two new names of buildings of Seti I at Abydos. 'The fortress of Menmaatre' was perhaps a fortress similar to the very ancient Shunet el Zebib, which went out of use before the Middle Kingdom (see

3 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 9. “Whether a special wall enclosed the Cenotaph and the back of the temple is hard to say... we found the stone foundation of a wall which, when followed up by Mr. Felton at the end of the season, appeared to connect up with the southwest [notional southeastern] corner of the temple.”

4 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 159. 133.5 m. x 77.7 m. A. Mariette, Abydos II (1880), 47 and plate 68. His earlier measurements including the outer enclosure wall 131 m. 30 cm. x 78 m. 32 cm.

5 A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902), 12.

6 See above 4.1.

7 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 92. Gunn worked with Gardiner on the transcription and translation.

Ayrton in Abydos III, 4). The second name 'Menmaatre is Serviceable [Beneficial] to Osiris' was possibly that of the Osireion."[8] He supported his translation of *pꜣ bḫnw* as 'fortress' and therefore its association with Shunet el Zebib by citing names of other fortresses *pꜣ bḫnw nj* King X located between Egypt and Palestine.[9]

The Sacred Precinct incorporates a number of key features which define the complex. The Corridor leading from the Gallery of Lists to the Stairway Passage that opens to the Sacred Precinct together serve as the Complex's Entranceway, similar in function to the First Hypostyle Hall of the Mansion of Millions Years. (Plate 26) A second staircase accessible only from the Sacred Precinct and is next to the Entranceway leads up to the roof. It connected that area of the temple roof with the Sacred Precinct itself. (Plate 38) To the notional east from the staircase to the roof was a hidden door that opened to a group of five chambers serving as the Treasury and an area for important temple archives. (Plate 39) This area on the notional eastern side of the Sacred Precinct was sectioned off by a smaller wall which probably connected to the far side of the inner enclosure wall. It also appears to have separated the two staircases.[10] (Plate 26) On the other notional western side over the roofed-in and buried Central Hall of the Osireion was a grove of at least six trees and undoubtedly more in the midst of what probably was a vast open ceremonial area covered in sand, the size of Khasekhemwy's second dynasty enclosure.[11] The House of Life was in all likelihood situated opposite the Treasury in the notional southeastern area of the Sacred Precinct. (Plate 26) Finally, the reliefs in the entrance corridor suggest the presence of two shrines in the ceremonial area. One was for Amen-Re, Mut and Khonsu, the Theban triad representing Upper Egypt. (Plate 457) The other for Ptah and Sekhmet of the Memphite triad of Lower Egypt. (Plate 468)

While the roof to the Osireion is generally assumed to not have been completed, this was likely not the case. Frankfort admits that "allowing for the activities of the stone-plunders, and those of three different expeditions which excavated at intervals, it is impossible to be very definite about the state of

8 B. Gunn in H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 93.

9 Ibid., 93. K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I: Translations (1993), 107 [127:10] translates the ostraka as 'Residency of Menmaatre' without comment. L. Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I (1982), 161, distinguishes *bḫn*(*w*) 'castle, villa', from *bḫnt,* 'pylon'. R. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (1986), 84, lists *bḫn* 'country mansion' and *bḫnt* 'pylon'. P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 326-327, adds: "The etymology of the word suggests that *bḫn* acted as a kind of watchtower from which the surrounding area could be monitored. In religious architecture the pylons [*bḫnt*] provide the highest vantage point in the temple and are symbolically the western and eastern mountain ranges of the farthest horizon, where the sun rises and sets, and could be equated with Isis and Nephthys holding up the sky [cf. LA IV; 1202-1205]." See also P. Spencer, The Egyptian Temple (1984), 192-196. Both the inner enclosure walls of the sacred precinct and the desert pylon lay to the notional south of the Quay. However, given the alignment of the Entrance Archway of the Osireion and the inner enclosure area's dimensions in relation to Shunet el Zebib, the probability favors the translation of *bḫnw* as castle/fortress rather than a reference to the desert Pylon, *bḫn*(*t*).

10 The opening to the staircase to the roof was later moved by Ramesses II to inside the stairway connecting the sacred precinct to the Mansion of Millions of Years, perhaps because of the retainer wall that separated them, or more likely a change in the rituals.

11 Among the ritual uses for Khasekhemwy's second dynasty enclosure, O'Connor was suggested that: "It is possible the enclosure walls themselves were the focus for some of the rituals occurring within or around them. Later sources refer to ritual or ceremonial circumambulations by the king around city walls or temple enclosures, e.g. in connection with coronation rituals and sed-festival celebrations." D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 178. This may go a long way in explaining why Seti incorporated such a structure in his temple complex. See below 6.3, Fortress of Menmaatre.

completion in which the building was left by Seti or Merenptah, it seems likely, however, that all the passages and rooms and part of the Central Hall had been roofed over."[12] He also remarked that "the intention was obviously that the surface above and round the Cenotaph should finally be flush with that on which the temple stood, and, as the temple was already in construction and the retaining walls were built, the two [tree] pits on the east [notional north] side of the Cenotaph fell into the area which was heightened up to the level finally to be reached. The other pits were intended to reach that level when the roof of the Cenotaph would have been completed and covered over with some two or three meters of soil."[13] However, this seemingly unfinished condition could just as easily been the result of the later Coptic stone robbers' efforts to first reach and then quarry the massive granite roofing blocks, not to mention the activities of the three previous expeditions. One can argue that the roof of the Central Hall was indeed completed either during Seti's reign or certainly by Ramesses II, based on several pertinent pieces of circumstantial evidence, which are discussed in detail below.

"Strabo mentioned that, the roof was covered externally by a great mound, surrounded by a grove of trees."[14] However, this is not what the Roman historian wrote. He made no mention of a mound only the grove of acacia trees sacred to Apollo (who they equated to the Egyptian god Horus) and the "fountain which lies at a great depth, so that one descends to it down vaulted galleries made of monoliths of surpassing size and workmanship."[15] O'Connor also concluded that while "some [as did Barguet[16]] suggest a mound was intended to mark the Osireion's location, but in fact there is evidence only for a grove of trees at ground level."[17] This information is significant on two counts. Strabo's description of the Osireion at the time of his visit (64 BC – ca. 24 AD) seems to indicate that the structure was still more or less in tact, more than twelve hundred years after its construction. The descent down the vaulted galleries, that is to say the Entrance Passage, Antechamber, Sloping Passage and First Transverse Hall, leads down to a fountain which lies at a great depth in the Central Hall. The key point here is that the fountain at that time could *only* be accessed through the vaulted galleries, the significance of which Frankfort apparently completely missed. In stead, he took a different tact. "We have seen that the Central Hall was partly filled with sand at the period when the building was used as a quarry, in Coptic times. It is therefore probable that in Strabo's days also this was the case, so that the arrangement of an island surrounded by a channel, which one would otherwise expect him to mention, was not at all apparent to him. Ingress could not be obtained by the arch at the north [notional west]

12 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 13.

13 Ibid., 12.

14 O. Sety, H. El Zeini, Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt (1981), 20.

15 Strabo, Geography, 17 I. 42.

16 P. Barguet, "Note Sur le Complexe Architectural de Seti I a Abydos" Kemi 16 (1962), 22. "It is virtually certain that externally the structure was a mound planted with trees... more exactly still a bas relief carved in Karnak in a crypt in the Edifice of Taharqa [Room E] next to the sacred lake seems to show this mound inside an enclosure." Author's translation. For a depiction of this scene see K. Cooney "The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Role of the King" JARCE 37 (2000), 31 Fig. 12.

17 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 48.

end of the entrance passage, because we found it bricked up with Seti's bricks, and the hoard [of coins] and the copper pot found at about ten meters distance from the entrance show that all this part of the entrance passage was never used. The brick vault had, however, collapsed from about six meters south [notional east] of the entrance up to the point where the stone-work starts, and here persons may well have entered the building. As day-light could not enter the passage and ante-rooms, Strabo on his descent to the water of the Central Hall may have mistaken the pitch-roof for a vault, and the pairs of large blocks which roofed over the (equally unlighted) Transversal Room he may well have remembered as monoliths under the influence of the roofing-stones of the Central Hall, where daylight entered because the roof was not finished and where, in the examination of the marvelous granite work and the water, the climax of his visit to our monument was reached. Thus it can easily be understood that in his account the monoliths and the vault appear combined, while in reality they are two separate things."[18]

There are a number of problems and inconsistencies with Frankfort's hypothesis that make it most unlikely and inadvertently misleading. To start, if the Central Hall was partially filled with sand because the roof had not been finished allowing daylight to enter as Frankfort had assumed, why didn't Strabo simply climb down from the grove of trees and enter the fountain area in the daylight rather than go through the long maze of pitch black underground passages to reach the fountain in the Central Hall? And why did he not say that the fountain was in a deep pit in the grove of trees (which surrounded the Central Hall), where in fact he made no such connection, only that they were in the same general locale as the Memnonium, Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. The answer seems obvious. The Central Hall was still roofed-in at the time of Strabo's visit, centuries before the Copts began quarrying the roofing stones. On the other hand, if the roof had not been completed and the Central Hall was sanded in so that there was no way to enter from the grove of trees as would certainly be the case after laying open to the elements for twelve hundred years, there also would have been no "fountain" either because sand by its nature would have first filled the channel around the island in the Central Hall. This was precisely the same situation that Mariette encountered when he cleared Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years in 1863. After the Copts had quarried the roof, the Osireion filled up with sand and completely disappeared, which is why he dumped much of the debris from clearing the temple directly on top of the Osireion. That Strabo did not mention the arrangement of an island surrounded by a channel, which one would otherwise expect him to mention, was not at all apparent to him is also easily explainable. In the pitch black roofed-in Central Hall which Strabo had entered, a torch would scarcely illuminate such a vast subterranean chamber. Recall too that in the design of the Central Hall, the "fountain" would appear to lay at its immediate entrance, representing only that small portion of the channel that surrounded the island that could be illuminated by his torch. (Plates 44, 294) From that vantage point at the entrance and there is nowhere else to go from there unless you jump into the water, the view is limited especially so in the darkness and thus there would be no way to get the sense of an island surrounded by a channel. Furthermore, standing in the entranceway under the

18 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 32.

best of lighting conditions you cannot see that the channel runs completely around the island because the island itself blocks the view of the water in the channel behind the island.

As to the access to the Entrance Passage, there are a few possibilities. Frankfort's remark that ingress through the arch was not possible because they found it bricked up with Seti I's bricks directly contradicts his earlier statement that at the top the bricks blocking the entrance arch had been broken through and thus could have provided a means of access.[19] Also keep in mind that Seti's grandson Merenptah may have had his workmen open a temporary entrance where the stone-work started or was the one who broke through the bricked up entrance archway at the top in order to continue with the completion of the modifications to the cartooned-in decoration and carving of the Entrance Passage scenes. However, at some point Merenptah abandoned the effort or was unable to complete it by the end of his reign, but the temporary entrance may not have been sealed. In 1902, Caulfeild was able to enter the Entrance Passage where the stone-work started, after clearing down to it.[20] (Plate 50) Finally, as Frankfort noted the brick vault had collapsed from about six meters south [notional east] of the entrance up to the point where the stone-work starts, and here persons may well have entered the building, although this appears to have happened much later based on the dates of the hoard of coins and the copper pot found at about ten meters distance from the entrance. From their presence, Frankfort concluded that this shows that all this part of the entrance passage was never used. However, since the earliest coin found was from the reign of Ptolemy II (282 – 246 BC) hardly can lead one to the conclusion that this part of the Entrance Passage was never used.[21] This coin was issued more than a thousand years after the Osireion was built, where the ritual integrity may well have been maintained over much or all of that period. In fact, O'Connor concluded that "certainly the Osireion and its access tunnel were open throughout most of Abydos' last 1,500 years."[22] Then there is the distribution of the

19 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 14.

20 A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1989 reprint), 13 and plate XXIII. "In the N.W. part of the temenos enclosure we found a gateway, 41 m. from the W. wall, and 28 m. from the N. wall. The floor of the gate is about 2 ½ m. below the desert level. The wide part of the gate is 4.45 m., and the narrow part 2.75 m., across. The narrow part continues in a long passage to the South [notional east], approximately parallel to the W. [notional south] wall, and about 69 m. long. The passage is lined with sandstone blocks covered with religious inscriptions, not yet unearthed. The axis of this passage points to the North [notional west], to a mound of sand 93 m. to the N. [notional west] of the Temenos wall."

21 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 31-34. The string of Old Kingdom carnelian beads found with the hoard of coins clearly had to come from another part of the Abydene necropolis. J. G. Milne who studied the coins concluded that the part of the site where they were found was frequented throughout the Ptolemaic period and the first half of the first century A.D., but was seldom visited afterwards. But this assessment was based solely on the coins that could be dated. Of the thirty fragmentary or decayed pieces of metal which had once been coins: three appeared to have been late Ptolemaic, one probably of Augustus, one of Claudius, and one of Vespasian; only one looked like third-century Roman. The other twenty three could no longer be identified. Probably unknown to Frankfort at the time was the Greek custom of leaving a coin in their tombs as had been found throughout Egypt. "They were most probably placed in the tombs as ferry-dues to be given to Charon [the ferryman of Hades]." L. Kakosy, "Some Problems of Late-Egyptian Religion" in W. Reineke (ed.), Acts. First International Congress of Egyptology (1977), 348. The group of loose Greek and Roman coins, spanning some six centuries, found at the beginning of the Entrance Passage likely served as an offering to the ferryman of the underworld for safe passages on their visit to the 'Hidden Place of the *Duat* of Menmaatre'. As such, they serve as evidence of actual visits in Greco-Roman times to this part of the Osireion, which must have been at least until the third century AD, contra Frankfort.

22 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 135.138.5

graffiti found in the Osireion, which must be considered. It suggests that the only access to the subterranean complex was from the Entrance Passage until the time when the Copts began to quarry the roofing stones of the Central Hall. "The considerable number of hieratic, hieroglyphic and demotic graffiti which are still more or less visible on the walls (especially the west one) of the [Entrance] Passage show that the latter was much visited, especially in about Dyn. XXII."[23] These recorded visits were made by privileged priests and scribes of other functioning temples. Furthermore, of the demotic Ostraka found in the Entrance Passage, a number date to the Roman Period showing that as with the case for Strabo the only access to the Osireion was through the Entrance Passage.[24] In fact with the exception of a single later Greek graffito of a foot carved below the figure of Horus in the Antechamber,[25] all the graffiti and ostraka appear to have been restricted by decorum solely to the Entrance Passage. None exists in the lower and more sacred passages and chambers of the Osireion until Coptic times, probably after the Roman Emperor Theodosius I ordered all pagan temples closed in 394 A.D. Moreover, the Coptic drawings that exist cover three of the granite columns on the island in the Central Hall, where the quarrying on the roofing blocks had occurred.[26] Naville who cleared the Central Hall in 1914 concluded that: "It is quite possible that the destruction is not of very ancient date. A great number of drawings due to Copts, especially boats which may have a religious meaning, are found at nearly all heights. Some of them show that the building must have been intact in their time."[27]

Frankfort had acknowledged the extreme difficulty encountered in dealing with the windblown sand. Commenting on Miss Murray's excavations in season 1902-03, the Antechamber "was cleared and so was the small room [the Annex] opening out of the first on to the south [notional east]; and even the sloping passage running eastwards [notional north] was excavated. But 'two days of high winds silted it up to the level of the roof'... We as well as former expeditions had had much to suffer from sand-slides, and, in fact, we had not only to clear the sand from between the built walls of the passage, but to pile up small stone walls, sometimes more the 1½ meters high, on the top of the masonry to keep the sand out... The Antiquities Department resolved to cover over the passage [Entrance Passage], and, indeed, without such a measure the high winds would in a few years have undone the whole of our work."[28] Returning to Merenptah's earlier efforts to complete the decoration of the Osireion, it was undertaken some seventy five years after his grandfather's death. In addition to his work in the

23 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 87, remarks by B. Gunn.

24 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 94-96, remarks by Spiegelberg.

25 M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904), 10 and Plate XII.

26 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 13. A undated but presumably later Greek inscription is found near the top of the middle column on the opposite row from the columns with the Coptic drawings.

27 E. Naville, "Excavations at Abydos The Great Pool and the Tomb of Osiris" JEA I (1914), 163. Unfortunately, he does not further elaborate on how he reached this conclusion.

28 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 1, 6, 15 and Plate XI, 1. In the 1912-13 season the areas excavated by Miss Murray ten years earlier had to be cleared of sand again. The Annex was completely filled as was most of the Antechamber.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Entrance Passage mentioned above, he also made considerable progress in the Antechamber, Annex, Sloping Passage and importantly here in the Central Hall, where his artisans carved the entire notional north wall and part of the architraves on the notional eastern side. Now if the roof of the Central Hall had not already been completed, it would have been necessary for him to have completed it for the very same reason the Antiquities Department was forced to roof over the Entrance Passage. Otherwise, it would have been fruitless to try to undertake the decoration of the massive Central Hall without the protection of the roof, which itself was nearly four meters (13 feet) below the floor level of the main temple and the surrounding desert sand. Even if the fortress of Menmaatre had already been constructed around Menmaatre is Beneficial to Osiris, the Osireion, as the workmen's hieratic ostraka would seem to imply,[29] a structure 78 m. (256 ft.) wide by 133.5 m. (438 ft.) long, would scarcely have provided much protection from a sandstorm as anyone who has been in one in Egypt will attest. Note the problems encountered with even a small opening 0.7 m. (2.3 ft.) square as such was the "robbers tunnel" in the Second Transverse Hall. "It passes through the wall and the outer limestone casing of the building, to a total depth of 2.80 m. (9 ft.), and ends in sand which comes pouring down when one attempts to remove it... But their [the treasurer hunters according to Frankfort] attempt to find a subterranean entrance and a treasure had to be given up, for the whole sand-bed upon which the Temple is built came pouring on to them."[30] The point of this anecdotal evidence is that in all likelihood the roofing was in place before Merenptah's artisans finished carving the notional north wall of the Central Hall and was still in place at the time of Strabo's visit, some twelve hundred years later.

The carefully crafted masterful dedicatory inscription of Ramesses II for his father's Mansion of Millions of Years at Abydos, as Spalinger has demonstrated, provides us with a potentially vital piece of evidence.[31] Ramesses states: (Plate 446 columns 57-59)

"I will build up/dress (*nmʿ*) walls in the temple (*ḥwt-nṯr*)
of the one who engendered me (*pꜣ wtt* <*w*>*j*).
I will command a man of my choice to direct this work in it.
I will fill up that [which is lacking on its walls.
[I will …] its pylon out of …..
I will roof (*ḥbs*) his house (*pr.f*)
I will erect (*šp*) his pillars (*jwnw* …)
And I will place (*dj*) stones in the foundation places.
It is good to make a monument after monument,
two excellent things (*ꜣḫw* again) at one time,
they being in my name and in the name of my father.
So a [loving/acting] son, [so] the one who bore him."[32]

29 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 92.

30 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 22.

31 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscriptions of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009).

32 Ibid., 37.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Spalinger points out that “there is little to contradict his son's own account in the Dedicatory Inscription. Namely, that he, Ramesses, had found the temple unfinished, and it was his task as the dutiful son – both to Osiris and to Seti I – to effect the final touches.”[33] Brand in his comprehensive study of the monuments of Seti I, concluded that “Seti had finished constructing all the roofed portions of the temple, including the south wing, the Osiris Suite, the seven chapels and the two hypostyle halls, before he died.”[34] What then could Ramesses be referring to in the statement immediately preceding his comment about erecting the pillars, “I will roof in his house”, *ḥbs.j pr.f*, (Plate 446 column 58) when the main temple was already completely roofed in? Further, he distinguishes the structure, *pr.f*, from the work he will do on the main temple, *ḥwt-nṯr*, of the one who engendered him. “The simple term, '*pr*', could have a wide variety of meanings during the dynastic period of Egypt. When used of the dwelling of a private individual, it could refer to the house-building itself or to the whole of a noble's estate. Similarly when the term was transferred to temple architecture, the *pr* could be the main temple-building, the temenos, or the administrative estate. Only a careful examination of each occurrence, comparing the textual evidence with existing temple remains, where these are preserved, can reveal which interpretation of the term is the most suitable for each occurrence.”[35] The meaning of *pr* does not preclude it from being a reference to the Osireion, where part of the roof of the Central Hall may not have been completed at the time of Seti's death. Notably, Ramesses did much work on the rear area of the *ḥwt-nṯr* in the south (notional east) wing and carved the reliefs on the rear exterior wall of the temple, which may have been of his design. In addition, he closed the outside entrance for the staircase to the roof and moved it inside by breaking through the stairway's notional eastern wall, destroying some of the existing decoration of the scene there by reducing the Ennead to three figures from the original group of nine as is depicted in the same scene on the opposite wall. The acts of moving the entrance to the staircase to the roof and carving the scenes of the rear exterior wall suggests that this part of the *ḥwt-nṯr* of his father held some particular importance to the young Ramesses. This being the case, why then would Ramesses leave the roof of the Central Hall uncompleted and with it the grove of sacred trees which were to surround it. Recall that the roof of the Central Hall is some four meters (13 feet) below the level of the temple's floor and the surrounding desert and that this “pit” was only a short 15 meters (49 feet) from the rear of the temple in the area that Ramesses had concentrated his work. The answer is he did not. Importantly, in the one tree pit fully excavated by Frankfort, fragments of conifers and a tamarisk were found. “Another observation made in connection with the [tree] pits, and confirming those of the former expedition, proved that the building was entirely covered with earth.”[36] Based on the construction method described by Frankfort for the tree pits, had the Central Hall's roof not been completed the tree pits around it could not have been finished and planted, but the one that they had meticulously excavated clearly was, confirming that Ramesses

33 A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscriptions of Ramesses II A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009), 4.

34 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I Epigraphic, Historical & Art Historical Analysis (2000), 169.

35 P. Spencer, The Egyptian Temple A Lexicographical Study (1984), 20.

36 H. Frankfort, “Preliminary Report of the Expedition to Abydos 1925-6” JEA 12 (1926),159.

had indeed done what he said and roofed in his house, i.e. the Osireion.[37] Seti in death has been ritually transfigured into Osiris Wennefer, Ruler of the West, who now resides in his house, *pr.f*, which his dutiful son Ramesses roofed-in for his father Seti as Osiris. Recall now the hieratic graffiti of Dynasty XXII? in the Entrance Passage: (Plate 52, 3)

> "... and his companion the scribe Pedamun of the Temple of Osiris,
> who came to see the underground crypt of King Menmaatre l.p.h.
> *tɜ štɜj n dɜt* (lit.) "hidden place/chamber of the underworld [*ḏuat*]."[38]

It ties the Osireion directly to Seti and his underground crypt, the hidden chamber of the *ḏuat*, as does the name of the structure, Menmaatre is Beneficial to Osiris.[39]

Finally, there is the issue of the scenes in the corridor leading out up to the sacred precinct. The Driving of the Calves and Lassoing the Bull are two rites of several that were to be enacted outside in the Sacred Precinct. (Plates 450, 461) An aspect of the ritual of Driving the Calves, in particular, is directly connected with the concealment of the location of the tomb/house of Osiris by trampling over the top of it in order to protect the god and his father from potential enemies. It would be impossible to enact the rite, making it ineffectual if the roof of the Central Hall was left unfinished. Yet, both scenes were carved or re-carved by Ramesses II after his father's death, showing his intention to properly enact the rites beneficial to Osiris, now as Osiris Seti, and for his own claim of legitimacy to the right to rule and that of his son, prince Amenhirkhopshef. Obviously, these were of great importance to Ramesses

37 H. Frankfort, "Preliminary Report of the Expedition to Abydos 1925-6" JEA 12 (1926), 158-159. "This work on the top and around the building led to another discovery: we found a roughly semicircular wall built against the outside of the 'Osireion'. It had not much strength and consisted of rough small lumps of limestone; but within its enclosure there was very compact black earth, a strange feature, seeing that the building lies well out in the desert, surrounded by sand and marl. We therefore excavated the pit and had actually to go down for more than 50 feet through this compact mass of black earth, which contained nothing but two diminutive fragments of Nineteenth Dynasty pottery; then we reached water and could not go any deeper, but the wall continued. Eventually we found six of these pits, round the end of the building. Their meaning remained a point of much discussion, but after a renewed inspection of the tree-pits, which Mr. Winlock found at Dier el-Bahari, I felt sure that our pits served the same purpose; this alone can explain the presence of the black earth, which of course must have been specially brought up from the cultivation. So I excavated the southernmost pit where the top layers were best preserved, with meticulous care, and though here as everywhere in Abydos the white ants have destroyed most remains of wood I succeeded in finding a few small fragments, which when analyzed by Professor Newberry, turn out to be of coniferous wood, with one fragment of the tamarisk. I will not discuss here all the conclusions which one might draw from this discovery, but only recall the funerary functions of the coniferous trees and the tamarisk, and also the fact that tombs were supposed to be surrounded by trees, a point to which we shall have to refer later on.

Another observation made in connection with the pits, and confirming those of the former expedition, proved that the building was entirely covered over with earth. From every course of the limestone mantle which surrounds the building, streaks of white chips run off into the surrounding soil; they are not found in the pits. Obviously they are derived from the chipping of the blocks when they were fitted into the wall, and they show that each course was brought in position after the surrounding of the building had been filled up to the height of the preceding course. The pits however, built up at the same time and actually leaning against the outside of the building, were kept open to receive black earth for their trees and they therefore do not show the alternating layers of thrown-in soil and chips. The ground which was thrown in is actually the broken up marl of which the desert at Abydos consists underneath its sandy surface. In this marl the colossal cutting made in which the building was to be put and which was filled in, as we have just seen, while the work proceeded. It is important that the broken marl also covered the roofing slabs. The whole building was – or was meant to be – subterranean."

38 See above 2.1, Overview and Ancient Names.

39 Ibid.

and his still fledgling Nineteenth Dynasty, suggesting that they would have been of a high priority for the new king. Thus, it is yet another reason for Ramesses II to have completed what he had said: to "roof his house", *ḥbs pr.f*. These scenes are discussed in greater detail below in the next section.

As to the nature of the mound, the answer may be found in the architectural design of the Central Hall itself. It has been shown that it faithfully incorporates all the key features of the fifth hour of Amduat, which it was intended to represent.[40] (Plates 340, 337) The two kites on either side of the burial mound of Osiris in the top register of the fifth hour of Amduat are nevertheless still in the *ḍuat*, so that the all important image contained therein of Horus-Sokar is concealed at the command of the sun god. This concealed burial mound of Osiris mirrors a seemingly peculiar funerary practice of the early dynastic pharaohs. "Dreyer's excavations have revealed each 1st and 2nd Dynasty royal tomb at Umm el Qaab was capped with a carefully constructed mound; this was defined by brick walls filled with sand and gravel and entirely plastered and whitewashed.[41] The mound was, however, below

40 See above 5.1, Message in Stone. Interestingly and quite independent of my own work, A. Mironova arrived at essentially the same conclusion with respect to the symbolism of the fifth hour Amduat in her fascinating article "The Relationship Between Space and Scenery of an Egyptian Temple: Scenes of the Opet Festival and the Festival of Hathor at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III" in ejournal Mosikjournal.1 2010 (in English), 302-303 and 304-305. "According to the images of Amduat from the tomb of Thutmose III, the region of Sokar was located in the fourth and fifth valleys of the Underworld. These valleys, unlike other valleys of *ḍuat*, were a desert where darkness dwells and where the solar barque was being dragged by the gods. The scene of the fourth hour depicts the god Thoth giving the Udjat-eye to Horus/Sokar. C. J. Bleecker asserts that here the god Sokar is represented receiving his own life and energy in the form of the Eye, which he then gives to the dead Osiris. Further, the scene of the 5th hour the figure of Sokar appears in the lower register, inside the oval protected by the earth god Aker. (Plate 342) The oval is covered with the pyramid-shaped hill crowned with a female head and labeled 'the flesh of Isis, who is over the Land of Sokar. This image resembles the roles of the deceased Osiris and of Isis, as she hovers over him in the form of a kite, intercourses with him and conceives the child Horus. Regarding the scene of Amduat, the hill with the female head over it could be understood as the image of Isis who spreads her wings (= hill-slopes) and hovers over Sokar – the personification of the potential life implicit in the dead body of Osiris.

This life is embodied in the form of a scarab represented in the upper register of the same scene. One sees him coming out of the hill (the sign of the night) and holding the rope of the Sun Barque, 'in order to help Re (lit. 'his hand is in the hand for Re'), to straighten the secrets paths of Re-Horakhti'. [Significantly, this also is the first mention of Re-Horakhti in the Book of Amduat, corresponding to his conception.] Thus, the scarab plays a prominent role in the process of the sun god's rebirth, and at the same time appears to be the personification of the final form of Re, i.e. the morning manifestation of the sun god. Furthermore, the hill, from which the scarab emerges, symbolizes the sarcophagus [tomb] which contained the dead body of Osiris and mourned by Isis and Nephthys (= two birds [kites] on the hill-slopes). In such a case, the scene of the fifth hour Amduat bears another meaning: The conception of the new life of Re-Osiris [i.e. Re-Horus of the Two Horizons] who finally, after completing the night journey, rises with the help of Sokar on the eastern horizon.

The evidence discussed above allows us to suggest that in the abode of Sokar [fifth hour Amduat] a sort of conception of Re and Horus (and hence the pharaoh) occurred [the cornerstone of my reconstruction of what was portrayed on the island in the Central Hall], both of them receiving the new life before the battle with the god Apophis occurred in the seventh valley of the *ḍuat.*

In the tripartite composition in a scene of the fifth hour of Amduat (Plate 340): There one can see a scarab (=the morning sun), a hill with a head of Isis (= the body of Isis), and an oval with the figure of Sokar (= the womb of Isis containing the semen of Horus [Osiris] or Re)."

Mironova's analysis of the symbolism of the fifth hour Amduat, which in the Osireion is represented by the Central Hall, provides independent support for my hypothesis that on the island in the Central Hall, it was the conception of Horus that was portrayed and not the Embalming House of Osiris nor his sarcophagus and canopic chest, as has been suggested elsewhere.

41 As noted earlier, "the remains of a whitewashed plaster structure exists beneath the central sanctuary of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu. This temple was closely associated with the mound of Djeme, and has been the focus of a long-term documentation, conservation, and restoration program of the Epigraphic Survey, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago since the 1990s. While restoring the flooring in that part of the temple the Survey discovered remnants of a raised, layered, plaster and mud structure directly beneath the central sanctuary, perhaps vestiges of the actual 'mound' of Djeme. The findings will be published by the Survey in a future volume of the 'Excavations at Medinet Habu' series." Personal communication by ES director W. Raymond Johnson.

ground level, and hence a subterranean feature, completely invisible [and thus 'concealed' just as the sun god had commanded in the fifth hour of Amduat] once the pit containing both tomb and mound was filled in."[42] Moreover, the concealed mound only covered the royal tombs' burial chamber as only the fifth hour of Amduat has a mound covering the cavern of Sokar.[43] (Plates 340, 337) "These concealed mounds seem to be an innovation introduced in the 1st Dynasty, under King Djer."[44] This is of particular importance here since from the Middle Kingdom onward, Djer's tomb was believed to have been that of Osiris himself. Given the architectural likeness of the Central Hall to the fifth hour of Amduat where the mound of Osiris in the land of Sokar is depicted, it would be logical to conclude that the Central Hall likewise was covered by a concealed mound. As shown in this 1925 excavation photo, remnants may have actually been uncovered, but their importance was not appreciated. (Plate 495)

With no visible mound at ground level, only the grove of acacia trees sacred to Horus would be seen, just as the Roman historian Strabo (64 BC – ca. 24 AD) reported. The fact that the grove of trees was still held to be sacred to Horus some twelve hundred years later and Strabo even mentions this piece of information in the abbreviated account of his visit, suggests that there had to have been a great significance attached to this association. Indeed there is. This grove of trees surrounded the subterranean Central Hall and the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, (Plate 26) which as we have seen represents the birth house of Isis. Here the trees can be interpreted as symbolizing the birth of Horus as reflected in the scene buried deep below from the Books of the Earth, where Horus' body emerges directly out of the flesh of his father, who himself symbolized vegetation and its growth. (Plates 363, 364) Again, we find yet another expression of the god of divine kingship in two persons.

42 D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009), 152.

43 Ibid., 152.

44 Ibid., 153.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

6.2 ENTRANCEWAY

This part of the temple was completely redesigned from its original plan and therefore worth noting. It was also later modified again by Ramesses II. "The plan [of the Hall of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar] was then changed, before any decoration was executed, and the sandstone columns were infilled with limestone to form the south [notional east] wall of the hall. This created a corridor to the south [notional east], leading to a staircase which was built within the [former] third chapel and is now known as the Stairway Passage. (Plate 38) In its turn this led, by way of the South-west [notional South-east] Exterior Wall, to the Upper Staircase on to the roof. In this new arrangement the Corridor, in particular, is hard to parallel in other temples of the period, in most of which rooms open directly from one to another. Reasons for the new layout can be seen both in requirements for ritual purity and for the separation of inner areas of temples from the outside world, and in the practicalities of access to the various rooms involved.... On the south [notional east] side of the wall, in the Corridor, the frieze – the architrave in the first plan – is the only element decorated in raised relief of Seti I. This detail probably does not date to an early decoration of the hall in the first plan, but reflects later procedures, in which decoration was executed from the top down. No other decoration relates to the first plan, and apart from this wall nothing in the structure itself shows unambiguously that the design was changed. This is particularly striking in the Corridor, with its doorway from the Gallery of the Lists, because the doorway, and hence the final form of the Gallery, can hardly have been in the first plan."[45] Baines elsewhere described the later modifications. "Under Ramesses II the layout of the area was changed. The door at the top of the Stairway may have been redesigned, while the entrance to the upper staircase was blocked and a new way to it carved from inside the Stairway, destroying part of the decoration of its south [notional east] wall in the process. Along the outside wall of the temple, which the doorway from the Stairway pierces, bold reliefs of Ramesses II (now very fragmentary) were carved. These ignored two entrances and must have been completed by paintings on the doors in the doorways."[46] (Plates 478- 484) Importantly then, when the rituals out in the Sacred Precinct were taking place and the doors closed, the walls of the Fortress of Menmaatre surrounding the area would have appeared as one uninterrupted series of contiguous ritual scenes, much like Ramesses had carved on the enclosure wall placed around the inner sanctum of Amen at Karnak.[47]

45 J. Baines, "Abydos, Temple of Sethos I: Preliminary Report" JEA 70 (1984), 16-17.

46 J. Baines "Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt" BAOM XI (1990), 87.

47 See W. Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses II in Karnak (1968). Whether the ritual scenes were restricted to the exterior rear wall of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years where fragmentary remains still exist or if they continued onto the now completely destroyed connected inner enclosure walls which formed the Fortress of Menmaatre is impossible to say.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

As mentioned, access is gained through the Gallery of Lists. (Plate 38) David correctly identified that the rites found in the Corridor and Stairway Passage, which together constitute the grand entranceway to the Sacred Precinct,[48] "formed no part of either the Daily Ritual or the subsequent Ritual of the Royal Ancestors", which culminated in the Gallery of Lists.[49] However, as will be shown the Royal Ancestors are thematically linked. That the Corridor and Staircase Passage form the formal entranceway and as such was part of the Sacred Precinct complex is further suggested by the uncommon portrayals of the king on the lintels of the doorway into the Corridor from the Gallery of Lists and again at the top of the Stairway Passage on the jambs of the door leading out into the Sacred Precinct. In each case, the king is depicted holding a *ḥrp*-staff and the *ḥḏ*-mace. (Plates 470, 447) This is also true for the two scenes in the Stairway Passage of the enthroned deified Seti I.[50] (Plates 471, 472) Furthermore, all scenes are directed outward and therefore relate to the Sacred Precinct, the area where the actual rituals were to be performed as O'Connor has suggested. "Further, sometimes spectacular rituals are depicted on the walls... They include the lassoing of a huge wild bull by Ramesses II and other activities more appropriate to open-air locales than to the temple itself. Rosalie David believes these rituals were traditional and maybe no longer occurred, but it is worth remembering that this corridor led to a vast [enclosed] area behind the temple where some ceremonial form of such rituals could actually have taken place."[51]

The axial alignment and north to south orientation of the entranceway is the same as that for the Opet Colonnade of Luxor temple, subtly linking its function to the Cycle of 76 for the annual renewal of kingship. The decoration of the Entranceway is clearly segmented between the two walls, suggesting multiple uses for the Sacred Precinct complex. The key one of concern here is its use during the annual rites for the renewal of the king's coronation, which began on I *prt* 1. Recall that they have a dual nature. The coronation is both for that of the living Horus as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Two Lands, and for Osiris, as Ruler of the West. Together they represent the institution of divine kingship, both in life on earth and in the afterlife. They are two manifestations of the same god. In van Dijk's words "Osiris and Horus are actually 'two persons but one god', as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kinship."[52]

48 For panoramic views of these two passageways and their reliefs see the useful website: visit360.net. Go to "Temples of Abydos" and find "Bull Hall" (1 and 2) and "Staircase to the Osireion". See there also "Osireion" for a panoramic view of the rear of the temple, where the Sacred Precinct was located.

49 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 115.

50 Ramesses II is also depicted in this same pose with staff and *ḥḏ*-mace on the central pillar of the portico as he enters his father's Mansion of Millions of Years . See A. Mekhitarian, M. Kunnen, R. Wulleman, Abydos Sacred Precinct of Osiris (1998), 37 plate 2.

51 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 55.

52 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Evidently, all these scenes refer to the Sokar Festival, since the capture of the bull and the slaying of the oryx are prerequisites for the decoration of the Sokar barque with the heads of these animals,[53] while the presence of Ptah and Sekhmet testifies to the Memphite origin of the festival."[54] (Plates 461, 467, 468) On the Corridor Egberts perceptively remarked: "Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that the decoration of the south [notional east] wall bears no relation to that of the north [notional west] wall."[55] This would add support to Eaton's conclusion that "the organization of the Seti Temple and its images strongly indicate that, as of the time of Seti I, the internal rites for Sokar's Festival were still independent of Osiris' Khoiak Festival at Abydos."[56]

On the left side of the entrance, the thickness is decorated with a scene of Ramesses embracing Osiris, Lord of Abydos.[57] Above the door are two partly destroyed side by side scenes of the king running with an oar toward a seated god.[58] Following it on the notional east wall of the Corridor, there are three scenes in the lower register. The first is the driving of the calves by the king for his father. (Plate 449) This is followed by a scene, largely destroyed, of the 'Vasenlauf', the king running with two *ḥs*-vessels toward a seated deity. (Plates 449, 451) The third is the netting of birds and their offering to Amen-Re and Mut of the Theban triad. (Plates 452, 457) Egberts noted that two of these scenes are closely connected elsewhere. They are "located on the north half of the lower colonnade of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, [where] the driving of the calves is also found in the vicinity of marsh scenes, including the trapping of birds."[59] This group of scenes is again framed by the titulary of Ramesses II and on the lintel above the door to the Stairway Passage the side by side scenes of the king running towards a seated god. On the left side, the scene is entitled "Seizing the oar for his father Osiris" and the king is wearing the white crown of Upper Egyptian crown. On the right, it is entitled

53 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 402 n. 78. "A series consisting of the dragging of the Sokar barque, the slaying of the bull, and the slaying of the oryx is also found in the temple of Edfu (Edfou VI, 139, 12-143, 5). The same temple contains a series comprising the dragging of the Sokar barque and the killing of the bull (Edfou V, 163, 16-165, 15). Two of the scenes of these series explicitly mention the fact that the animal heads served as ornaments of the Sokar barque (Edfou V, 165, 6-7 ; Edfou VI, 142, 9-10). In Edfou I, 87, 8, the Sokar barque is called 'the sledge of the oryx and the bull' (*mfḫ n mḥ n sšr*).

54 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 402.

55 Ibid., 402.

56 K. Eaton,"The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak: The Evidence from Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Monuments at Abydos" SAK 35 (2006), 80.

57 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 111. Following Baines, it would appear that in this area of the temple the scenes were finished being carved under Ramesses. "But although the sunk relief carving dates to Ramesses II, the frieze at the top of the [notional east] wall was carved in raised relief under Seti I. In the lassoing scene there are faint traces of the preparatory grid for a painting which preceded the relief. As can be shown from parallels, particularly in the Hall of Barques, this was not simply a preparatory draft, but was a fully worked composition, and will have dated to Seti I." J. Baines "Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt" BAOM XI (1990), 83-84.

58 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981),113.

59 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 402, n. 76.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

"Seizing the oar for his father Sokar" and the king here wears the red crown of Lower Egypt,[60] maintaining the symmetry of the Two Lands, divided between the left and right sides of the Corridor.

The upper register is almost completely lost. The fragmentary traces indicate that the king stands before a large pile of offerings much like that depicted in the Antechamber. (Plates 449, 217) He is in the presence of a deity, most probably, his deified father Seti who is also depicted below in the Driving of the Calves scene. Most of the rest of the register consists of a long list of names, of which only the bottom line of each column, showing fragments of his cartouches and a small crouching figure wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt remains. The small figures all faced outward towards the Sacred Precinct. Each holds the royal crook, *ḥqɜt,* symbolizing rulership. The last holds instead the ankh, which means the entire row can be read as the "living ruler" i.e. Ramsesses. At the head of this list, the king is depicted once again standing, but this time before an enthroned deity, forming the end of the register by the door to the Stairway Passage. Perhaps the enthroned deity was also Amen-Re who is depicted directly below. (Plate 457) It would appear that this list is structured similar to that of the "Ancestor King List" in the adjacent Gallery of Lists, (Plate 447) where the lower row consists of alternating cartouches (prenomen and nomen) and the upper two rows probably of the names of Osiris in all his places, given its location on the left "Upper Egyptian" wall. Logically, the offerings made to his father Seti and the gods in the list, as well as the recitation of their names to call them into existence, would take place in the Corridor, in order that they be present to witness the performance of the rites depicted in the lower register, which would then be enacted out in the Sacred Precinct.

The three rituals depicted in the lower register on the left "Upper Egyptian" wall were to be performed for the benefit of his deified father Seti as Osiris and the gods now in his retinue before the supreme Theban triad Amen-Re, Mut and Khonsu, in fulfillment of his role as Horus, protector of his father. The message is directed to the gods rather than to humanity.[61] The participants appear to be restricted to Ramesses and his son, the crown prince and heir apparent, Amenhirhopshef. Perhaps the roles of some of the gods depicted in the lower register were performed by priests from the House of Life, which was in all likelihood located in the Sacred Precinct.

In the first ritual scene, a protective rite, entitled "Driving the Calves for his Father", Ramesses, the living Horus and protector of his father, is shown with four calves proceeding towards the falcon-headed moon god Khonsu, wearing the lunar crescent and full disk. (Plate 449) Behind him stands the deified Seti, who by his virtual association with Khonsu here can be equated with the manifestation of Osiris-Moon in the *ḏuat*, i.e. at the time of the new moon. Together they can be viewed as representing the regenerative waxing phase of the lunar cycle symbolized by Seti as the rejuvenating moon in the *ḏuat*, the new moon, and Khonsu, as the reborn moon manifesting as the new crescent becoming the

60 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 115.

61 J. Baines "Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt" BAOM XI (1990), 83. He came to this same conclusion with respect to the recitation of the carefully crafted king's list in the adjacent Gallery of Lists.

full moon. The scene is framed by the hieroglyphic sign for the sky, which runs the entire length of the wall connecting all three ritual scenes and suggesting their performance was under the open sky of the Sacred Precinct. Above king Ramesses, wearing the great Atef crown of Horus, are two deities of Upper Egyptian origin, the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky and the vulture goddess, Nekhbet, extending their protection.

The presence of the moon god Khonsu in the Driving of the Calves scene is quite rare.[62] It is significant because he serves to underscore and highlight here the underlying complexity of the lunar nature of divine kingship. In the Theban triad, he represents the moon who is at the same time the son of the sun god Amen-Re as is the king, the living Horus, who stands before him.. Recall that the annual celebration of the king's coronation began on I *prt* 1, which is also the first day of the lunar month on the ideal calendar. On this day of the Blacked-out moon, Horus is conceived and the same is said of Khonsu, in a " text from the Ptolemaic propylon of the temple of Khonsu in Karnak. 'He (Khonsu, the moon god) is conceived (*bkꜣ*) on *pšḏntyw*; he is born on *ꜣbd*; he grows old after *smdt*.' The ready paraphrase is that he is conceived [in the *ḏuat*] in darkness of [lunar] invisibility on the first day of the [lunar] month, that he is born as the new crescent on the second day, and that he wanes after the day of full moon, the 15th day."[63] Importantly, the king's coronation ceremonies at Abydos encompassed the rites for the new moon, the conception of Horus and Khonsu, followed by the "Performing [of] the ritual of the divine birth of Horus on the second lunar day of the month."[64] The purpose of these new moon rituals were to assist in the moon's rebirth, releasing it from the *ḏuat* for its reappearance in the night sky on the second day of the lunar month, here on I *prt* 2.[65] The second day of the lunar month as we have just seen, is the day of the birth of Khonsu, symbolized by the return of the new crescent moon to the night sky. At the same time, "the new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as king of the dead [the deified Seti] and of his son and successor Horus as king of the living [Ramesses]."[66] The titulary deity of this day was Horus, protector of his father. So too Khonsu "was also linked to Horus in his role as protector [of his father] and healer".[67] Furthermore, "the legitimacy of the reigning king [the living Horus] depended upon the principle that he was both the living 'son' of his dead predecessor and also the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor [here the deified Seti as Osiris]: by having herself impregnated by the 'dead' Osiris [in the birth house

62 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 231 and Plate 100. In this in depth study, Egberts collected 94 examples of Driving the Calves. In the cases where the deities are identifiable there are only two where Khonsu is the chief deity. In the three others, he accompanies Amen-Re or Amen-Re and Mut, unlike in the Corridor to the Stairway Passage of Seti's temple at Abydos, where he is the chief deity.

63 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 12.

64 Ibid., 59.

65 See above 4.5-4.6. Approximately 70% of the time the moon would reappear on the second day of the lunar month and other 30% on the third day of the lunar month.

66 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

67 J. Houser-Wegner, "Khonsu" in D. Redford, The Ancient Gods Speak A Guide to Egyptian Religion (2002), 186.

of Isis, the Central Hall of the Osireion, on the night of I *prt* 1] and giving birth to him in the person of Horus [on I *prt* 2 with the return of the crescent moon Khonsu to the night sky], Isis 'releases the evil done to Horus by his brother [uncle] Seth' and thus reassures the cosmic cycle of death and resurrection [symbolized by the lunar cycle] and the social cycle of 'positional succession' which Seth [and Akhenaten] tried to disturb by murdering Osiris."[68]

In the context of the rituals for the king's coronation depicted in the Corridor, the rite of the "Driving of the Calves for his Father" would have most likely occurred on I *prt* 2, after the rituals had been completed in the Osireion on the night of I *prt* 1.[69] The actual driving of the four calves would have taken place out in the Sacred Precinct, after passing before the assembly of the gods in the Corridor, who were called forth by the recitation of the litany there by the king. Its performance focused on treading and encircling the area four times in and around the sacred grove of tamarisk trees and conifers, which surrounded the subterranean Central Hall of the Osireion, "the underground crypt, *tꜣ štꜣj n dꜣt* (lit.) 'hidden place/chamber of the underworld [*ḏuat*]' of King Menmaatre l.p.h."[70] The primary purpose of the rite in this context was to completely conceal the location of the deified Seti as Osiris from potential enemies, symbolized by the use of four calves which insured its magical

68 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22.

69 The focus here is on the ceremonies connected with the king's annual coronation renewal which began on I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day, the start of the new planting season, and celebration of the feast of Nehebkau, at the culmination of the Cycle of 76. "An interesting sidelight on the coronation is afforded by the annual festival of the selection and coronation of the Sacred Falcon which was celebrated at Edfu in the Ptolemaic Period on the first day of the first month of winter [I *prt* 1] and the four following days. Although ostensibly this festival was that of the coronation of a new Sacred Falcon, who would reign for a year, there can be no doubt that it was intimately connected with the kingship. The very date is significant, and the texts leave no room for doubting that throughout the festival the Sacred Falcon, the king, and Horus were as one, and that the festival also celebrated the annual renewal of the coronation of the reigning king." H. Fairman, "The Kingship Rituals of Egypt" in S. Hooke (ed.), Myth, Ritual, and Kingship (1958), 80. As with the festival for the Sacred Falcon, the annual ceremonies for the coronation of a new reigning king, here Ramesses II, lasted more than a single day.

It should be noted this was not the only occasion that the ritual of Driving the Calves was to be enacted. For example, it is explicitly stated to have been carried out on the 24th of Khoiak, IIII *ꜣḫt* 24, in p. Louvre 3176. "Be happy, gods of the sky. Be happy, gods on earth. Son of Re, Pharaoh, has buried his father Osiris. He has trodden the grave for him." A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995),347 and n. 143.

"According to a number of passages the driving of the calves is performed 'while your majesty (i.e. Min) has appeared upon your platform'... "Going to the platform' is a common way of referring to the Min Festival, which was celebrated in the first month of the *šmw*-season. This festival combines royal with agrarian features. In addition to a renewal of kingship, it represents a harvest festival. The double aspect of the festival accords with the dual character of Min, who unites the qualities of a royal god and a fertility god. The agrarian meaning of his festival was retained throughout its history, despite the fact that its date was pinpointed by means of the civil calendar and therefore lost track of the natural harvest season." A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 344.

70 It is also entirely possible that the treading by the calves could have included the area outside of the actual entrance to the Osireion, especially since the king had been in it the night before. The king would drive the calves through the rear gate of the fortress of Menmaatre, which enclosed the Sacred Precinct, and out the desert pylon of his Mansion of Millions of Years to the area around the Entrance Archway of the Osireion. On his return, the ritual would have concluded by treading the area in and around the grove of trees in the Sacred Precinct. For the quotation, see above 6.1, n. 38.

protection.[71] The two rods that the king carries are called “an Apophis snake in two pieces” in the text relating to the Osiris Mystery at Dendara, reinforces the protective function of this rite.[72] (Plate 450) Above all, it was to protect Osiris from the inimical Seth and his confederates. “Once the security of the burial place [here specifically the *tꜣ štꜣj n dꜣt* of Seti] has been sufficiently assured, Osiris may safely enjoy the rulership of the underworld [*ḏuat*], while his son Horus follows in his footsteps as monarch on earth. The succession of Osiris by Horus constitutes the apotheosis of the Osiris myth.”[73] This theme is continued in the next ritual scene of the 'Vasenlauf'.[74] Unfortunately, it is badly damaged. The king wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt and holding two *ḥs*-vases is shown running toward a seated deity. (Plate 451) The fragmented text in front of the king reads:

> Recitation. Hail to you! I praise you …..
> Pure waters [both the creative waters of Nun and the efflux of Osiris, the inundation],
> I offer to your *Ka*.
> May you live eternally (*ḏt*).

The king is bringing two life giving waters to the seated deity, presumably the deified Seti as Osiris, which followed his actions to secure and protection his abode. “This scene is obviously connected with jubilee rites.”[75] Specifically here, it is part of the coronation ceremonies. Three cairns are depicted behind the king under his right arm. They represent the boundary markers that Ramesses runs around, symbolically encircling his realm as the newly crowned king.[76] The fact that there are three cairns suggests that the realm being encircled is that of divine kingship over the heavens, earth and the *ḏuat.*

There are six symbols associated with longevity behind the king and a group of three boundary markers which stands apart. This exact same group of symbols is depicted in another ritual scene

71 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 335-374. He has discerned four levels of interpretation underlying the ritual of Driving the Calves which he discusses in detail, which are in part applicable here. But given the setting of the performance of this rite in the Sacred Precinct above the subterranean Osireion, the concealing and protective aspect of the ritual derived from the Osiris myth is the overriding concern and thus its primary function.

72 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 343.

73 Ibid., 184.

74 Ibid., 181-187. Egberts has clearly demonstrated, the rite of Consecrating the Meret-Chests was closely associated with and frequently accompanied the ritual of Driving the Calves, which is not the case here in the Corridor even though the two rites are depicted together in the Second Hypostyle Hall of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years in connection with other scenes for the Sokar Festival. See A. Guardiner (ed.), The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos IV (1958), plate 42. The reason for its absence in the Corridor is easily explained. The Meret-chests contained the linen mummy wrappings of Osiris which were to be used during an earlier stage as part of the Mysteries of Osiris and played no part in the coronation ceremonies of the living Horus to be enacted out in the Sacred Precinct.

75 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 113.

76 K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual (2013), 155-157, for her remarks on ritual running scenes.

where the king is also shown running. It is on the lintel of the entrance to the Hall of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar. (Plate 442 top) "The top two symbols [lotiform fans] are stylized *ḥɜ* signs with *šn* rings, for '1000' and 'eternity'."[77] "The fans, used also as sunshades, ranked foremost and are the easiest to interpret. They rose over the king whenever he appeared in public, announcing the arrival of the *deus praesens*. They gave him protection, and since air and shadow are vehicles of divine manifestation, a fan also betokens godly presence within the king."[78] The two symbols directly below have been interpreted "as two door hinges or the two halves of the sky. In the latter interpretation, the constituent signs symbolize the boundaries of the sky, thus constituting the counterpart of the three boundary markers [on earth]..."[79] Importantly, 'from very early times down to the late periods, the ancient Egyptians describing the firmament distinguished the 'southern sky' and the 'northern sky' in their texts as well as in their iconography."[80] Thus these symbols likely represented the two halves of the Egyptian sky. Interpreted as door hinges they "evoke the universal extent of Pharaoh's power. From the late Second Dynasty, depictions of the sky show its outer reaches shaped like a door hinges, and later evidence suggests these refer to cavities at the borders of creation, where heaven and earth meet. Until the Third Intermediate Period, the sky is not normally shown over anyone but deities and the king, as theirs alone is a might that pervades the cosmos."[81] Below these two symbols is a scorpion on a *šn* sign, 'eternity', as its base. "In historical times the scorpion on a post becomes associated with the scorpion goddess Selket(hetyt), 'she who causes (the throat) to breathe', and so it has been suggested that the scorpion symbol represents control over the breath of life. While this may be correct, for various reasons it is unlikely that Selket [/Serqet], a Delta goddess, was originally connected with these figures. In earlier times, the scorpion seems to have been a more general symbol of singular power, to which the king was naturally assimilated – especially so at Hierakonpolis [in Upper Egypt], where our scorpion figurines may have already played a role in rejuvenation ceremonies, asserting godlike power for eternity through their inclusion in the ruler's grave."[82] The symbol at the bottom supporting the group is a Djed-column whose arms hold an oval with the hieroglyphic sign for n. The oval with the n sign inside "is a spelling of the name of Amen".[83] It probably symbolizes the creative power of the Hidden One, Amen, which supports and sustains the created cosmos.

That there is a column of six symbols depicted directly behind the king, who wears the white

77 J. P. Allen, private communication 10/11/2015.

78 M. Maree, "A Scorpion for Eternity" Nekhen News 18 (2006), 13.

79 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 64, citing A. J. Spencer, "Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs and Their Relationship to the Sed-Festival" JEA 64 (1978), 52-55.

80 A. von Bomhard, "Ciels d'Egypte. Le "ciel du sud' et le 'ciel du nord'", ENIM 5 (2012), English Abstract.

81 M. Maree, "A Scorpion for Eternity" Nekhen News 18 (2006), 13.

82 Ibid., 13.

83 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 64.

crown of Upper Egypt, the *ḥḏt*, which as a cosmic insignia refers almost exclusively to the luminosity of the moon is of significance.[84] The ancient Egyptian symbolism for the number six points to the group's underlying lunar meaning, through its association with the six pieces of the Udjat-eye, the restored eye of Horus. Either as the two halves of the sky or as two door hinges, they serve to divide the group of six into two equal parts, symbolizing the waxing and waning phases of the lunar cycle. The lunar interpretation for the column of the six archaic symbols of longevity also serves to tie this scene directly to the one that precedes it, where the moon god, Khonsu is depicted.

The lengthy third and final scene on the lower register of the left "Upper Egyptian" wall runs for approximately 10 meters (33 feet).[85] It is divided into two parts. The first half is a netting scene, followed by the offering of birds to Amen-Re and Mut of the Theban triad. (Plates 452, 454, 457) "A goddess (only the lower half of this figure is preserved) stands clasping a rod; to this are attached the ends of a net, which ensnares various kind of fowl. Five figures grasp the rope at the other end of this net dragging it behind them; in front runs Ramesses II; behind him comes a hawk-headed figure, then a ram-headed, another hawk-headed and a jackal-headed figure. The king is described as performing the [ritual] act of:

'Closing the net … for his father Amen-Re
and the gods, who are in the House of the Benben.
Bringing to him various kinds of birds
in millions and hundred thousands [from?] the gods [his?] brothers.'

The inscription at the top of this scene is partly damaged, and only the speech of Horus remains.

'I am with you. You have disported yourself(?)
with all kinds of fluttering and flying birds. […]'.

The scene is entitled, 'Fixing firmly the pole of the net'.

At the other end of the register, but still part of the scene, Ramesses II, accompanied by Prince Amenhirhopshef , presents [six] birds to Amen-Re, behind him stands Mut, Lady of Heaven. Accompanying the prince are the words:

'Marching through the marshes by the heir, eldest son of the king, Amenhirhopshef, vindicated.'

The king says to Amen-Re:

"I cause to tarry for you the nestlings in the marshes and in the meadows of Egypt.
I have clapped tight the net for you in the Delta marshlands,

84 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction (2008), 154.

85 J. Westerman, "The Fowling scene in the Temple of Sety I – Abydos" GM 103 (1988), 83.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

> I have dragged forth for you the marsh-birds
> I bring for you hundred-thousands of st-geese and millions of *wꜣḏ-ḥꜣt*-geese.'"[86]

"As stated by B. Kemp: 'The use of animals as an allegory of untamed chaotic life-force survived into the religious art of the historical times, most notably in scenes of king and gods capturing wild birds (and in the Graeco-Roman period animals as well) in a huge clap-net, where texts and context make clear the symbolism of containment of disorder.' The clap-net scene in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahari (Lower North Portico) [87] occurred 'in the context that strongly implies a symbolic reference to triumph over hostile forces'."[88] "According to Alliot and David, the reason for the fowling scenes in general is as follows. 'This ceremony was directed against the rebels and enemies of the king; a magical rite designed to protect the king' (and in this scene the crown prince) 'against his enemies and to reinforce his authority over his subjects. Similar scenes, representing the 'Subduing of the Nobility', are also to be found'... These scenes show an enormous clap-net set up in the marshes, containing birds of various types; at Edfu, fish and animals are shown, and each of the two scenes also depicts four bound human figures in the net. The net being pulled tightly shut by the king, in the presence of two or three gods. These creatures represent the enemies of the king and foes of the gods, being captured and magically prevented from doing harm. The king and the gods are being mutually protected from danger. Other earlier examples of this rite occur. This scene is accompanied by the ceremony of presenting the fettered creatures to the god of the temple. The god then ate them and in accordance with the principles of sympathetic magic, this would have a two-fold effect; the destruction of the evil which the creatures symbolized would be ensured and, also, the god would absorb certain desirable qualities from eating the sacrifice and offering – they, however, bore no implication of atonement, but served the purely practical purpose of protecting the king and gods, and ensuring the destruction of the foes.... The ceremony was perhaps primarily political in nature, performed when danger threatened, either from inside and outside the country.' … The question that remains to be answered is, was there any specific reason for this fowling scene at Abydos to have been executed? Fairman says the Edfu texts associates the Book of Subduing the Nobility with ceremonies of investiture and may have formed part of the coronation ritual; although this is not directly referred to in any surviving coronation texts."[89] The evidence presented in this study supports his supposition. By entrapping the enemies of Egypt and offering them up to Amen-Re, king of the gods, and Mut for their consumption and final destruction, the king restores *mꜣʿt*, demonstrating his ability to rule over the Two Lands.

Westerman further recognized that "there are several things about this particular fowling scene which are unique amongst other scenes of its type.... According to ancient Egyptian art authority Heinrich Schaefer, every scene in Egyptian religious art is there for a reason. 'There is no work of any importance that would not have a definite function to fulfill, apart from and before any consideration of

86 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 113.

87 E. Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari VI (1908), 6 and Plate CLXIII.

88 A. Cwiek, Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom (2003), 224.

89 J. Westerman, "The Fowling scene in the Temple of Sety I – Abydos" GM 103 (1988), 85-87.

its value as art: to put it another way it was not there only to be enjoyed.'"[90] The number symbolism encoded in the structure of the scene reveals important aspects of its underlying meaning and ties it directly to the two scenes which precede it, as does the sky sign at the top of the scenes that runs the entire length of the register. That there are exactly ten divinities depicted, including two of the king and the rare inclusion of the crown prince, points to its royal nature. Recall that ten is the number sacred to Horus and kingship, as Horus was the tenth member and fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process. The inclusion here of the crown prince, as "the heir and eldest son of the king" further suggests that the scene has to do with royal succession and the legitimate means for the transfer of royal power, apropos for a rite which forms a part of the annual coronation ceremonies.

The number symbolism encoded also underscores the lunar aspects of kingship. There are a total of six deities including the king, the living Horus, at the head, who entrap Seth and his confederates in the clap-net, symbolized by the birds. There is the goddess shown at one end who firmly fixes the pole. Then there are four gods who together with the king pull the rope thereby shutting the clap-net. The falcon-headed one who stands directly behind the king is identified by the text as Horus, protector of his father, residing in the Mansion of Menmaatre.[91] (Plates 452, 456) The number six as a symbol of the lunar cycle is a uniquely Egyptian concept. It is based on the six pieces of the Udjat-eye, the restored left lunar eye of Horus. The clap-net itself, like the Udjat-eye, is divided into a total of six sections in two halves. (Plates 454, 455) Captured inside the net are 6 x 7 birds for a total of 42. Recall that in the so-called "negative confession" of BD 125, which is inscribed in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion, there are 42 acts of wrong-doing, actions of *jsft* in opposition to *mɜʿt*. On one level, their entrapment symbolizes the containment of disorder, a primary duty of the king. At another level in a lunar context, 42 is the sum of the sacred Osirian numbers 6 + 17 + 19 = 42, symbolizing the complete lunar cycle and its sequential unfolding: the number six as the sound eye, the Udjat-eye, signifies the full moon; the number seventeen represents its dismemberment (waning) and death (invisibility); and nineteen is its rebirth (waxing), the number of days from the full moon to its return to the night sky with first crescent visibility. "The new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as king of the dead and of his son and successor Horus as king of the living."[92] Said another way, "Osiris and Horus are actually two persons but one god, as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kingship."[93] But, as we have seen in this ritual sequence, so too does it represent the birth of Khonsu, the moon god, who is at the same time the son of the sun, Amen-Re, king of the gods, as is the living Horus, the king.

90 J. Westerman, "The Fowling scene in the Temple of Sety I – Abydos" GM 103 (1988), 84; quoting H. Schaefer, Principles of Egyptian Art (1981), 38.

91 The names of the other three deities are lost. But given that Horus, protector of is father, is another manifestation of divine kingship as is the living Horus, Ramesses, the other three may well have been also: the ram-headed god as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, as he is depicted at the top of the rear wall of the Central Hall of the Osireion; the other falcon-headed deity as Khonsu, who is frequently depicted in this form; and the jackal-headed god as the southern Wepwawet, opener of the ways, since the northern Wepwawet is depicted on the opposite wall in the Lassoing of the Bull scene. All divine aspects of kingship which are marshaled for the subduing of chaos.

92 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

93 J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus" JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

In the text above the scene, the king is described as performing the ritual act of 'Closing the net [subduing the forces of chaos]… for his father Amen-Re...', emphasizing here the solar father-son constellation, which is balanced by the depiction of Ramesses together with his heir and eldest son, Amenhirhopshef, offering a total of six birds to Amen-Re and Mut, symbolizing the Udjat-eye, the restored left lunar eye of Horus. It should be noted that in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Ramesses in a nearly identical scene is also depicted making an offering of six birds to Amen-Re, Mut and the moon god, Khonsu, suggesting that the offering of six birds holds a special significance and has an underlying lunar connotation. (Plate 459) Depicted in the Entranceway of the Sacred Precinct and performed on I *prt* 2, the second day of the lunar month on the ideal calendar, this ritual offering would appear to be part of the rites for the "Performing [of] the ritual of the divine birth of Horus on the second lunar day of the month" which would cause the moon to reappear in the night sky at its proper time.

At the same time the scene also concerns the king's coronation. "The point has often been made in the foregoing discussions [in Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum], buttressed by the texts themselves, that every goddess is the king's mother and that the king is actually (re)born in the rituals as the son of the goddess [here Mut], and, of course, of the god [Amen-Re], both of whom the ruler addresses as his parents. It is possible that when the king's headgear exhibits additional uraei, it places emphasis on the goddess as his mother. We … see this iconographic feature in … coronations.... Affixed to the side of the the king's khepresh crown [in this scene], we clearly see two extra cobras, one wearing the white crown, the other the red crown. (Plate 458) Our understanding of this scene is aided by a parallel, and a contemporary one at that, from the hypostyle hall at Karnak. (Plate 460) Accompanied by several gods, Ramesses II pulls the bird trap in the swamp as Thoth gives the signal with a piece of cloth. 'Seshat-she of Pe and Dep-Neith' stands behind Thoth and addresses Ramesses:

> 'I am your mother who bore you from my beauty,
> who suckled you on my breasts.
> I served as a nurse to you,
> rearing your majesty to be king upon the throne of Horus like/as Re.'

[Perhaps the goddess Seshat and her speech provide the identity of the goddess in the Abydos scene, whose name and speech are lost.] After having trapped the water fowl, Ramesses offers six of them to the Theban triad. (Plate 459) Mut, though human-headed is called Mut-Bastet. Although as he presents the captured fowl to the Theban gods, Ramesses wears the red crown with no additional uraei, the combination of the Abydos and Karnak scenes indicates that all elements are present for the rebirth of the king as a result of his pacification of the enraged cobra goddess [the pacified eye of Re]. Seshat's multiple name perhaps incorporates several of the king's mothers in one person, and the epithet 'she of Pe and Dep' is a common epithet of Wadjet, one of the king's uraei. The text at Karnak tells us that the fowl are presented to Amen-Re, 'offered (pure) to your *ḳa*' (*mɜʿ/smɜʿ* (*wʿb*) *n kɜ.k*). What the *ḳa* receives in the temple offerings is some form of Maat, as the verbs *mɜʿ* and *smɜʿ* in our scene may indicate. [That form in both scenes is indicated by the six birds being offered. Together they symbolize the Udjat-eye. As the restored left lunar eye of Horus, which is now sound, it constitutes

maat.][94] The emphasis on the destination of the offering fits well with the other evidence in the vignette. Mut and Seshat are pacified and transformed into Maat as the wild birds are subdued. The sun god is born, the king as the son of both Mut and Seshat."[95]

In the scene in the Corridor at Abydos, Mut wears the vulture headdress supporting the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt connecting her to the king's coronation and the vulture goddess Nekhbet, who is depicted directly above the king's head. (Plate 457) The goddess clasps a *šn* sign of 'eternity' and has a *wꜣs-ʿnḫ-wꜣs* group in her talons, which extend down to the khepresh crown imbuing the king with ankh and *wꜣs*, symbolizing his rejuvenation as the sun god at the moment of his (re)birth during the coronation ceremonies.[96] Nekhbet has been long associated with kingship, especially Upper Egyptian kingship and in her role as the mythical mother of the king.[97] The scene subtly portrays the critical role that the goddesses play in the king's coronation. The offering of the left restored eye of Horus, symbolized by the six birds, pacifies the enraged eye of Re, transforming this fiery goddess into the motherly Mut, who bore divine kingship. Walker has noted that "each eye myth involves the resolution of conflict, that of the justification of Horus over Seth, his father Osiris' murderer, and of the appeasement of the wayward eye of the sun god; thus each tale readily equates each eye with [the goddess] Maat, the concept of order, harmony, and the proper state of things. Just as significant is the fact that each eye has literally left the head of a god and is then returned. With his restored eye, Horus' accession to the throne of Osiris as king of the living is assured. With his restored eye, Atum [here Amen-Re] may unite with his daughter to be born as the sun, emerging from Nun at the *zp tpj*. Pharaoh's presentation of food in the temples, equated with the eyes of the sun god and of Horus, represent the 'appeasement' of the forces of chaos, the uraei, as the eyes are returned to the face of the god. As he receives Maat in return, the king becomes rejuvenated as Horus and Re-Atum."[98] In the context of this ritual scene in the Corridor and its enactment on I *prt* 2, by the offering of the six birds symbolizing the restored eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye and showing that the king has re-established *mꜣʿt*, the focus is on the king's accession to the throne as the living Horus and part of the annual coronation rites. The return of the eye of Horus to the face of the god is symbolized by the rejuvenated new crescent moon's return to the night sky at its proper time, i.e. on I *prt* 2.

94 "Moret [Le Rituel du Culte devin jouralier en Egypte (1902)] was of the opinion that since the items presented to deities are also equated with Maat, that Maat and the eye of Horus are identical. In a vignette from the daily ritual from the barque chapel of Ptah at Abydos, Seti I breaks the seal of the god's shrine prior to opening the doors [Calverley, Abydos II, plate 22], as he states: 'I have come bringing to you the eye of Horus: your eye be to you, I am Thoth who sets in order the Udjat-eye, a royal offering..." E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 143-144.

95 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 232-233.

96 Ibid. 219, 237 and on 168: "The prevalence of ankh and was throughout the temples in the possession of the gods and the king informs us that all the events depicted in the reliefs take place at the zp tpj, the primordial moment.... If the equation of ankh with Shu and was with Tefnut/Maat is valid [as Walker has demonstrated}, then any occasion on which was is received marks a union with Maat, who with ankh, Shu, is [the creation of] life itself."

97 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 213-214.

98 E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), 174-175..

Most interestingly, the text to the scene in the Corridor describes the king performance of the protective rite of 'Closing the net for his father Amen-Re', then adds 'and the gods, who are in the House of the Benben'. The *pr-bnbn* is determined by a seated god holding an ankh, the sign of life. "In a geographically structured hymn to Horus [at Edfu temple], the part relative to the Heliopolitan nome is phrased as follows: 'you are the one who treads on the grave of his father in Heliopolis beside Re, the lord of the Mansion of the Benben. The Mansion of the Benben (*ḥwt-bnbn*) was a part of the temple of Heliopolis devoted to the cult of Re."[99] Yet in the litany to Osiris [BD 142] in the Antechamber of the Osireion, one of Osiris' cult places listed is a Mansion of the Benben (*ḥwt-bnbn*), but with no specific mention of Heliopolis. PT 600 states:

> "'O, Atum! When you came into being you rose up as a High Hill,
> You shone as the Benben Stone in the Temple of the Phoenix [benu-bird] in Heliopolis.' ...

Atum is the 'High Hill' at Heliopolis on which the temples were built. As such it is said to be the site of the emergence out of the Abyss [Nun] – the 'mound of the first time' [*zp tpj*]."[100] "According to this myth, the sun god ascended for the first time from a mound of dirt called *bn-bn*, probably a wordplay on the verb *wbn*, meaning 'to rise'. In ancient Egypt the creation was perceived as an ongoing process, and the creation myths were used metaphorically for any new beginning where order had to be established from chaos once again, like in the coronation ritual..."[101] BD 17 in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion further indicates that the great benu-bird which is in Heliopolis is in fact Osiris. Given these associations, it is in all likelihood that the House of the Benben, *pr-bnbn*, referred to in the Corridor is the Central Hall of the Osireion with its 'mound of the first time', rising out of the waters of the Abyss, Nun, and depiction of Atum directly above it, especially since the Corridor is part of the entranceway of the Sacred Precinct above and the buried Osireion contained within it.

In the largely destroyed top register of the eastern "Upper Egyptian" wall in the Corridor, it is nevertheless clear that it too is divided into three scenes by the visible remaining traces. There is an initial offering scene, where the king stands in from of a large pile of offerings which are presented to a standing deity. It is followed by a very long list names of some sort. At its end near the entrance to the Stairway Passage is the third and final scene of the king standing before an enthroned deity. Thus, the structural design of the "Upper Egyptian" wall is based on the number six and is divided into two equal halves of three scenes each. As we have seen, the structural design of the Osireion is exactly the same, six chambers and passages divided into two halves. The underlying symbolism is lunar and based on the Udjat-eye, the restored left eye of Horus. The sum of the six parts of the Udjat-eye defines the monthly cycle; 1 + 2 + 3 = 6, the number of its pieces and 4 + 5 + 6 = 15, the number of days of its

99 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 361.

100 R. Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (1978), 37-38.

101 A. Bettum, Death as an Eternal Process, A case study of a 21st Dynasty coffin at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo (2004), 30-31.

waxing phase from new moon to the full moon, as the restored Eye of Horus. The sum of the value for its six pieces which were used as a special unit only for the measurement of grain, itself a potent symbol of the power embodied in the god Osiris, is an encoded formula of the precise length of the synodic (lunar) month in relation to the fixed 30-day solar based month of the Egyptian civil calendar. Importantly, the “Upper Egyptian” wall, structurally designed to symbolize the Udjat-eye, in essence, also forms a gigantic offering scene to the creator as Amen-Re and for the safe return of the rejuvenated new crescent moon's return to the night sky. Perhaps too it may have been used as part of the rites for the Sixth Day Festival, *snt*, day of 'Filling the Udjat(-eye).

On the lintel of the door to the Stairway Passage, “there are two scenes divided by a panel bearing the cartouche of Menmaatre. These scenes show the king (Seti I) holding a flail [and an oar], running towards an [enthroned] god in each case – one of these gods is hawk-headed [the one on the right]; they are entitled 'Seizing the [*ḥpt*]-oar for his father Osiris', and 'Seizing the oar for his father Sokar'. In the scene on the right, the king is wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, and on the left, the Upper Egyptian one [the *ḥḏt* crown, symbol of the moon's luminosity on the cosmic level].”[102] These same two scenes or ones very similar appear on the interior lintel of the door into the Corridor. Here in the context of the “Upper Egyptian” side of the Corridor, 'Seizing the *ḥpt*-oar for his father Osiris' is a metaphor for the transfer of royal power to the king,[103] where the titulary of Ramesses II is carved on the door jambs and that of his father's on the thickness of the this doorway, where at the base on each side is a super-imposed cartouche of Ramesses II.[104] The smaller size scenes on both lintels of the doorways of the Corridor i.e. 'Seizing the oar for his father' would seem, in essence, to function as a title or short description for the ritual action that is depicted on the walls of the Corridor, tying the scenes to the coronation rites.

The rituals for the “Lower Egyptian” right wall of the Corridor in all probability actually began out in the Galley of Lists, based on the positioning of figures in the invocation and offering scene to the cultic assemblage of royal ancestors, the so-called “Kings List”, and the deities involved.[105] At the entrance to the Corridor to the right in the Gallery of Lists, the king and son are depicted facing the list of cartouches of “the official unbroken hereditary line” of royal ancestors of which Seti himself is the

102 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 115.

103 P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 638-639. This scene has multiple levels of interpretation, depending on its context. “In the ritual *jṯ ḥpt* 'seizing the course' the king runs through the territory which he rules to establish his territorial claim and show that he is fit to rule it. This is a very ancient ritual connected with the Heb Sed and ivory plaques from the First Dynasty show the wearing his Double Crown, holding an oar and set square or flail and running around cairns which symbolically mark his terrestrial territory. The texts stress that the king seizes the boundaries of his rule (*ḥppwy*) but the ritual is also linked to the Osirian myth and the avenging of Osiris by Horus, making the king play the role of Horus. For, he is said to 'explore mound and seek in the nomes', looking for the parts of the body of Osiris which he then reassembles. His run is a search for the god's limbs in all Egyptian nomes, each part of the body represents a nome, so that when they are put together, Osiris is resurrected and Egypt is whole and ruled by Horus – the king.”

104 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 115.

105 If it was not intended to also be used as part of the rituals which continue on the right “Lower Egyptian” wall of the Corridor, then its more logical positioning in the Gallery of Lists would have been reversed with its beginning at the door leading from the Second Hypostyle Hall, where the ritual cycle of the combined Daily Ritual and the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors, of which it was part, initiated.

seventy-sixth and final one.[106] (Plate 448 and https://www.360cities.net/image/list-of-kings-temple-of-seti-1-abydos-egypt) "On the left stands Seti I in the blue crown and *šndjt*-kilt, censer in one hand, gesticulating with the other towards the scene on the right. Before him stands prince Ramesses in side-lock, wearing a fine pleated skirt which the stole of a lector ascends over his left shoulder. He is holding up an open papyrus to read from, and the accompanying column of text identifies the performance as

> 'The 'Jubilant Summons' (*ḥknw*) by the hereditary prince and eldest legitimate king's son, whom he loves, Ramesses, justified.'

Six columns of text [point to its underlying lunar meaning] above his head gives the king's utterance:

> 'Spoken by king Menmaatre (Seti I):
> I bring the god to his food offering,
> (viz.) the bestowal of offerings for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.
> Hail to you, Ptah-Sokar, South-of-His-Wall!
> Come that I may perform for you
> the choice things that Horus performed for his father Osiris.'

To the right of the royal pair are three registers of cartouches facing left, in columns, and across the top of the whole runs an explanatory caption:

> 'The performance of the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris,
> Lord of the Secret Place who resides in the Mansion of Menmaatre,
> even the bestowal of offerings on the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt,
> by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
> Menmaatre, son of Re, Seti-Merenptah [Seti, beloved of Ptah]:
>
> A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, etc.'

The uppermost and middle registers are occupied by 76 kings' names in vertical cartouches, 38 [19 x 2] to a register, and before each is the phrase *n nsw*, 'to king....' This phrase is thus the syntactic continuation of the formula 'a thousand bread, etc.' and the whole finds its completion in the columns of the third register (each lined up directly under the upper columns), which read 'through the bestowal of' Seti I. The latter's prenomen, preceded by *nsw* and determined by seated king in white crown, alternates throughout the bottom register with the nomen preceded by *sꜣ rˁ*, and determined by king in red crown. The complete formula, then, which presumably Ramesses is reading from the papyrus, runs as follows: 'a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer etc. to king so-and-so, through the bestowal of king... (Seti I).'"[107] To this description should be added that the 76 cartouches in the upper two registers

106 For an detailed discussion of this list see above 1.4, The Realm of Osiris Re-Created.

107 R. Redford, Pharaonic King-Lists (1986), 18-19.

are determined by the seated god Osiris directly linking king to god. At the end of the list is a scene where the king and prince stand before an offering table in front of a shrine with Sokar and Sekhmet. "The king holds a burning censer and pours out a libation. Above the figure of the prince are the words:

'Making a boon-which-the-king-gives by the king's eldest son, heir apparent, Ramesses.'

The title is;

'Performing a censing for his father Sokar by the king,
Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre, Seti Merenptah.'

The title probably corresponds to Episode 37 of the [Daily] Ritual, and from the action of the king in this scene, the rite shown is probably intended to represent a combination of Episodes 36 and 37." [108] Thus, the recipient deities of the offerings, Ptah-Sokar, Sokar and Sekhmet are among the key deities which are also depicted in the scenes on the "Lower Egyptian" wall in the Corridor, connecting them to that group of rituals performed on behalf of the Memphite gods.

This cultic assemblage of deceased kings runs back to the very beginning of dynastic rule, the time of Menes and the founding of Memphis, the first capital of the united Upper and Lower Egypt. "The strong cultic connection between the Memphite royal house of the Old Kingdom and the Abydos list is duly reflected in the orderly progression from Menes to the fifty-sixth name, even the later scions, to us ephemeral names only, are entered, since they, being in the legitimate line of the Memphite succession, were as much honored in the offering ritual at Abydos as their predecessors." [109] The acceptance of the offerings from the reigning king Seti and his heir apparent Ramesses presented to the royal ancestors attests to their legitimacy and confirms their right to rule the Two Lands and so would fit well in the context of the coronation ceremonies. The presence of this extensive cultic assemblage of ancestor kings is "a celebration of the never-ending cycle (*nḥḥ*-eternity) of rule passed down through generations. In contrast, the great emphasis on Amen-Re, the single progenitor of the singular royal *ḳa*-spirit at Thebes (particularly as expressed in Luxor Temple) is a celebration of the unchanging (*ḏt*-eternity) aspect of kingship" [110] and was the focus of the first half of the Cycle of 76 for the annual renewal of kingship at Thebes.

In the Corridor, the right "Lower Egyptian" wall "has striking, bold sunk relief scenes carve under Ramesses II. These are associated with the cult of Sokar, and should therefore be taken together with the [Ptah-Sokar-Nefertem] complex of hall and chapels to the north [notional west]." [111] "The doorway

108 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 108.

109 R. Redford, Pharaonic King-Lists (1986), 20.

110 K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 304.

111 J. Baines, "Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt" BAOM XI (1990), 83.

[of the Corridor and the scenes that follow] epitomizes Ramesses II's official role in this his father's temple: to complete and adorn."[112] The "Lower Egyptian" wall as is the case with its counterpart, is also divided into two registers. Unfortunately, not enough traces of the upper register remain to be able to determine the exact number of scenes it contained, so that the structural design for this wall cannot be ascertained, although it is clear that it was carved by Seti. There are four scenes depicted in the lower register. But it cannot be safely assumed that the top register also contained four scenes for purposes of symmetry, since the only trace remaining of that register is a lengthy list, "now reduced to tiny fragments, of religious entities organized under the headings of the two basic Egyptian words for king, *njswt* and *bjtj*. Like the list of Memphite gods, one copy of which is on the other face of the same wall, this is not known from anywhere except this temple; it too may be very old in origin."[113] It is quite possible that the top register may have been a single list as is the case with the top register on the opposite side of this wall in the Hall of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar as Baines has noted.[114] If that were the case, the wall would have consisted of five scenes, divided into a group of four plus the fifth at the top. Based on the number symbolism, it could be equated to the Land of Sokar, which constituted the fourth and the fifth hours of Amduat. The original title of this composition was 'Treatise of the Hidden Chamber'.[115] At its bottom, the fifth hour or division of Amduat, housed the 'Cavern of Sokar', where the process of regeneration and rejuvenation began, symbolized by its oval shape, i.e. the egg of Sokar, which lies buried beneath the Sacred Precinct in the Central Hall of the Osireion. As the Corridor is part of the Entranceway of the Sacred Precinct, the structural design chosen for the "Lower Egyptian" wall, which includes a scene of Sokar's distinctly shaped henu-barque, ties it symbolically to the fourth and fifth divisions of Amduat of which the Sloping Passage and Central Hall of the Osireion are an architectural rendition, and thus may explain the reason for its particular design.

The first scene on entering the Corridor in the lower register of the "Lower Egyptian" wall on the right is the very important and magnificently carved scene of the king, Ramesses II, wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt, and his eldest son and heir apparent, Amenhirkhopsef, lassoing a bull. (Plates 462, 461) On this scene "there are faint traces of the preparatory grid for a painting which preceded the [carved] relief. As can be shown from parallels, particularly in the [nearby] Hall of Barques, this was not simply a preparatory draft, but a fully worked composition, and will have dated to Seti I."[116] The scene's design "is well planned and perfectly balanced. The figure of a running bull is shown with its

112 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II Notes and Comments (1999), 358.

113 J. Baines, "Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt" BAOM XI (1990), 84.

114 J. Baines, "An Abydos List of Gods and an Old Kingdom Use of Texts" in J. Baines et al. (eds.), Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards (1988), 126 and note 9. "The reason for repeating the list may be that the south wall of the Hall of Sokar and Nefertem as a whole summarized the 'Memphite' motifs of this part of the temple and considerations of design required that a single list fill the upper register." n. 9 … "The other side of the same wall, in the Corridor, contains a still rarer, and more fragmentary, list in which a variety of entities are grouped under the two designations for king, *njswt* and *bjtj*. The peculiar decoration of this wall may relate to its not being part of the original design of the temple."

115 E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007), 7.

116 J. Baines, "Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt" BAOM XI (1990), 84. As such in the original composition by Seti I, the heir apparent would have been Ramesses, just as the two are still depicted around the corner in the Gallery of Lists.

head erect and its horns pointed upwards, although slightly inclined toward the back. This is so because a rope strains at the base of the horns, pressing the ear of the animal, forcing the muscles of the neck and the forequarters to tense, in order to restrain its impetus. We observe also how the rope is shown tied to the right leg of the mammal's hindquarters. The pressure on the bull is made by the above-mentioned figures of Ramesses II and his son, both of them depicted behind the animal, also in a running position, but with a graceful tip-toe attitude: the first is holding the rope in his hands, while the second grasps the tail of the beast. The scene is titled with the legend:

spḥ ngꜣw-ṯꜣy šmʿw ỉj nswt
'Lassoing of the long-horned bull of Upper Egypt by the king'

Leaving aside its technical perfection, this relief has been interpreted, from an iconographic point of view, as a way of expressing the capacity of the king for victory.... Another author has noted that this type of 'hunting scene' would reflect something more than just a sporting activity. Thus, the nature of the action has been related to the symbolic '*maitre des animaux sauvages*', through which the king assimilated physical strength from animals.... In a symbolic interpretation of these art specimens, a link between the undomesticated animal world and the human world has been observed, elements that can be incorporated into the so-called notion of 'containment of disorder' [as is expressed in the Netting scene on the opposite wall of the Corridor].

In contrast to the former symbolic associations, lassoed bulls also appear in another kind of representational context. There is, for example, an inscribed relief located in the 6th Dynasty tomb of Mereruka where we find a group of men shown in different sequences: grasping the tail of the bull, lassoing its horns or adopting acrobatic positions, trying to force the head of the animal in order to knock it down and thus prepare it for a ritual sacrifice. The essential characteristics of this scene can be related to our Abydos group in the sense that both compositions are apparently associated with a 'ritual' activity which pursued , in its final stage, the death of the bull [which is actually depicted in a series of scenes in the Butcher's Hall (Plates 464, 465)]. That is a conclusion we reach when we read the hieroglyphic columns inscribed in the upper part of the Abydos relief:

'Words pronounced by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,
lord of the Two Lands, User-Maat-Re Setepen-Re (Ramesses II),
to his father Wepwawet, residing in the temple of Men-Maat-Re:

I lasso [*spḥ.j*] for you the long-horned bull [*ngꜣw*] of Upper Egypt,
I grasp for you the sacrifical ox [*šs*(*r*)*ty*?] [117] of Lower Egypt,
I slaughter for you bulls [*kꜣw*] in the forecourt [*wsḫt*],
and oxen and calves in the slaughterhouse [*sḫwy*].
Oryxes, ibexes and gazelles are immolated [slain] in your temple;

117 n. 7 [*šs*(*r*)*ty*?] seems to be a corruption of the term *šsr* (Wb IV, 547, 8-9). The common determinative of the arrow has been replaced here by the phallus, perhaps emphasizing that the bull was finally emasculated. After this operation the bull became an ox. Pap. Jumilhac III, 18-21, XX, 15-18 refers to castration of Seth in the shape of a bull which is sacrificed. Cf., also, PT [277] 418.

> short-horned cattle are upon altar before you. Fat animals are in front of the byres,
> in order to be presented as offerings to your *ḳa*, endowed with your daily offerings.'

… [Baque] believes it important, however to allude to the religious aspect of the composition... any detailed study of this relief needs to take into account, first, the place in which it was located, second, the nature of the action developed in the scene, and last but not least, the characters who take part in it [and its relationship to the adjoining scenes].... this work of art can be observed at two levels:
1) religious; from a specific meaning centered on what we believe was a ritualistic Osirian practice,
2) political; revealed through what the figures explain and compliment one another [to which should be added both are intimately related]....

[Jackal-headed Wepwawet and Ptah are depicted standing before the king Ramesses and his eldest son, Amenhirkhopshef.] (Plate 461)

Wepwawet is of special interest her, because it is on his behalf that the action of lassoing the bull is executed... But what is really important is the fact that the god is described as a father figure... an aspect which, while suggesting divine family ties between the actors, introduces, as we will see later, an element of legitimation. Such circumstances are clearly stated through the fact that Wepwawet appeared in ceremonies as a figure representative of a royal ancestor....

The unity of the composition which is conveyed through the cohesion of the characters. First, in the fact that both Ramesses II and his eldest son and even the bull, are shown together in the same running attitude. Second, because these three figures are closely linked by the nature of the action itself:

a) grasping the tail (Amenhirkhopshef – bull);
b) seizing the rope (Ramesses – bull) and finally
c) lassoing the bull (Ramesses + Amenhirkhopshef – bull).

Such a deliberate formal integration cannot be easily explained from a temporal perspective. Thus, the tendency to view what in purely iconographic terms would just be a scene of ritual sacrifice or merely a 'selection' of a choice offering to be presented to the *ḳa* of Wepwawet, becomes less significant. We argue that a further interpretation should take into account the royal status of the figures and the divine context in which they are developed. From this criterion, the scene departs significantly from its original area of meaning to obtain one of a more essential nature. We may quote, on that score, two fragments of the Pyramid Texts which describe the same active roles played by the characters of the Abydos relief:

[PT 336] pyr. 547-548:

> 'Hail to you, Bull of Bulls [*ng n ng(ɜ)w*], when you rise!
> I grasp you by your tail, I grip you by the root of your tail when you rise,
> a great one [*wrt*, feminine) being behind you
> and a great one [*wrt*, feminine] being before you.
> Hail to you, greatest of the gods!
> Receive me, for I belong to you, and your heart is glad.
> As for my corpse, it is rejuvenated.'

[PT 254] pyr. 286:

'O you female apes who cut off heads, I will escape safely from you;
I have affixed my head to my neck,
and my neck is on my trunk in this my name of Affixer-of-heads,
by means of which I affixed the head of the Apis
on that day when the long-horned bull was lassoed.'

These two sections of the Pyramid Texts are an important element of reference. We see how in [PT 336] pyr. 547-548, the act of grasping the bull's tail contains clearly ritual connotations. In relation to that passage Faulkner's note remarks: the det. [determinative] of *wbnw* may imply not only the usual det. of *wbn* but also the proximity to the anus; the word seems to mean the 'root' of the tail, which rises [*wbn*] from the hindquarters of the animal.' Likewise, this author proposes the perfective active participle verb *prjw* in the sense of rising, lit. 'act the ascending one' referring to the sunrise. But *prjw* could also be a pun concerning the 'ferocious, vigorous bull' [*prjw*] in the moment that the beast rushes out into the arena [the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion].

However, the fact that the term *prjw* refers to the sunrise remains unclear in the text. Faulkner has probably identified *ng n ng(ɜ)w*, 'bull of bulls' with the 'Bull of Re' [*ng rˁ* – [PT 304] pyr. 470 about which, for instance, we read in [PT 334] pyr. 543: 'Hail to you Re, you who traverse the sky and cross Nut, having traversed the Winding Waterway [the ecliptic] I have grasped your tail.' The bull, as a cosmic animal, appears in some other contexts associated with the moon: the rising moon, also related to the same term *prj*, which was compared to an inflamed bull [*kɜ ps*] (= the crescent moon) on its way to the full moon."[118] But, the meaning intended for the lassoing of the bull scene in the Entranceway to the Sacred Precinct is made clear through the number symbolism employed in the structural design of the scene. There are a total of six and only six figures depicted – Wepwawet, Ptah, the bull as the inflamed bull [*kɜ ps*], the heir apparent, and Ramesses. The sixth is the large prominent divine falcon depicted hovering over the king's head. (Plate 463) Its accompanying text reads: "May he give all valor", and therefore is clearly an active participant in the ritual action and not merely a decorative element.[119] Recall that the number six is the quintessential expression of Egyptian lunar symbolism represented by the six pieces of the restored eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye. A lunar interpretation for the bull in this scene would fit well with the timing of the coronation rites, which began on I *prt* 1, at the time of the Blacked-out moon on the ideal calendar. The reappearance of the new crescent moon in the night sky served as a visible confirmation of the successful (re)birth of Horus, the reincarnated Osiris, as the newly coronated king. The texts in the Butcher's Annex refer to lassoing a long-horned bull and its slaughtering. It explicitly states: "A long-horned (bull) for the Navigation of [..]t[..], for the New Moon feast which is (celebrated) in the temple of Menmaatre."[120] Perhaps this ritual was to be enacted out in the Sacred Precinct or on the portion of the roof connected by the staircase to the Sacred

118 L. Baque, "'On that Day when the Long-horned Bull was Lassoed...' ([PT 254] pyr. 286). A Scene in the 'Corridor of the Bull' of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: an Iconologic Approach" SAK 30 (2002), 43-47 and n.17 "For the bull (*kɜ ps*) becoming an ox (*sˁb* = castrated bull) as an image of the waning moon, Urk. VIII, 74, 89b."

119 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II Translations (1996), 327, 510:12.

120 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I Translations (1993), 168, 195: 7-8. The texts, 195:15, also mention the slaughtering of "first long-horned (bull) for the Feast of Opet which is celebrated in the Temple of Menmaatre". Recall that the Opet Festival formed part of the first half of the Cycle of 76 for the Annual Renewal of Kingship.

Precinct, where the first crescent moon's return to the night sky would be easily visible. Eaton noted the existence of a lunar processional barque, Horus-Moon. "There is another uncarved, painted scene on the north side [notional west, where the new crescent moon reappears in the night sky] of the east [notional north] wall of the Hall of Barques, located above the door leading into the Gallery of Lists. I tentatively suggest that this scene may have been devoted to the personification of the moon, *jʿḥ*. This identification is based on the mention of this deity among the major deities in the ledge inscription, all of whom had depictions of processional images on the walls in the Hall of Barques; and the remains of the *aegis* decoration on the barque, which appears to have been in the form of a child's head.

As the personification of the moon, *jʿḥ* was associated with other lunar deities, like Thoth. In addition to the mention made in the ledge inscription, in which he is synchronized with Horus [who was born on *ꜣbd*, the second night of the lunar month as the new crescent moon], Moon (*jʿḥ*) was depicted on the jambs to the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite, once synchronized with Thoth; and once independently. In both cases he was represented wearing the characteristic side-lock of a child. The fact that the Moon was listed along with the major deities of the Seti Temple in the ledge inscription and depicted beneath Ptah-Sokar and Nefertem on the jambs to the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite might indicate that a prominent place in the temple program had originally been planned for him. [121]

The very faded scene in the Hall of Barques clearly depicts a processional barque with *aegisae* featuring heads surmounted by discs. [122] On these heads the curve of the skull and the line representing the back of the neck are fairly clear. Since the adults on the *aegisae* always wear wigs or crowns that cover the back of the neck, the exposure of this area strongly suggests that the *aegisae* depicted were in the form of children's heads. This feature is in keeping with the identification of the barque with *jʿḥ*, who was depicted in the form of a child on the jambs to the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite." [123]

"In [PT 254] pyr. 286-287 the long-horned is clearly identified with the Apis bull, which seems to act as a ritual substitute for the dead king '… on that day when the long-horned bull was lassoed'. The implications of such an argument are interesting. Thus, perhaps reinforced by the ritual associations, Ramesses II and Amenhirkhopshef should be regarded as the attendants of the dead king, acting on his behalf respectively [important to the new king's right to claim legitimacy] as '(he) who affixes the head of the bull' and '(he) who grasps the tail of the bull'. It seems clear that these two operations had a specific cultic significance: to allow the safe rebirth, the 'rising' [*prj*] of the deceased king in the hereafter [and as Osiris, reincarnated as Horus-Moon, 'rising' as the new crescent moon in the night sky], confirming, at the same time, his fusion with the deity.

121 K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 71 n. 69: "Perhaps *jʿḥ* was the intended occupant of the third chapel [to the notional south] of the Hall of Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar that was destroyed to make way for the Stairway Passage."

122 Ibid., 72 n. 70 "I [Eaton] thought that I saw a crescent in the lower part of the disc on the prow *aegis*, but this detail was not at all visible in my photographic prints of the scene.

123 K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 70-72.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

[PT 254] pyr. 293-294:

'I am happy, happy, for I am the Unique One, the Bull of the sky,
I have crushed those who would do this against me
and [I] have annihilated their survivors.
That which appertains to my throne, which I have taken and lifted up,
is this which my father Shu gave me in the presence of Seth.'

Likewise, because beliefs concerning the afterlife were inextricably bound up with the myth of Osiris, the action of lassoing the bull appears related to the framework of the so-called ritual of the Opening of the Mouth.[124] Thus, the ritual killing of the bull – first called the bull [*ngꜣw*] of Upper Egypt and after the (castrated) sacrificial bull [ox] of Lower Egypt – evoked both the murder of Osiris by his brother Seth, and the sacrifice of the latter by Horus 'the avenger of his father', in order to contain the spirit of Osiris, whose destiny appears inexorably joined with that of the fratricidal adversary."[125] This aspect of the Osiris myth can best be understood when taken in a lunar context. In BD 18, there is a reference to "the destruction of the gang of Seth when he repeated his offenses."[126] Seth's offenses alluded to were the death and dismemberment of Osiris. That is so say, the dismemberment of Osiris-Moon into fourteen pieces. The repeating of his offenses holds the key, as it clearly refers to the monthly waning phase of the lunar cycle, creating the endless monthly cycle of the waxing and waning of the moon, the inexorably joined destiny of Osiris (and Horus) with the fratricidal adversary, Seth.

"The fact that the ritual killing of the bull *ngꜣw* was considered in this manner is shown again in some fragments of the Pyramid Texts. We read, for example, in [PT 314] pyr. 504: 'Get back, O Long-horn, doomed to slaughter, on whose vertex are the fingers of the Earth-god. Fall down! Crawl away!' Also in [PT 539] pyr. 1304: 'Get back you needy long-horn! Your head is in the hands of Horus, your tail is in the hand of Isis, and the fingers of Atum are on your horns'. And finally [PT 580] pyr. 1544: 'O my father Osiris this king, I have smitten for you who smote as an ox; I have killed for you him who killed you as a wild bull; I have broken for you him who broke you as a long-horn on whose back you were, as a subjected bull...'. This comparative material is valuable in order to better understand the religious [cultic] meaning of the Abydos ceremony. Thus, the ritual killing of the long-horned bull could be interpreted as an act of culmination within [for] the Osirian Mystery, since with the death of the animal the deceased king Seti I, became Osiris himself, assuming his new place as king of the dead in the Netherworld [as part of the coronation ceremonies that began on I *prt* 1], while the new [living]

124 For an interesting discussion of the action of lassoing a bull, as found in Seti's temple at Abydos, and as part of an ancient hunting ritual connected both to the ritual of Opening the Mouth and more importantly here to the lunar cycle see: E. Otto, "An Ancient Egyptian Hunting Ritual" JNES 9 (1950), 164-177. He also connected the butchering scenes of the long-horned bull in the Butcher's Annex (Room 17) to the lassoing of the bull in the Corridor, as an expression of the ancient hunting ritual.

125 L. Baque, "'On that Day when the Long-horned Bull was Lassoed...' ([PT 254] pyr. 286). A Scene in the 'Corridor of the Bull' of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: an Iconologic Approach" SAK 30 (2002), 48 n. 19 "However, as H. te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion (1977), 95 attests: 'Osiris is death from which life arises, and Seth is life that produces death'." and n. 20 "Just as Osiris, the body of vanquished Seth – represented in the Abydos relief by the long-horned bull and the other sacrificial animals related in the text – is dismembered and distributed among the gods. [PT 580] pyr. 1544."

126 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 23. See above 4.5 and 4.6.

Horus, Ramesses II, was confirmed in his right to perform his father's function [as the Ruler of the Two Lands].

In light of the previously given arguments, some other ideological – more properly, political – messages could have been invoked through the well planned design of the Abydos scene. From an analytical vision of the royal iconography here displayed, the attitude shown by Ramesses II and his eldest son Amenhirkhopshef is undoubtedly crucial to our interpretation. Thus, the 'actors' work together, side by side, in the task of lassoing the bull. This close interdependence – to which we should add the religious nature of the act itself – would confirm them as playing a sole role: that of the god Horus as his father's attendant. To us this is an important element because it focuses not only on a particular ceremony somehow in relation with the exercise of the effective office of the king, but also on the filial attachment as an alternative figure of authority within the traditional conception of government.

On the one hand, the fact that the function of the king (Horus function) is here shared by the royal hereditary prince would allow us to consider him as incorporating lofty responsibilities, involving knowledge and abilities corresponding to those of the divine ruler. On the other hand, as he intervenes in the affairs concerning exclusively the divine person of the pharaoh, his position is potentially emphasized through practices implicitly related to the duties of the state. The text over prince Amenhirkhopshef is very significant in this sense:

> 'Great Hereditary Prince of the entire (land),
> king's eldest son, bodily (son), beloved of him.
> Fanbearer on the king's right hand, troop commander,
> man of good counsel in combat, (fighting) on his foot,
> unequaled, Amenhirkhopshef, true of voice.'

Indeed, concerning the presentation of the king's role, the Abydos scene goes further, proclaiming the royal heir's institution as an extension, an important appendix within the executive-religious functions of kingship, in the sense that it contributed actively to maintain and perpetuate order of Cosmos and its powers. [127]

Now we should take up again the figure[s] of Wepwawet [and Ptah, standing behind him], who acted as witness and delegate of the gods, supporting – thanks to a ritual concluding with offerings to his *ḳa* – the association and legitimation of the royal heir to the throne of Egypt. Likewise, on the basis of a *quid pro quo* deal, the capacity to command is granted to Ramesses II, who receives from Wepwawet's hands [more accurately from Ptah-Tatenen] the throne of Geb and the office of Atum. The first lines of the opening section of the relief are addressed directly to the king in the following

127 L. Baque, "'On that Day when the Long-horned Bull was Lassoed...' ([PT 254] pyr. 286). A Scene in the 'Corridor of the Bull' of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: an Iconologic Approach" SAK 30 (2002), 50 n. 24. "In this same context we should interpret another scene in the 'Corridor of the Bull',where king Ramesses II and prince Amenhirkhopshef appear with gods fowling [discussed above].

terms: (Plate 461) 'Words spoken by Wepwawet : … lost … [Text in front of Ptah-Tatenen:] Granted to you the seat of Geb and the effective/potent office of Atum'. [128]

Within this ceremony of perpetuation and confirmation of royal power [as part of the ceremonies for the annual celebration of the king's coronation], the bull *ngꜣw* contributed, also in a similar manner, to uphold, in its role of sacred mediator, the continuity of the divine royal office. [129] It is noteworthy that, in the context of the ceremonies of confirmation of royal power carried out during the New Year [as well as the Second New Year] and described by the Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50, the bull had a great importance throughout the rituals. On that score, Goyon attests: 'The bull, already named above, is clearly to one who gives his inheritance (or confirmation *smn*). Therefore it can only be a dead divine king, Osiris-Wennefer, or more likely, the predecessor of the king who underwent the rite.' [130]

Without trying to go beyond the evidence, we believe it is reasonable to compare this scene from Abydos with that decorating the so-called “Gallery of Kings' [Gallery of Lists] in the same building complex. Placed near the 'Corridor of the Bull' [Corridor], it shows king Seti I and his son, a young Ramesses, placed before the list of the monarchs [ancestor kings] of Egypt. In our opinion both scenes share in essence a similar implicit ideological message: the value of kingship lies in the continuity of the office and in the permanence of its sacred function, [which is why it formed part of the sequence of rituals on the “Lower Egyptian” wall in the Corridor].

We are about to enter briefly into a line of historic interpretation [of the early Post Amarna Period] already suggested by Murnane, [131] referring to (1) the need for the consolidation of a dynasty, the nineteenth, in which the solidity of the royal figure was only guaranteed by the capacity and experience of its rulers, and (2) a greater implication of potential heirs in the throne functions, who will need to prove their ability and experience in tasks belonging to their future office. In Murnane's words: 'The conspicuous display of the prince's position, both within the official hierarchy and in close association with the king, is something that is not seen before Ramesses II. In fact, the appearance of Prince Ramesses in Seti I's war relief marks the beginning of a new trend, since princes were only sporadically represented on public monuments before then.' [132]

'Kingship – as Baines has stated – is so central to Egyptian culture, so complex and multifaceted,

128 This statement provides the identity of the figure behind Wepwawet. He is Ptah-Tatenen, who grants this to the king, in exactly the same words in BD 183 in the entranceway to the Central Hall in the Osireion. See above 5.1, Message in Stone.

129 L. Baque, “'On that Day when the Long-horned Bull was Lassoed...' ([PT 254] pyr. 286). A Scene in the 'Corridor of the Bull' of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: an Iconologic Approach” SAK 30 (2002), 50 n. 26. “We may point out that the emblem *jꜣt* (Gardiner sign-list O 44) , 'office', 'function', by extension 'royal function', was represented by a pole supporting bull-horns and a coil of rope.”

130 Ibid., 50. Author's translation of the French text.

131 W. Murnane, “The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution”, in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Kingship (1995), 185-217. See above 1.3, Legitimacy in the Eyes of God and Men.

132 Ibid., 203.

that no single approach can exhaust its significance; its meaning can be illuminated from many directions'.[133] This point of view may help recognize the main political message contained in the scene: that Egyptian kingship – especially in the Nineteenth Dynasty – was not only a divine prerogative, but also an ideal (both human and social) that had to be assumed and defended with actions. In conclusion, we might say that in this scene from the cenotaph of Seti I, king Ramesses II [as his father before him] appears training his eldest son and future heir to the guarded secrets of his office."[134] Initiated by Seti, it was part of his official state-sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* to restore *mɜʿt* and the legitimacy of Osiris-Horus divine kingship as the means for the transfer of royal power after the Amarna Hersey.

The scene that follows the "Lassoing an Upper Egyptian Bull by the king" in the Corridor on the "Lower Egyptian" wall, is almost completely destroyed. The king is shown cutting the throat of a sacrificial animal on an alter before an unnamed enthroned deity and standing goddess. Presumably, the king is offering one of the 'oryxes, ibexes, or gazelles that are slaughtered in your temple' as the king's speech in the lassoing scene states. As with the birds netted in the fowling scene on the opposite wall and offered up to Amen-Re and Mut, the wild animals represent the forces of chaos as the enemies of both king and gods who are slaughtered and offered as provisions.

In the third scene on this wall the king, wearing the red crown, is running as he drags the distinctive henu-barque of Sokar towards Thoth and his deified father Seti I. (Plate 466) Thoth holds a papyrus roll or an *jmyt-pr* and is gesturing with his right arm in the manner of addressing the approaching king, but the speech is lost. "Behind the barque runs a smaller figure (mostly destroyed) who probably represents prince Amenhirkhopshef."[135] The presence of the scene of dragging the henu-barque of Sokar in connection with the other scenes along this wall of the capturing of the wild bull, the slaying of the oryx, and finally the act of censing before Ptah and Sekhmet, as Egberts has pointed out all refer to the Sokar Festival, since the capture of the bull and the slaying of the oryx are prerequisites for the decoration of the Sokar barque with the heads of these animals,[136] while the presence of Ptah and Sekhmet testifies to the Memphite origin of the festival."[137] This suggests that it may have formed part

133 J. Baines, "Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation" in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Kingship (1995), 5.

134 L. Baque, "'On that Day when the Long-horned Bull was Lassoed...' ([PT 254] pyr. 286). A Scene in the 'Corridor of the Bull' of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: an Iconologic Approach" SAK 30 (2002), 48-51.

135 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 113.

136 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 402 n. 78. "A series consisting of the dragging of the Sokar barque, the slaying of the bull, and the slaying of the oryx is also found in the temple of Edfu (E. Chassinat, Le Temple d'Edfou VI, 139, 12-143, 5). The same temple contains a series comprising the dragging of the Sokar barque and the killing of the bull (Edfou V, 163, 16-165, 15). Two of the scenes of these series explicitly mention the fact that the animal heads served as ornaments of the Sokar barque (Edfou V, 165, 6-7 ; Edfou VI, 142, 9-10). In Edfou I, 87, 8, the Sokar barque is called 'the sledge of the oryx and the bull' (*mfḏ n mḥ n sšr*).

137 A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995), 402.

of the processional route connecting it to the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite and used during the celebration of the Sokar Festival on the 26th of Khoiak (IIII akhet 26). "This route contains two henu-barque scenes – one in the Second Hypostyle Hall, above the door to the Gallery of Lists, with the barque resting on a stand, and the other a dragging scene on the north [notional west] wall of the Corridor of the Bull [under discussion here]."[138] Eaton described "the progression of mysteries from the innermost part of the Nefertem-Ptah-Sokar Suite to the outermost. The mysteries of the Sokar Festival seem to have begun in the chapel of Ptah-Sokar with the revivification of the god, the westernmost scenes in this room being devoted to forms of the god Sokar lying on a bed. On the north [notional west] wall, Horus and Isis revivify 'Sokar-Osiris who-is-in-his-barque (*wjȝ*)'. The fact that Sokar-Osiris (or Seti as Sokar-Osiris) is said to be 'in his barque' might indicate that the revivification was considered to be a metaphorical boat journey. It also might be a reference to the procession celebrated *after* the mysteries."[139] Thus, it could well have been intertwined with the coronation rites beginning on I *prt* 1, where the king dragged the henu-barque around the walls of the Fortress of Menmaatre which enclosed the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion.

The final scene on the "Lower Egyptian" wall depicts the king, this time wearing the blue Khepresh crown, burning incense before Ptah and Sekhmet, balancing the offering scene to Amen-Re and Mut on the opposite "Upper Egyptian" wall. (Plate 468) Together the heads of the Memphite triad and the Theban triad will witness and thereby sanction the coronation rituals depicted on the walls of the Corridor, which were to be performed out in the Sacred Precinct, where each in all likelihood had their own shrine.

The themes expressed in the texts and reliefs of the Stairway Passage vary significantly and serve a different function from those in the Corridor. However, the division into Upper and Lower Egyptian halves is maintained as is clear from the crowns worn by king Seti on the jambs to the door leading out into the Sacred Precinct. (Plates 469, 470) As noted, the "Corridor, together with the Stairway Passage, formed the rear entrance of the Seti Temple [more accurately the entranceway for the group of temples in the Sacred Precinct]. Since they serve essentially the same purpose as the First Hypostyle Hall, their decorative program explored the same themes, albeit in much more abbreviated form. For example, in the first Hypostyle Hall the legitimacy of the temple was celebrated through a series of scenes devoted to foundation rituals. In the Stairway Passage, the legitimacy of the temple was expresses in a single scene, featuring a speech by the goddess Sefket-Abu [Seshat]. This is a striking example of how essentially the same ritual function could be depicted and perhaps celebrated in different ways."[140] And here too, it should be recognized that Seshat's speech was directed to an integrally connected but separate group of temples.[141] So closely connected are these two complexes that the Entranceway

138 K. Eaton, "The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak: The Evidence from Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Monuments at Abydos" SAK 35 (2006), 97.

139 K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 429.

140 Ibid., 342.

141 It should be noted that in the Osireion, the subterranean temple in the Sacred Precinct complex, there are no foundation rituals or dedicatory inscriptions. Like for the Treasury with its archive chambers, and the redesigned rear section of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, the speech of Seshat served that function for the entire group in the Sacred Precinct complex.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Passage of the Sacred Precinct actually is within Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. (Plate 38) “This is a full, formal, Dedicatory building text to the king, summarizing the materials of which the temple was built, and then vaunting the royal munificence in lavishing wealth and provisions upon the temple.” [142] The text is 43 columns long with the address by Seshat to the king in 42 columns. Bastin analyzed the speech. [143] “The text displays a rigid scheme which deals with the temple itself and its two groups of occupants (the king and the gods)... the three main elements, temple, gods and king, have each their proper place in the sophisticated and complicated structure of the text. The address consists of three parts. The first concerns the temple, its conception and realization. The second presents the gods who live there and guarantee its sacred nature. The third part is devoted to the king, the celebrant *par excellence*, who certifies its functioning. This last part has a very intricate structure, with reference to the Horus and solar aspect of the king, the Osirian aspect, and the relationship between the two. At the conclusion of the address Seshat speaks, in order to fulfill her usual task of registering the divine kingship of the pharaoh as living Horus, according to the orders of Re and the decree of Atum.” [144]

Seshat's speech being structured into 42 columns is significant and ties it directly to the content of the goddess' address concerning the transmission of royal power, that was celebrated and renewed during the annual coronation rites. Through its recitation by the king, the address acts as a purification rite for both the Sacred Precinct complex and the king who is about to enter it. The number 42 connects it with the 42 assessors who are in the Hall of Two Truths and the statements of the so-called 'Negative Confession' in BD 125, which has been shown to have been, in fact, a purification rite to be recited by priests before entering a temple or sacred space. [145] It also connects it to the 42 nomes of a united Upper and Lower Egypt over which Seti “having become king of Southern and Northern Egypt” now rules, as is declared in Seshat's speech. [146] Recall that each of the 42 nomes had a limb of Osiris buried within it and so the uniting of the North and the South alludes to the re-membering of the body of Osiris and his resurrection as Wennefer. Osiris' resurrection was essential to the transmission of royal power, so that he may become the Ruler of the West and his son, the living Horus, would inherit his throne on the earth. On another more subtle level, the number 42 is a reference to the lunar cycle and at the same the cycle of divine kingship. It is the sum of the three numbers, sacred to Osiris and the moon, 6 + 17 + 19, which express the unfolding of the lunar cycle, (Plate 36) in which is embedded the mythic prototype for the transfer of royal power from father Osiris-Moon to his rightful heir Horus-Moon, who is the reincarnation of Osiris, born on the second day of the lunar month, the birthday of

142 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II Notes and Comments (1999), 361. For the full translation of the speech see: K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I Translations (1993), 161-163 and for the hieroglyphic text K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I (1975), I, 186-I, 188.

143 D. Bastin, “De la fondation d'un temple: 'Paroles dites par Seshat au Roi Sethi Ier'” in P. Derchain, M. Broze, P. Talon (eds.) L'atelier de l'orfevre . Melanges offerts Ph. Derchain (1992), 9-24.

144 AEB 92.0333, 2001 Editors of the AEB, summary of the article by D. Bastin, “De la fondation d'un temple: 'Paroles dites par Seshat au Roi Sethi Ier'” in P. Derchain, M. Broze, P. Talon (eds.) L'atelier de l'orfevre . Melanges offerts Ph. Derchain (1992), 9-24.

145 See above 5.3, The Descent to My Father Osiris.

146 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I Translations (1993), 162. Speech of Seshat in the Stairway Passage.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Horus, as the new crescent moon, here on I *prt* 2 .[147]

The speech of Seshat-Sefkhetabwy is to Seti concerning his works and his good deeds on behalf of the gods.[148]

Words spoken by Seshat the Mighty, Lady of writing, presiding over the House of Books:
O my beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre, son of Re, Seti Merenptah.[149]

> Your house, *pr.k*, is complete, your monument is splendid,
> its divine inhabitants [det. by a seated god] are delighted,
> (even as) you abide in your august *ḥwt-nṯr*, every god being your magical protection,
> which is within your Mansion of Vindication, *ḥwt mɜꜥ-ḫrw*,
> on the western (lit. starboard/ right side) of Abydos.

The fact that Seshat states that Seti's house is complete suggests that the subterranean Osireion at the heart of the Sacred Precinct complex may already have been roofed-in by the end of his reign, although admittedly the term, *pr.k*, is quite general and therefore vague as to what was complete, but seems to refer to the *ḥwt mɜꜥ-ḫrw,* Mansion of Vindication. Note that the Osireion lies to the right of the door leading out from the Entranceway passage to the Scared Precinct. (Plate 26) Thus, the Mansion of Vindication may well be a reference to the Osireion, the birth house of Isis, where Horus was conceived on the night of I *prt* 1, which is Osiris' vindication.

> I [Seshat] laid it [*ḥwt mɜꜥ-ḫrw*] out, together with Sokar. It was Ptah who did work on it.
> I stretched out the measuring-cord within its walls.
> My mouth was (devoted) to it with great incantations, while Thoth was there with his books.
> Khnum set firm its buildings, while Tatenen measured off its ground,
> and Atum (said): 'It is forever [*ḏt*]'! Its top is what I finished-off(?), of gold.
> I drove the stake in it, you being with me in your form of a henu-barque,

147 J. van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus” JEOL 26 (1979-80), 22, details the underlying myth and its intricate relationships. “Somewhat less obvious is the connection of the spell proper ['Another spell, For Releasing Any Bandage'] with the allusion to the myth of Osiris killed by Seth, which serves as the mythical precedent. In this section it is stated that the evil done to Horus consists in the murdering of his father Osiris. Seth, the god of chaos and disorder, by murdering Osiris before he has begotten Horus and by trying to prevent the future birth and succession of Horus by cutting Osiris' body in pieces [the lunar connection to the waning moon] or throwing it in the river, not only harms Osiris himself but also Horus, the reincarnation of Osiris upon earth. In an interesting article Sir Edmund Leach has shown that the 'multiplicity of approach' by which Seth may be called both brother of Osiris (and therefore uncle of Horus) and brother of Horus may be explained in sociological terms by saying that Osiris and Horus are actually 'two persons but one god', as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kingship: 'The legitimacy of the reigning king depended upon the principle that he was both the living 'son' of his dead predecessor and also the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor'; by having herself impregnated by the 'dead' Osiris and giving birth to him in the person of Horus Isis 'releases the evil done to Horus by his brother Seth' and thus reassures the cosmic cycle of death and resurrection and the social cycle of 'positional succession' which Seth tried to disturb by murdering Osiris.”

148 Author's translation is primarily based on that on Kitchen with some emendations, given it is, in fact, a dedication to the integrated Sacred Precinct complex. See above n. 142.

149 This is the first column of the text. The following 42 columns consist of the address proper.

> your arms carrying the pick.
> Established for it are its four walls(?) and the corners excellently, like the pillars of the sky.
> Its magical protection is set out and its safeguarding is done by Neith and Selqet,
> completed in everlasting [*ḏt*] work, its walls in their (proper) places, come (there) anew.
> Its pillars are set firm, and all its doors in copper. Food is in it, it having provisions.

The gods who designed and created the *ḥwt mɜʿ-ḫrw*, Mansion of Vindication, points to its identification as being that of the Osireion, especially the lower complex, in essence, the Land of Sokar, consisting of the Sloping Passage, the two Transverse Halls and the Central Hall with its island, the primordial mound arising out of the watery abyss of Nun. It was Seshat together with Sokar who laid it out. While Ptah, the patron deity of craftsmen, did the work on it. In the presence of Thoth with his ritual books, Seshat, reciting the great *sɜḫw*, stretched out the measuring-cord in order to determine its precise size and correct orientation within its walls. Presumably "its walls" were the Fortress of Menmaatre within which the Osireion was to be constructed.[150] Khnum set firm its buildings. Khnum was held to be the *ɓa* of Re and a personification of creative force. Importantly in the context of the Osireion, he was associated with the mammisi or birth houses of temples, which may explain his involvement here.[151] The god, Tatenen, determined by a seated deity with his standard crown,[152] measured off its ground, i.e. the rising land in the Central Hall. Atum, the creator, declared that it is *ḏt*. That is to say part of the original creation on *zp tpj*. Seshat drove a marking stake in it accompanied by Seti, the living Horus, in his form of a henu-barque, carrying a sacred pick to begin the clearance. Its magical protection and safeguarding is done by Neith and Selqet. Finally, it is provisioned in preparation of the arrival of the gods who will inhabit it.

There were exactly ten gods involved in the process including the king, the living Horus, in his form of the henu-barque. Ten is the number sacred to Horus as the tenth member and fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process, linking the Mansion of Vindication to Horus. It is here where the conception of Horus is to occur, re-initiating the legitimate means for the transmission of royal power from father Osiris to rightful heir Horus after its abolishment by the Heretic Akhenaten, a vital part of Seti's state sponsored program, *wḥm mswt*, to restore *mɜʿt*.

The lengthy speech concludes with Seshat's words and Atum's greeting to Seti:

> I set down your goodness in writing as Re has commanded,
> the blessing, *ɜḫw*, of my mouth is your magical protection,
> my words are a talisman for you;
> my hand writes of your benefactions, as the sister of Thoth.
> Atum himself speaks a greeting: "I am happy with your plans.
> United in homage to you are the South and the North, set under your scandals.

150 It is also possible that the temenos wall of the Seti's temple complex was meant, in which case it would refer to the whole of the Sacred Precinct complex including the Osireion.

151 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 194-195.

152 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I (1975), I, 186: 5-6.

> Homage to you has joined the Reed to the Papyrus,
> you having become king of Southern and Northern Egypt.
> You sail south as Upper-Egyptian king, and you fare north as Lower-Egyptian king.
> You have taken over the Two Lands, (arrayed) in the Double Crown.
> You are seated in your inner sanctum, *kꜣr*.
> You enter your palace like Atum in the horizon.
> You sit enthroned at the head of your audience-hall like Horus upon his throne.
> You appear upon your palanquin for the jubilee, *ḥb-sd*, like Re annually..."

Seshat's speech ends with Atum's granting of kingship of the Two Lands to Seti and ties it directly to the portion of the annual coronation rites celebrated in the Sacred Precinct complex.

Following Seshat's speech, is a scene in which Ramesses, the Prince-Regent, speaking as king, addresses an enthroned deified Seti (originally Osiris?), Isis, and the Two Enneads.[153] (Plate 472)

Act of the Prince: Making 'an offering that the king gives', and arranging the offerings on the altar.

Words spoken by the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre, to his beloved father, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre.

> An offering which the king gives (to) Geb, and (to) the Two Enneads –
> a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl,
> a thousand of incense, a thousand of unguent, a thousand of offerings,
> a thousand of provisions, a thousand of libations, a thousand of all good and pure things,
> a thousand of all good and sweet things – whatever the Nile-flood brings from his cavern –
> pure, pure, for the son of Re Seti I Merenptah, the sunlit/shining one(?).

Words spoken by the 'Ennead which is in Rosetau', to their son who protects, *nḏ*, Their Majesties (even) the Lord of Both Lands, Menmaatre.

> You are indeed Horus who protects his father, Representative of Geb and Designated Ruler.
> We have seen your beneficial deeds. How glorious(?) is your beauty in our sight.
> Our hearts are greatly rewarded(?), for you have perpetuated ('repeated') our names anew –
> Wennefer is young (again), and Re is in jubilation. Abundant […..... rest lost …....].

The significance of this scene and the one just like it directly opposite on the "Upper Egyptian" wall are discussed at the end of this section in the analysis of the structural design and interpretation of the decoration program in the Stairway Passage.

At the top of the Stairway Passage, on each of the jambs of the door that leads out into the Sacred Precinct, Seti is depicted standing holding a rod and *ḥḏ*-mace in one hand and gesturing in the manner

153 Author's translation is primarily based on that on Kitchen with some emendations. See above n. 142.

of speaking with the other: *ʿq nb r ḥwwt-nṯr jw wʿb*, "Every entering into the temples [plural], I was pure." [154] (Plate 470) On the right side, Seti wears the red crown of Lower Egypt and on the left side he wears the white crown of Upper Egypt, in keeping with the symmetrical design of the decoration in the Entranceway of the Sacred Precinct. The key here which has heretofore gone unnoticed is that the *ḥwt-nṯr* is clearly plural, indicating that there were more than two temples, *ḥwt-nṯr*, out in the Sacred Precinct. They include the Fortress of Menmaatre, and the subterranean Osireion, 'Menmaatre is Beneficial to Osiris', identified on the ostraka found from when they were under construction. The third is the Treasury and Archives complex of five chambers, a separate structure which only opens into the Sacred Precinct. There may have been a fourth, the renowned House of Life.

Opposite the address of Seshat is the speech of Thoth on the "Upper Egyptian" wall in the Corridor. (Plate 473) It is laid out in exactly the same manner as Seshat's. There are 43 columns, with the opening greeting spoken by Thoth, the Great, Master of Speech, to his beloved son, Lord of Both Lands, Menmaatre, son of Re, Seti Merenptah, telling him: Pay heed now, O excellent king. [155] His words follow in 42 columns, so that the same number symbolism for 42, detailed above in Seshat's address, was also encoded in Thoth's speech, underscoring and highlighting its importance. But because of Thoth's identification with the moon, *jʿḥ*, and close association to divine kingship, the emphasis here is on the lunar cycle and the moon's role in the cycle of divine kingship. Notably, in her speech Seshat declares of the king that:

"You repeat renewal [in the *ḏuat*], and you begin to flourish youthfully like the Moon(-god)." [156]

The moon, *jʿḥ*, is determined by a seated figure of the ibis-headed Thoth, wearing the lunar crescent and disk. [157] (Plate 471 column 33 on Mariette's plate 51) Here, Thoth is not just associated with the moon, he is clearly depicted as the moon god, *jʿḥ*, himself. Seshat's reference here in the context of the annual coronation rites, is to the renewal of the king in the Osireion, the *ḏuat*, on the night of I *prt* 1, and his beginning to flourish youthfully like the moon-god is his reappearance in the night sky as the new crescent moon on I *prt* 2.

Thoth's speech continues for 42 columns: (Plate 473)

"Champion/Protector, *nḏ*, [?for his father Osiris,....,]
watching over Wennefer like Horus, ever since he existed.
Your benefactions are a blessing in the Sacred Territory = Sacred Precinct;

154 A. El-Sawy, "A New Discovery at the Sety I Temple in Abydos" in Z. Hawass, L. Brock (eds.) Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century (2003), 425.

155 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I Translations (1993), 163-164 and K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I (1975), I, 189: 5-6. Interestingly, as Kitchen pointed out an abbreviated duplicate of this text is found in the nearby temple of Ramesses II, but spoken instead by Seshat, showing how closely connected these two deities were.

156 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I Translations (1993), 162.

157 For the hieroglyphic text see: K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I (1975), I, 187: 12.

your monument [including the subterranean Osireion which lies beneath] is accepted
…....lost..... they are joyful because of you.
The Lords of the Netherworld [*ḏuat*] are aroused by your plans,
and your goodness is in their minds [*jb*, lit. heart].
I have seen [that they offer up your goodness to the (very) shrine of Re].
The Conclave of the Gods/ Ennead, *psḏt*, has [approved of?] what you had done.
The gods rejoice at you, and all that has happened
under Your Majesty [*ḥm*, Incarnation[158]] is pleasing ….....lost.....
You are counted as one who will endure upon earth.
Established is your office, your kingship,
and you are promoted to (the status of) Justified One, *mɜʿ-ḫrw*.
[What I have said is written down for you eternally, *nḥḥ*....] forever, *ḏt*.
Your name is set before the starry sky, and your annals as millions (of years).
There is decreed for [you? …..lost.....] (as) said the Lord-of-All himself to me.
Your temple, *ḥwt,* is established like the sky, *pt*,
and I [Thoth] am charged to deal [with its needs, so long as the sun shall rise],
Your Majesty [*ḥm*, Incarnation] being in it daily, like Atum in his sky, *pt.f*."[159]

The monument, the Sacred Precinct complex, has been accepted to the delight of the 'lords of the *ḏuat*', who now inhabit the Osireion, the re-created *ḏuat*, abolished by Akhenaten, but restored by Seti as part of his state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt*, thereby gaining the approval of the Ennead, the conclave of the gods. In return for these beneficial deeds, Seti's right to hold the office of kingship is assured for eternity, both in *nḥḥ* and *ḏt* time. Thoth guarantees its protection, so long as the sun shall rise. The heart of Thoth's address and its ritual significance has already been treated above.[160]

Following Thoth's address, the Prince-Regent is shown in the act of 'bringing food-offerings to Menmaatre'. (Plate 471 bottom) His name is written without a cartouche indicating that Seti is deified, and he is depicted in the company of Isis and the gods of the Ennead 'who are in the Sacred Land' i.e. the Sacred Precinct. The Prince-Regent is in full royal dress. Note that six uraei hang from the his waistband. The number six highlights the underlying lunar symbolism of the scene, connecting it not only by position but also content to Thoth with his close identity to the moon and the lunar symbolism encoded in the structure of his speech.

Completing the decoration scheme of the Stairway Passage is a scene above the enthroned figures of Seshat and Thoth, on the lintel of the doorway connecting to the Corridor. It is barely visible and for that reason hardly ever noticed. "It contains a very rare scene, showing Seti I rowing a boat before

158 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2014), 39. "*ḥm*. It is usually translated 'Majesty' but it really means something like 'incarnation': the *ḥm* is the individual in whom the divine power of kingship is incarnated."

159 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I Translations (1993), 164. Here the brackets, [ ], also indicate restored portions of the text taken from the duplicate copy of this same text in the nearby temple of Ramesses II.

160 See above 5.6, My Father My Conception And Royal Succession.

the gods, a composition possibly derived from the Book of the Dead."[161] Baines recorded it in facsimile and mentioned a remote parallel in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, where the king is also shown rowing in a variant of the vignette for BD 110.[162] (Plates 475, 476) While the details of the Abydos scene have yet to be studied to establish how close a parallel it is to the Medinet Habu scene,[163] nevertheless, the Ramesses III depiction is informative in its own right. The underlying symbolism suggests that there may well be important parallels in the Seti scene.[164]

On the vignette for BD 110, Goelet comments that: "As with most of the really complicated illustrations in the BD, there are approximately as many versions of the scene … as there are papyri and tomb walls where it has been found."[165] The portion of the vignette of BD 110 at Medinet Habu that parallels the scene at Abydos in which Seti is shown rowing a boat before the gods is found in the top register. (Plate 475) This rare royal variant is of a truly masterful design. On one level, the number symbolism encoded within the scene reveals its distinctly lunar nature, specifically related to the lunar cycle. On the far right the king, wearing the red crown of the North, is depicted kneeling, arms raised in praise, before a group of three deities labeled the Lesser Ennead, *psḏt nḏst*. Following this group, the king is shown in his barque rowing away from the north towards the south and a group of three deities, representing the Greater Ennead, *psḏt ꜥɜ*. Before them the king, wearing the white crown of the South, is depicted kneeling, arms raised in praise. Directly above the king in his barque are a group of three hieroglyphic signs, *njwt*.[166] On the scene's far left is a group of six ovals, one directly above the other.

From related textual evidence, the presence of the Greater and Lesser Enneads is what links this scene to the lunar cycle. Specifically, Isis says: "I have created the greater Ennead, the lesser Ennead has been provided, for the sound eye on the fifteenth day of the lunar month. It means that the 'month' [here a name for the moon] will be completed."[167] The full section of this Ptolemaic text is as follows:

> "Hail Osiris Foremost of the West. Raise yourself (twice).
> May you not be weary, for your son Horus is overthrowing your enemies.

161 J. Baines, "Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt" BAOM XI (1990), 87.

162 Ibid., 87 and 94-95 n. 23. The scene is in: The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VI The Temple Proper II, plate 469.

163 I am sincerely grateful for Dr. Baines' kind assistance in trying to recall the details of this scene and for providing me with the facsimile's current location. Unfortunately, it was unattainable at the time of this writing. However, I do intend to revisit the issue at some future date in order to analyze it and make a detailed comparison to the Medinet Habu variant.

164 The two essential features in the top register of the many variants of the vignette for BD 110 appear to be present in the Seti scene: the king/deceased rowing in a barque and a group of gods, generally explicitly identified as either the two Enneads or the Greater Ennead.

165 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 34, 169. Commentary by O. Goelet.

166 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2014), 491. "O 49 Area with intersection. Ideogram for *njwt* 'town'. Determinative Town, Settlement.

167 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 145.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

You will ascend to the sky and unite with Re [at the time of the new moon].
The crew of the solar barque give <you> praise,
while the mouths of the horizon-dwellers are in exultation as they rejoice in your suite.
Love for you is in minds, and the awe of you is in hearts
since you have gone in among them.
You [Osiris] will enter the sound eye and unite with it.
Your hue will illuminate the land at night,
when you come into being as Osiris the moon,
Thoth the bull who rejuvenates in the sky each night.
I [Isis] have created the greater Ennead, the lesser Ennead has been provided,
for the sound eye on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
It means that the 'month' [here a name for the moon] will be completed.
Do not be distant, for I have effected an entry into the sound eye.
It means that the numinous image of Osiris will come into being.
This means Thoth setting it in order with its constituent parts
so as to remove injury from it.
You will appear with Re on the fifteenth day of the lunar month.
[When both the sun and the full moon are visible in the sky shortly after sunrise.]
Bulls will ejaculate and cows will become gravid
when you are seen in the sky on this day." [168]

The opening of the composition of which this text is a part begins:

"Ceremony of glorifying Osiris in the god's domain
which is performed in the temple of Osiris foremost in the West,
the great god and lord of Abydos, at every feast of Osiris,
and at every appearance of his throughout the land
which is celebrated in the temples as well.
Glorifying his *ba* and causing his corpse to endure so that his *ba* shines in the sky,
his corpse is made permanent in the underworld,
and he is renewed on the second day of the lunar month,
his son Horus having been established on his throne in possession of his office of eternity.
Reciting this ritual is beneficial for Osiris and beneficial for its recitant." [169]

It should be noted that after the opening lines, the composition is divided into a total of seventeen sections. This is significant because, as we have seen, the number seventeen was associated with Osiris' dismemberment and death. In the lunar cycle, it is the length of the entire period when the

168 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009),144-145.

169 Ibid., 139-140. "In addition to the copy of this work preserved in P. MMA 35.9.21 [early Ptolemaic], two additional complete copies have been published. The manuscripts in which they occur are P. BM EA 10208 and P. Louvre I. 3079... The translation given below is based on P. MMA 35.9.21, but I have adopted some readings from the other published versions where these are clearly preferable."

moon first gradually becomes covered (waning) and then remained totally covered (invisible) during conjunction. Except for the first, the seventeen sections all begin with 'Hail Osiris foremost of the West'.... The three main speakers are Isis, Nephthys and Horus and Osiris is the addressee. [170]

Smith's commentary is informative. “Here, as with the other works performed during the Khoiak mysteries, the goal is a twofold restoration of Osiris. Not only is he reconstituted as an individual, recovering the use of his limbs and physical faculties; he is also restored to his proper status as a member of a divine hierarchy, his enemies having been punished and his son installed as his successor in secure possession of his royal office. Noteworthy in the list of benefits said to be conferred by the ritual is the statement that Osiris will be renewed on the *hrw n ꜥbd*. Whether one translates this as 'the (appropriate) day of the month' or 'the second day of the lunar month' (either rendering is possible), the reference here is clearly to the deity's rebirth in the form of the moon at the beginning of each month. Thus, the text establishes a link between the mysteries of Osiris [to which should be added the annual celebration of the king's coronation, which began at sunrise on the next day, I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day] and the lunar cycle which ensures the god's regeneration as a regularly occurring event. A similar link is established in Text 1 [the Great Decree Issued to the Nome of the Silent Land], only this time connecting the ritual with the appearance of Osiris in glory as the full moon.” [171]

Significantly, at the same time the Greater and Lesser Enneads also serve to connect the scene directly to kingship. On the side of the throne of one of the ten Lisht statues of Sesostris I, (Plate 474) the Greater and the Lesser Enneads are shown as Nile gods “participating in the *smꜣ tꜣwy*, the Uniting of the Two Lands, symbolized by the knotting of the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt.... There is an obvious reference to the Two Lands as the Two Enneads participate in this rite.” [172] More commonly, it is Horus and Seth who are depicted in the *smꜣ tꜣwy* scenes. [173]

The number symbolism encoded in the Medinet Habu scene reinforces its underlying lunar theme. In total there are nineteen divine figures and emblems depicted in the scene. [174] Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris. (Plate 36) He is said to be revivified and born anew on the nineteenth day of the month. Nineteen days signifies the period of time from the day of the Full Moon to its return in the night sky with first crescent visibility. There is a more subtle meaning behind the group of nineteen because of the scene's specific design. The scene opens on the right where the king is wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt which is located in the north, indicating that the action unfolds from north to south. Recall that the nineteen year Metonic cycle marks the maximum period of time required for the

170 M. Smith, Traversing Eternity (2009), 136.

171 Ibid., 136.

172 L. Troy, “The Ennead: The Collective as Goddess” in G. England (ed.), Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions (1989), 64.

173 K. Kuhlmann, Der Thron im alten Agypten (1977), 52-56.

174 There are the two Enneads each represented by three divinities, three depictions of the king, his sacred barque with attached uraeus, six oval shaped caverns (*qrrt*), and three *njw*t signs above the king's head for a total of nineteen.

moon to travel across the sky from its northern extreme to its southern extreme and back. The significance of this 235 lunar month period is that it is almost precisely 19 solar years and resynchronizes the lunar cycle with that of the sun.[175] Recall too that the Entrance Archway of the Osireion is slightly skewed so that it points to the moon at its northern extreme, marking the place of both the start and finish of the nineteen year lunar cycle.

The groupings within the scene are also not random, but relate to aspects of the lunar cycle. On the far left are a group of six ovals, probably representing caverns. (Plate 475) The number six held a special significance to the ancient Egyptians because it symbolizes the six parts of the Udjat-eye, the restored left lunar eye of Horus. The Sixth Day Festival, *snt*, was an important celebration. It was the day of filling the Udjat(-eye). It should be recalled that the sum of its six parts is an encoded representation of the precise length of the synodic month in relation to the fixed 30-day month of the Egyptian civil calendar. The architectural design of the Osireion, likewise, is divided into two halves, like the monthly lunar cycle, and consists of six major chambers and passages. So too is the Book of Caverns divided into two halves with a total of six divisions, which we have seen is a Lunar treatise.[176] When the six ovals are added to the nine deities that precede them, they form a group of fifteen, which represents the number of days from the new moon to the full moon. If the royal barque with its uraeus is included in the count, then the total is sixteen. The sixteenth day of the lunar month was called *mspr sn-nw*, "second 'arrival' day" of the full moon.[177] We know that it signifies the waxing phase of the lunar cycle because of the direction the king faces as he is rowing from north to south along the path of the moon across the sky. He faces forward as he paddles, which mimics the appearance of the moon when it is waxing.[178] Note that the two Enneads face in opposite directions in the scene. The Greater Ennead depicted on the left face the same direction as the king in his barque. They equate to the fourteen visible phases of the waxing lunar cycle, where the moon appears "greater" every night until it is full. The Lesser Ennead face in the opposite direction and symbolize the waning moon which appears "lesser" in size every night until it disappears, i.e. dies. Interestingly, if the three deities depicted for each of the two Enneads where meant to represent the full fourteen visible phases of the waning lunar cycle in the case of the Lesser Ennead and the full fourteen visible phases of the waxing lunar cycle in the case of the Greater Ennead, then there would be a total of thirty one deities including the three depictions of the king. Recall that thirty one represents all combinations possible for a single 29 or 30 day lunar month. The three *njwt* signs, which depict an intersection or crossroad, that are directly above the king in his barque may be equated with the maximum period of the moon's invisibility, the three days between last crescent visibility and the return of the new crescent moon to the night sky. The crossroad or intersection offers the potential for a change in direction and this is precisely what the moon does. It disappears in the eastern horizon at sunrise and reappears low in the

175 See above 4.4, Hidden in Plain Sight: Astronomical and Calendrical Concepts in the Book of Caverns.

176 See above 4.3, The Mysterious Book of Caverns A Treatise on the Lunar Osirian Transformation.

177 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 11.

178 Backward facing would equate to the waning moon. See above 5.3, The Descent to My Father Osiris.

western horizon at sunset. It is also facing in the opposite direction. Lastly, when the royal barque is counted, there are a total of ten divine images central to the scene. (Plate 475) Ten is the number sacred to Horus and divine kingship.

Throughout this study, the focus has been on exposing the covert lunar symbolism and its connection to divine kingship. However, it is but one aspect of the multifaceted nature of ancient Egyptian symbolism to which has been demonstrated should include number symbolism. For example, the nine central deities of the Medinet Habu scene with its royal tenth emblem also can be related directly to the Heliopolitan creation process, through the numbers eight, nine and ten. "The Heliopolitan cosmology explicates the nature of the creator of the Ennead, Atum. His name derives from the stem *tm*, meaning both negation and existence, non-being and being and thus corresponds to the totality of both the undifferentiated pre-creation state and the created world. Atum is the all-encompassing life totality.... The four children of Geb and Nut, brings the totality plurality of the internal differentiation of Atum to eight. These eight deities represent the diversification of complementarity, and the multiple possibilities of the creative process. The differentiation of Atum, into eight hypostases, displays all combinations of complementarity.... [Note how the scene is clearly divided into two complimentary halves of four divinities each. (Plate 475)] The differentiation of the original unity into complimentary elements forms the pattern which the Egyptians apply to all levels of creation and for all forms of transition. The initial transition from chaos to cosmos, the first time *zp tpj*, provides the paradigm for all transformation, as manifestations of the binary potential of the pre-creation state. The differentiation of Atum comes to eight, consisting of Shu and Tefnut, Geb and Nut, Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephthys. Eight is also the number of creative and undifferentiated plurality, as found in the Hermopolitan cosmology. The internal differentiation of Atum, as representative of the totality of the pre-creation state in transition, is thus analogous to the potentialities of the primordial state described by the Ogdoad. The Eight of the three generations, combined with the One represented by Atum, from whom the Eight originated, makes the Nine of the Heliopolitan Ennead. [The ninth in the Medinet Habu scene is Atum depicted as the pharaoh, the begotten being the begetter.] The Ennead functions in its entirety as the feminine attribute of Atum, as *psḏt* 'the shining one', the mother of the gods. The role of the Ennead [*psḏt*] is formulated with the imagery of the feminine prototype. This includes reference to its duality as the 'elder' (*wrt*) and 'younger' (*nḏst*). [In the scene under discussion, the Greater/elder (*wrt*) Ennead and the Lesser/younger (*nḏst*) Ennead, who flank the central larger figure of Atum as pharaoh.] The relationship of Atum and the Ennead is described in terms of the relationship of the god and his eye. Just as the eye mediates the transformation of the father to the son, the Ennead mediates between Atum and Re-Horus, between the potential of the primeval state and the establishment of the cosmos and actualized cyclical life. The pattern of renewal is thereafter modeled on the paradigmatic structure of the Ennead, employing the terminology of night and day, male and female, parent and child. Thus unity and plurality, represented by Atum and the Ennead is, according to the world view of the Egyptians, a relative rather than a qualitative distinction. The unity of Atum is restructured in the plurality of the Ennead which mediates the transition to a new unity, that represented by Re-Horus, and his cosmic realm."[179] It is the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process, represented by its tenth member Horus, as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons.

179 L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship (1986), 146-147.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

The scene on the lintel of the doorway of the Stairway Passage of Seti rowing his barque before a group of the gods, who represent the two Enneads, [180] unites the two main themes of the decoration program in this chamber. As an action scene, it also links it to the other action scenes of the king depicted in the adjoining Corridor, like the dragging of the Henu-barque and, important in this context, the lassoing of the long-horned bull for its sacrifice. At the opposite end of the Stairway Passage by the door to the Sacred Precinct, the two Enneads are depicted, one on each wall. They are identified as the 'Ennead, which is in the Sacred Land' on the "Upper Egyptian" wall, and the 'Ennead, which is in Rosetau' on the "Lower Egyptian" wall. Their designations suggest that they represent the Greater and Lesser Enneads at the time of the Blacked-out moon when Osiris-Moon is in the *ḏuat*, i.e. the Osireion beneath the Sacred Precinct. These two Enneads, which manifest as the "visible" phases of the moon, must also be regenerated at the time of the new moon, explaining their locations in the Sacred Land and in Rosetau, which should be recognized, are parts of the Osireion complex. By the Middle Kingdom as has been shown, the Greater and Lesser Enneads were also already directly linked to kingship through their role in 'Uniting of the Two Lands'. Thus, in their dual aspects of visible manifestations of the moon and Uniters of the Two lands, they link the lunar cycle to that of divine kingship. The speeches of Thoth and Seshat in both their content and structure, concern kingship and the transfer of royal power, which are couched in a lunar framework, defined by the number forty two. The carefully crafted decoration program in the Stairway Passage, of six main scenes further underscoring their lunar nature, [181] is most fitting for the performance of the coronation rites at the time of the Blacked-out Moon, which the texts clearly state, included the sacrifice of a "long-horned (bull) for the Navigation of [..]t[..], for the New Moon feast which is (celebrated) in the Temple [Complex] of Menmaatre. [182] Seti rowing in his barque, that of "Moon-Horus, who is in the sky", [183] here symbolizes Horus, the reincarnated Osiris as the new crescent moon. His return to the night sky on I *prt* 2 is the finale, the celestial sign of the successful renewal of both the king's coronation as the living Horus and that of Osiris as Ruler of the West, which is witnessed from the Sacred Precinct Above.

180 The brief description of the lintel scene given by Baines suggests that it is less elaborate than that of Ramesses III in his scene at Medinet Habu discussed above, but nevertheless contains the two essential elements of the king rowing and the presence of a group of gods. Thus it more likely resembles that in the contemporary Papyrus of Ani, where only three gods are depicted but the caption identifies them as the Two Enneads, *psḏtj*. See above 6.2, Entranceway, notes 161-164. For the scene in the Papyrus of Ani see: R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), plate 34 = my Plate 477.

181 The five remaining scenes are the speeches of Thoth and of Seshat; the two scenes of the Prince-Regent Ramesses offering to his deified father Seti, Isis, and one of the two Enneads; and the now barely visible scene of Seti rowing before the gods, which spans the lintel of door to the Corridor. The sixth scene is completely lost, which was the one on the lintel of the door to the Sacred Precinct.

182 This text in found in the Butcher Hall's Annex. See K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I: Translations (1993),168, line I 195: 8.

183 Hall of the Barques , Bench-edge Bandeau-texts in K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II: Translations (1996), 327-328. See also K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004), 70-72 for her remarks on *jꜥḥ* and *jꜥḥ*-Hr. The *jꜥḥ-ḥr* barque and *jꜥh* were discussed above in 6.2 in relation to the scene of the lassoing of the long-horned bull.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

6.3 FORTRESS OF MENMAATRE

From the traces that remain, the evidence clearly suggests that an inner enclosure wall 2+ m. (7-8 ft.) thick, surrounded a large area above the Osireion, the Fortress of Menmaatre. [184] (Plate 24) It connected to the back notional southeastern corner of the Mansion of Millions of Years. [185] The notional western extent of the enclosure wall was never explored. However, the width of this enclosed Sacred Precinct can be accurately determined. It is 78 m. (256 ft.), which is just wide enough to house a structure the size of king Khasekhemwy's massive mud-brick enclosure, built at the end of the second dynasty, which is now called the Shunet el Zebib. [186] (Plates 16, 17) Importantly, there is more than sufficient space at the rear of the temple precinct to accommodate its 133.5 m. (438 ft.) maximum length. [187] A smaller wall about 1+ m. (4 ft.) thick divides the Sacred Precinct into two sections. The

184 See above 6.1 Proposed Reconstruction.

185 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 9. "Whether a special wall enclosed the Cenotaph and the back of the temple is hard to say... we found the stone foundation of a wall which, when followed up by Mr. Felton at the end of the season, appeared to connect up with the southwest [notional southeastern] corner of the temple."

186 Khasekhemwy stands fourteenth in the Seti's assemblage of royal ancestors in the Gallery of Lists that begins with Menes, who founded dynastic rule in ancient Egypt. He was the last ruler of the Second Dynasty, having reigned some 1300 years before Seti. Clayton points out that: "According to [one] theory, Khasekhem changed his name to Khasekhemwy after he had put down various rebellions and thus united the land, meaning 'the Two Powerful Ones Appear', the new name incorporated both the Horus falcon and the Seth animal on the serekh [the only king to have ever done that]. Prior to the restoration of peace, it appears that northern enemies struck south, since an inscription on a stone vase records: 'The year of fighting the northern enemy within the city of Nekheb'... The fighting must have been desperate if northerners could get so far south and into the capital city. The number of northerners killed is given as 47,209, represented as contorted bodies around the bases of two seated statues of Khasekhemwy... In both he wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt, indicative of his victory over northern Lower Egyptian enemies."

According to Rice, "Khasekhemwy was remembered throughout Egyptian history as a wise and compassionate ruler. He was said to be of gigantic stature; certainly his reputation and the benign shadow which he cast over subsequent generations of kings suggests a man of more than ordinary powers." As such and as re-uniter of the Two Lands, this royal ancestor would have been worthy of special veneration. This may well be a major or perhaps the primary reason behind Seti's decision to incorporate, in essence, the same size enclosure, his Fortress of Menmaatre, into his temple complex. Thus, like Khasekhemwy, Menmaatre, the seventy-sixth king in the line of royal ancestors would tower over the subterranean Osireion, where Horus and kingship are conceived on the first occasion as part of his state sponsored program of *wḫm mswt*, thereby perpetuating the divine kingship of his royal ancestors

For the quotations in this note see: P. Clayton, Chronicle of the Pharaohs (1994), 28-29 and M. Rice, Egypt's Legacy (2003), 100. For additional comments on Khasekhemwy's reign see: E. Teeter, Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization (2011), 232-232 with photo; T. Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt (1999), 91-97; and I. Regulski, "Investigating a new Dynasty 2 necropolis at South Saqqara" in BMSAES 13 (2009), 221-237.

187 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 159. 133.5 m. x 77.7 m. A. Mariette, Abydos II (1880), 47 and plate 68. His earlier measurements including the outer enclosure wall 131 m. 30 cm. x 78 m. 32 cm. The measurements for the Fortress, which enclosed the Sacred Precinct are based on Frankfort's plan (Plate 24: Schematic Ia), which is drawn to scale.

length of the larger area, which is over the subterranean Osireion, is 133.5 m. (438 ft.), the same as the Khasekhemwy enclosure. In fact, a wall that length would end directly above the portion of the Entrance Passage of the subterranean Osireion, where the decoration begins. Recall that the first 32 m. (105 ft.) of the Entrance Passage is undecorated mud-brick and it would lie outside of the Fortress of Menmaatre (the inner enclosure wall), which enclosed the area I have named the Sacred Precinct. (Plates 25, 26) It is this detail, the ending of the inner enclosure wall directly above the beginning of the decoration in the Entrance Passage below it, combined with the fact that it is the same width as Khasekhemwy's enclosure that allows for this reconstruction. It also suggests that the Sacred Precinct above and the Osireion below were designed to form an integrated unit. Of course, until the limits of the notional western extent of the enclosure wall can be verified, it must be considered a hypothesis. One could also reasonably argue that since the Sacred Precinct is clearly the same width as the Khasekhemwy enclosure, the Fortress of Menmaatre would have been the same size length. (Plate 25) This in my opinion is less likely, since the section containing the entrance to the Treasury and Archives complex, Mariette's esplanade and perhaps even the House of Life (see below) was sectioned off from the rest of the Sacred Precinct by the smaller divider wall, it clearly served a different function than that of the ceremonial area above the subterranean Osireion. Furthermore, because of the particular layout of the Osireion underneath the ceremonial area of the Sacred Precinct, it would have been the same size as the Khasekhemwy enclosure, unlikely simply a coincidence. Both the second dynasty enclosure and the sectioned off area of the Sacred Precinct above the Osireion, were vast open areas where rituals were performed. As noted, among the ritual uses for Khasekhemwy's second dynasty enclosure, O'Connor has suggested that: “It is possible the enclosure walls themselves were the focus for some of the rituals occurring within or around them. Later sources refer to ritual or ceremonial circumambulations by the king around city walls or temple enclosures, e.g. in connection with coronation rituals and sed-festival celebrations.” [188] This may also go a long way in explaining why Seti incorporated such a structure in his temple complex. The rituals that were to be enacted in the Sacred Precinct, many of which were part of the annual coronation ceremonies, have been discussed above.

188 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 178.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

6.4 TREASURY AND ARCHIVES COMPLEX

In the Sacred Precinct to the notional east of the Stairway Passage and the staircase leading up to the roof was a concealed raised door that opened to a group of five chambers serving as the Treasury and storehouse for important temple archives. (Plate 39) "These are situated at a height of about 2.50 m. above the ground level of the eastern part of the southern [notional eastern] wing, and as originally planned, had no direct communication with either this wing or the main body of the temple."[189] This area on the notional eastern side of the Sacred Precinct was sectioned off by a smaller wall which probably connected to the far side of the inner enclosure wall. It also separated the two staircases. (Plates 25, 26) "Mariette writes of an esplanade outside this portion of the temple; but careful digging [by Caulfeild some forty years later] has produced nothing but broken pots."[190]

"The treasury in the temple of Seti I at Abydos bears in its ground plan a striking resemblance to that of Medinet Habu... the only entrance is by a doorway in the outer west wall [the exterior rear wall of the temple opening to the Sacred Precinct]. Again we find a central vestibule with two pairs of rooms on either side. The floor of the treasury lies about 1 m below the doorway but is about [2.50]-3 m. above the level of the other rooms in the south [notional east] wing. The most surprising aspect is the appearance of the doorway. (Plates 482, 483, 484) Like its counterpart at Medinet Habu, it gives the impression of having been cut through a relief decorating the facade. This impression is strengthened by the fact that the relief shows evidence of recutting. It depicts Ramesses II standing opposite his father Seti I [originally a god holding an ankh], and the latter's left arm, which originally stretched out in front of him, holding a staff, was altered so that it bends back across his chest [holding a crook instead and between the two as Zayed had suggested was probably an offering-table].[191] As at

189 A. Zayed, "The Archives and Treasury of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos" ASAE 65 (1983), 19. A. El-Sawy, "A New Discovery at the Sety I Temple in Abydos" in Z. Hawass, L. Brock (eds.) Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century (2003), 427 and 431 n. 14. Commenting on this five room complex, El-Sawy noted: "As for the level of the base of the northern [notional western] wall of the library (or so-called archive), it is higher (by approximately 50 centimeters [20 inches]) than the base of the pathway and the west [notional south] wall of the Hall of Barques. There appears to be no connection between the base of the location examined and the base of the library. This indicates that the library is a separate building [correct so far] built during a later period (perhaps at the end of the rule of Ramesses II or in the reign of Merenptah)." Unfortunately, the data presented only indicates that it is a separate building. It does not mean that it was built later, especially since it was originally decorated by Seti I. The Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion acts as a buttress and supports the rear of Seti's temple. It too is built at a different level, but it had to have been constructed at the same time as Seti's temple, as Frankfort noted in his excavation report. See H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 9-10.

190 A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902, reprint 1989), 9. It is possible that the rubble Caulfeild found may have served as a base for the limestone or sandstone esplanade, which had already been carted off by the locals.

191 A. Zayed, "The Archives and Treasury of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos" ASAE 65 (1983), 19.

Medinet Habu, however, the heavy lintel shows that the entrance is part of the original design.... therefore, the entrance to the treasury was intentionally hidden from view." [192]

"The main entrance gives access to a hall [Anteroom E], measuring 10.13 m. (33.2 ft.) long, and 5.3 m. (17.4 ft.) wide...The northern and southern [notional western and eastern] walls are each pierced by two doorways, which give access to pairs of rooms lying at right angles, to the hall..." [193] (Plate 39) Each of the side chambers are approximately 12.3 m. (40 ft.) long and 4.3 m. (14 ft.) wide. All of the paintings on the walls and doorways were decorated by Seti I. A number of doorways and jambs had been carved by Merenptah, along with the unfinished partly carved northern wall of the vestibule. [194] (Plates 485, 486) This double scene spans the entire length of the wall, effectively dividing it into two halves, and mirroring the arrangement for the two pairs of rooms. At its center are two back to back reliefs of Osiris, who stands on a base of *mꜣʿt*. Before each, the king is depicted with arms raised in praise. "Behind the king, but facing in the opposite direction, stands the god Thoth. He wears the *ꜣtf*-crown, and carries the ankh in his right hand. His left-hand is slightly extended and his fingers closed, as though holding the *wꜣs*-scepter. This has never been sculptured, but faint traces of it in paint may be seen. The [right] wall in front of Thoth is now blank except for a few faint red lines, apparently from a painted inscription. At some late time, probably when the temple was being used as a Coptic convent, a doorway forced through the lower part of the wall in this place, giving access to the first hall leading out of the slaughter court. [But, it has since been resealed as seen in the photo on Plate 486.] The scene on the northern [notional west] half of the eastern [notional northern] wall was intended to duplicate that just described, but the figure of Thoth was never completed. [As can be seen in the two plates], the workmanship displayed on the completed figures is of a high order, in respect of both drawing and modeling. It would appear as though the masons had worked directly over Seti's original paintings, just as the masons of Ramesses II had done here, in the Hall of Barques." [195]

Rooms A and B are explicitly designated as treasuries. The inscription on the left jamb of the doorway of Room A reads:

> All that enters into the Dual Treasury, *pr-ḥḏ-pr*, of the Mansion [*ḥwt*] of Millions of Years of the Dual King, Menmaatre, (consisting) of
> gold, silver, lapis lazuli, turquorise and every precious stone (of) every land,
> (of) the God's Land [Punt], all the [gifts/marvels] of the [flat lands/Two Lands?]
> and hill countries, which Re created in primeval times, flooding in there,

192 W. Hovestreydt, "Secret Doors and Hidden Treasure: Some Aspects of Egyptian Temple Treasuries from the New Kingdom" in J. van Dijk (ed.), Essays in Honour of Herman te Velde (1997), 188. Contra David who erroneously concluded that: "This doorway obviously did not exist in the time of Seti, or in the earlier part of the reign of Ramesses II." R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 161.

193 A. Zayed, "The Archives and Treasury of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos" ASAE 65 (1983), 22.

194 Ibid., 23-27.

195 Ibid., 22-23.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

> [by] million upon million, they grow..... the son of the sun [Seti Merenptah ….....]. [196]

The text on the right jamb of the doorway of Room B reads:

> All that enters into the Treasury, *pr-ḥḏ*, of the Mansion [*ḥwt*] of Millions of Years
> of the Dual King Menmaatre, [….], (consisting) of gold, silver and every precious stone,
> as the tribute of all the foreign lands, totaled up by millions, hundred-thousands,
> ten-thousands, thousands, hundreds and tens by Thoth, Lord of the Eight [Hermopolis],
> residing in the temple of Menmaatre, […..]. [197]

Worth noting is the diminutive series totaled up by Thoth. Structurally its six components; millions, hundred-thousands, ten-thousands, thousands, hundreds and tens parallels that for the six pieces of the Udjat-eye; 1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, 1/64. In its clever design, both series have a "missing" component making the allusion to the Udjat-eye complete. No doubt, Thoth did this with his own fingers. The Udjat-eye is synonymous with offerings. Here they are of gold, silver and every precious stone as tribute of all the foreign lands. Unfortunately, no trace remains of the depiction of the scales on which the tribute would have been weighed as is seen in the Treasury scene at Medinet Habu. (Plate 487)

Whether Rooms C and D were also specifically designated as Treasuries is less clear. The left notional north door jamb inscription of Room C is completely destroyed. In the other rooms, this is where the text naming the Treasury occurs. [198] On the right door jamb of Room C, the fragmentary text begins "All who enter the temple, *ḥwt*...", omitting mention of the treasury. On the notional north door jamb of Room D, the text closely parallels those found in Rooms A and B, so that Kitchen has reasonably restored the obliterated word "Treasury" in his translation.

> "What enters into the [Treasury?] of Ptah, Lord of Truth,
> residing in the Temple of Menmaatre, (consisting) of
> silver, gold, and of all that exists, totaled up [….....]." [199]

In addition to the gold, silver and precious stones stored in these chambers, "it is noteworthy that there are some paintings on the walls of these rooms which refer that it contains a number of large chests. The inscription concerning the chests mentioned most probably written on rolls of papyri, that

196 Author's translation based on K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I: Translations (1993), 169; and O. Sety, H. el Zeini, Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt (1983), 174.

197 Author's translation based on K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I: Translations (1993), 169. K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I (1975), I 197: 7-8 for the hieroglyphic text.

198 While the significance is unclear, the texts mentioning the Treasury are all located on the notional north jamb of the doorway.

199 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I: Translations (1993), 170. K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I (1975), I 197: 11 for the hieroglyphic text.

were stored in the chests. Besides, the god Thoth is prominent in many scenes on the walls of the rooms of the library. There are also two mentions of the king's annals [*gnwt*] (established in writing) Room B, east [notional north] wall, chest no. 6 and Room C east [notional north] wall chest no. 5. It is known from the famous stela of king Neferhotep [17th Dynasty] that such record of specifications were kept in the temple libraries.[200] This suggests that the chests contain papyri, moreover the god Thoth is prominent in the scenes on the walls, from all these documents one can suggest that these five rooms are the temple library or [more probable] its archive [where records as valuable as gold and silver were stored].”[201] Recall too that in Seshat's dedicatory inscription in the Stairway Passage for the Sacred Precinct and its temples, the goddess is 'Seshat the Mighty, Lady of Writing, presiding over the House of Books'. “Clement of Alexandria speaks, tantalizingly, of the forty-two books of Thoth.”[202] Seshat's address is structured so that it is written in exactly forty-two columns. “As is well known, there was held to be a canonical number of forty-two 'Souls of Re' [*bȝw-rˁ*, i.e. the sacred books (*ḥau*) of Re written down by Thoth]”[203] to which the forty-two columns of Seshat's address may subtly allude.

Other items for ritual use appear to have been stored in these rooms as well. A scene depicted in Room A on the west (notional south) wall shows Seti I and Thoth inspecting a number of golden objects which include two harps, vases and pectorals.[204] (Plate 488) The heavily damaged western (notional southern) wall of Room D also has traces of two golden harps.[205] A similar scene of a harp, vases, etc. is also found in the Treasury of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. (Plate 489) “Apart from storing gold, silver, and precious stones, temple treasuries served as centers for the storage and distribution of a great variety of commodities, some of them of a perishable nature. It goes without saying that these goods required much more storage space than was provided by the small storerooms found in the temple interior. In a discussion of the mudbrick magazines of the Ramesseum, Goyon has plausibly identified the northwest group of magazines as the temple's treasury.... Along the facade of the magazines runs a long portico, and at its western end is a stone dais with a flight of stairs leading up to it. Faint traces on the surface of this dais suggest that at one time a chapel built of light material stood on top of it. A similar dais is found in a court [the 'Reception Hall'] which gave access to the magazines of the mortuary temple [the Mansion of Millions of Years] of Seti I at Abydos.”[206]

200 J. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt Historical Records I (1906), 334.

201 A. El-Sawy, “A New Discovery at the Sety I Temple in Abydos” in Z. Hawass, L. Brock (eds.) Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century (2003), 426-427.

202 R. Jasnow, K. Zauzich, The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica I Texts (2005), 28.

203 Ibid., 27.

204 R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 160.

205 A. Zayed, “The Archives and Treasury of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos” ASAE 65 (1983), 70. This study is a comprehensive record of the much ruined scenes and texts in the five rooms of the Archives and Treasury.

206 W. Hovestreydt, “Secret Doors and Hidden Treasure: Some Aspects of Egyptian Temple Treasuries from the New Kingdom” in J. van Dijk (ed.), Essays in Honour of Herman te Velde (1997), 202.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

(Plates 19, 18) Originally thought to have been the palace and magazines attached to Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years by Ghazouli, who excavated the area,[207] it is now recognized to be just a large magazine complex. (Plate 22) O'Connor observed that: “Theban mortuary temples [Mansions of Millions of Years] were usually surrounded on three sides by large brick-built magazines, which filled much of the precinct. These were intended for grain and other materials delivered from the large estates which, throughout Egypt, supported the economy of any major temple. But, while Seti's Abydos temple probably had magazines on either side, the precinct area behind it was seemingly left clear of major structures because the Osireion lay below it.... The Theban model might also have suggested a ceremonial palace attached to the local south side of the first court, and apparently such a palace existed at Abydos. In his Theban tomb, a scene shows Nebwennef, High Priest of Amun, being appointed by Ramesses II while the latter was in the palace at Abydos. The displacement of the magazines into this area [likely because of the requirement for an open Sacred Precinct above the Osireion], however, must in turn have required the palace to be built elsewhere, perhaps further to the southeast.”[208] Zuhdi in an interesting article about the South [notional east] Wing of Seti's temple, notes: “That this complex was, in fact, used as a storage magazine by Seti and his immediate successors is generally agreed. If an inscription carved into the rock just below the Third Cataract at Nuri – and dedicated to protecting the rights of the dependents of the Abydos temple of Seti, among who are mentioned 'gold-washers' – is any indication, then Ghazouli's 'palace' was really just a temple treasury, where gold was kept. Its lack of windows and the single approach through the Reception Hall would then make good sense.”[209] (Plate 490) That the magazine complex is connected to the Treasury is supported by a strategically placed inscription on one of the ten columns in the Reception Hall. At the rear of the hall to the immediate left of the dais on the side of the column facing it are the remains of an inscription ending with the words “... beloved of (Hathor) residing in the August Treasury, *pr-ḥḏ*.”[210] (Plate 491) Its location would seems to suggest that one or more of the storerooms behind and to the notional south is/are the 'August Treasury'. The fact that the Treasury storerooms are found in two different areas of the complex of the Mansion of Millions of Years should not be surprising. The 'August Treasury' as part of the magazine complex is in the profane portion of the temple complex, whereas the five-room Treasury and Archives are located within the Sacred Precinct. Each serves a different function. The 'August Treasury' likely contained gold, silver and other precious materials yet to be converted and worked into sacred statues and ritual paraphernalia for the service of the king and gods. Once converted in the workshops, they would then be stored in the Treasury and Archives Complex within the Sacred Precinct, or placed in their proper places in the temples of the Seti I complex.

207 E. Ghazouli, “The Palace and Magazines Attached to the Temple of Sety I at Abydos and the Facade of this Temple” ASAE 58 (1964), 99-186.

208 D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009), 48.

209 O. Zuhdi, “Apropos of the South Wing of Seti I's Temple at Abydos” KMT A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt 8:2 (1997), 47.

210 E. Ghazouli, “The Palace and Magazines Attached to the Temple of Sety I at Abydos and the Facade of this Temple” ASAE 58 (1964), 140 fig. 45.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

6.5 SPECULATION ON THE HOUSE OF LIFE

The fact that Thoth, the Mighty, the Tongue of Re, Master of Speech, and Seshat, the Mighty, Lady of Writing, presiding over the House of Books, *pr-mḏꜣt*, are depicted and make major dedicatory addresses in the Stairway Passage, the Entranceway of the Sacred Precinct with its multiple temples, suggest that this might be a good place to look for the location of the House of Life.[211] Both deities are directly associated with the House of Life, but direct references to such an association with Seshat are rare.[212] "The writers of 'the House of Life' are especially under the supervision of Thoth.[213] Given the House of Life's probable close proximity to the Osireion, particularly relevant here is Gardiner's observation. "In another way also Osiris may possibly have occupied a central position in the conception of the House of Life. If, as I have conjectured, the name of the institution referred to the divinely inspired writings to vivify that which was dead, no fitter object to benefit by their potency could have been found than Osiris himself, he being the prototype of all the dead. No doubt the Books of the Dead of which hundreds are found in our museums were characteristic products of the House of Life. On its medical side the House of Life naturally had a vivifying function (*sʿnḫ hry ḫꜣyt*), and magic possessed a similar aim."[214] Gardiner's point to a central role of Osiris in the House of Life is precisely why Seti had to reestablish it in the wake of the Amarna Heresy, as part of his state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt t*o restore *mꜣʿt*. "In the city of Akhenaten at Amarna: there excavators found bricks stamped with the hieroglyphs for 'House of Life' [written: *pr ʿnḫ pr*[215]] from a building complex adjacent to the Storage Chamber of Documents of Pharaoh (for storing state correspondence)."[216] At Amarna, all references to Osiris were completely forbidden in the city of the Aten. Therefore, the

211 D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009), 128. "Paftuaneith's [Dynasty 26] building activities were extensive, but peripheral to the temple [the temple of Khentamentiu (Osiris)] – he constructed a new enclosure wall of brick and renewed the 'ruined' House of Life, a typical appendage to temples and described by Miriam Lichtheim as an institution in which 'medicine, magic, theology, ritual and dream interpretation' were 'studied and practiced'." From this we learn that there was at least one House of Life that existed in Abydos, and it was outside the temple proper but within the temple precinct's enclosure wall, as well as some of its many varied functions.

212 A. Gardiner, "The House of Life" JEA 24 (1938), 174-178. In his postscript, he adds Cerny's multiple examples of Isis or Nephthys as 'mistress of the House of Life'. This clearly indicates a direct Osirian connection with the House of Life.

213 C. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion (1973), 141.

214 A. Gardiner, "The House of Life" JEA 24 (1938), 178.

215 J. Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten: part III The Central City and the Official Quarters (1951), pl. XIX (plan), LXXXIII, 6 (the seal impression).

216 University College London, "Ancient Egypt Knowledge and production: the House of Life" (2003): www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/museum/museum2.html

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Osirian ritual core connected with the House of Life (see below) would not have existed, nor the production of the Books of the Dead, all being replaced by the Aten theology.

That the House of Life was adjacent to the Storage Chamber of Documents of Pharaoh at Amarna provides an important clue to its possible location in Seti's temple complex at Abydos. The entrance area to the Treasury and Archives complex in the Sacred Precinct was walled off from the larger ceremonial district directly above the subterranean Osireion. (Plate 26) Chambers B and C of the Treasury and Archives complex housed the king's annals, *gnwt*, which were established by Thoth and Seshat to mark out the course of king's administration.[217] Their presence suggests that the House of Life would in all likelihood have been located nearby, probably at the opposite end of this enclosed area.[218] (Plate 26) This secluded section of the Sacred Precinct would also provide the necessary requirements called for in the description of the House of Life in Papyrus Salt 825:

> "As for the House of Life at Abydos...
> Geb is its ground [the floor] and
> Nut its heaven [the sky, its ceiling]
> The hidden one who rests within,
> it is the great god, *nṯr ʿɜ*, [Osiris].
> The four outer bodies consist of a stone
> that contains two wings
> and its lower part [the floor] is sand
> and its outside has severally four doors,
> one south, one north, one west, and one east.
> It shall be hidden and very large.
> It shall not be known [secret]
> nor shall it be seen [secluded];
> but the sun [Re] shall look [down]
> on its mystery..."[219]

From the description and the accompanying vignette, (Plates 492, 493) the secluded inner core of the House of Life was open to the sky (Nut) with sand for the floor (Geb), so that the sun (Re) could shine down daily on its mystery (Osiris). This union of the life-giving rays of the sun god Re which would radiate down on the statue, the body of Osiris, when Re passed directly overhead at high noon mirrored

217 C. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion (1973), 145. Thoth also determines the length of the Pharaoh's life, i.e. his reign.

218 When a satellite mapping project of the area behind Seti's main temple does eventually come to pass, the area at the notional southeastern corner formed by the inner enclosure walls should be carefully examined for any possible remaining traces of the foundations for the House of life.

219 K. Nordh, Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings (1996), 111. See also his extensive commentary on the House of Life, *pr-ʿnḫ*, 110-113 and 193-216.

the union of Re and Osiris in the sixth hour of the night at the depths of the *ḏuat* and completed the full twenty four hour daily cycle. "Wente, who saw in the union of the two gods [Osiris and Re] a union of 'infinite absolute eternity' [*ḏt*-time] and 'cyclical eternity' [*nḥḥ*-time], which means a temporary realization of a 'conceptual potential eschatology', in other words a daily actualization of a timeless mythic pattern."[220] That the nightly rituals performed in the subterranean Entrance Passage of the Osireion were connected to the daily rites in the House of Life suggests that its secluded inner sanctum would have shared the same axis as that of the Entrance Passage, i.e. following the path of the sun and completing the solar circuit. This also permits a more accurate determination of its probable location in the Sacred Precinct. (Plate 26)

Beyond the important daily uniting of Re and Osiris in the House of Life, there were other powerful rituals associated with it. "The House of Life was conceived as a microcosm of the world, where Shu and Tefnut [the first manifestation of the unfolding of creation emerging from the creator Atum] fashioned – at least in the case we will examine here [Papyrus Salt 825] – a statuette that represented the body of Osiris and bore the name Life…. It seems, then, that the figurine was made and brought to life at a moment of critical importance for the universe; this called for special precautions. The ritual took place on the occasion of Osiris' death, a moment of cosmic rupture. It is significant that it unfolded in the House of Life, the place of writing *par excellence.* Writing harbored a power that assigned the ritual text its true *raison d'etre*: it was that secret book 'which breaks spells, which binds conjurations, which arrests conjurations, which intimidates the entire universe. It contains life, it contains death.' By way of all the rituals they put at men's disposal, written texts, 'emanations of Re' [the 42 sacred books of Re written by Thoth], made it possible to maintain the equilibrium of the [created] universe. They also permitted the statuette, a support of life, to escape destruction. 'You will be protected from sudden death, you will be protected from fire, you will be protected from the sky, it will not fall and the earth will not flounder and Re will not make ashes with the gods and goddesses.' An expression of the syncretistic union of Osiris and Re, the figurine had to 'fulfill the important role of acting as support for the life of the world'. Indeed, it was simultaneously Re and Osiris; it was also, as Osiris was told, 'the image of your heart'. This heart, seat of the creative thought that first conceived the world, made the effigy of Osiris-Re [fashioned by Shu and Tefnut] a support and guarantor of the 'Life' that it itself was and that was preserved by this human ritual, this text is read aloud."[221]

"Mythological knowledge can also be found closely associated with ritual texts, as in the Ptolemaic p.Salt 825, a ritual handbook for 'The End of the Work'. This appears to have been one of

220 J. Jorgensen, "Myth and Cosmography: on the union of Re and Osiris in two types of religious discourse" in Horn, Marteen, et. al. (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2010 (2011), 77, citing E. Wente, "Funerary beliefs of the ancient Egyptians. An interpretation of the burials and texts" Expedition Magazine 24:2 (1982), 22-23.

221 D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996), 173-175.

the closing rituals of the Osirian festival in the month of Thoth.[222] As part of this a small statue of Re and Osiris, veiled in the skin of a ram, was prepared in the House of Life. The secrecy surrounding this statue is dense. Shu, Tefnut, Geb and Nut are in hiding, that is they have returned to their potential state of existence as part of, and in preparation for, the union. Tefnut hides in the Benben, where she helps burn the enemies of the god, and the united god, who is neither heard nor seen, reduces them to ashes. In the ritual the enemies, probably waxen statues, are burned in four braziers. The immense powers concentrated in the union of the gods prescribe the utmost care from the priests handling them, since both 'life and death is in it'. Although this phrase is found as a characteristic of other ritual texts, it is probably best understood here as a reference to the living god of the heavens and the dead god of the Underworld, united in a state identical to that of the universe before creation, before life and death had been separated, as we read in a short cosmogony from the 30th Dynasty. Papyrus Salt 825 has a mythological section that outlines the birth, life and death of Osiris as well as providing aetiologies for the various substances used in the preparation of the statue. While the union of the two gods is not part of this section, in nevertheless frames the ritual actualization of the union in a mythological discourse... As these examples demonstrate, cosmology and mythology were not primarily a source of beliefs but of ritually applicable knowledge, as cosmographic and mythological discourses could serve the same ends as carriers of ritual power."[223]

Further supporting the House of Life's probable location in the section of the Sacred Precinct opposite the Treasury and Archives complex, is its close proximity and likely easy access to the profane administrative areas of the temple complex. (Plate 26) They would have been accessed through a side gate in the notional eastern part of the inner enclosure wall. These included the magazines and profane Treasury, the workshops, and the large complex of rooms of the Slaughter House. "The priests who slaughtered the sacrificial beasts were apparently not simple butchers: the Greek texts identify them as lower officiants, and certain Egyptian texts rank them among the personnel of the House of Life, showing that they had to know certain principles of religious symbolism, and that their function greatly surpassed a simple material act: the animals destined for the gods had to be selected and killed according to certain standards."[224]

222 While there were clearly multiple occasions for the use of this protective rite, the death of Osiris occurred on III *ꜣḫt* 17, the seventeenth day of the lunar month, according to Plutarch. "In some New kingdom hemerologies (lists of lucky and unlucky days) III *ꜣḫt* 17 is described as a day on which great lamentations were made by Isis and Nephthys for Osiris." G. Priskin, "The Dendera Zodiacs as narratives of the myth of Osiris, Isis, and the child Horus" Egypte Nilotique et Mediterraneene [ENiM] 8 (2015),160. See www.enim-egyptologie.fr/index.php?page=enim-8&n=9

223 J. Jorgensen, "Myth and Cosmography: on the union of Re and Osiris in two types of religious discourse" in Horn, Marteen, et.al. (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2010 (2011), 77-78.

224 S. Sauneron, Priests of Ancient Egypt (1980), 70-71.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

6.6 CELESTIAL ALIGNMENT AND RELTIONSHIP TO THE SACRED ABYDENE LANDSCAPE

Recall that the Entrance Archway of the Osireion points to the moon at the northern limit of its nineteen year cycle. It also appears to be aligned not directly to the massive Khasekhemwy enclosure in North Abydos, but rather to the buried enclosure of Djer and/or the unidentified enclosure behind it, which lies slightly to the right (north) of it.[225] (Plate 4) Since the Middle Kingdom, Djer's tomb was considered to be that of Osiris. Thus, the alignment forms a symbolic link between the buried cultic enclosure of "Osiris" and his subterranean temple complex, the Osireion. If the unidentified enclosure is that of Menes as Bestock suggests,[226] then it would also connect it to the beginning of dynastic rule in Egypt as well. Like the Osireion, the buried enclosure of Djer and perhaps that of Menes along with the massive standing enclosure of Khasekhemwy appear to have been cult centers and were not their tombs. This area of the enclosures held a special significance to the ancient Egyptians, no doubt tied to its early exclusive use by Egypt's first kings, its founding fathers.[227] It should be noted that the cultic assemblage of royal ancestors, the seventy-five deceased kings and Seti, in the Gallery of Lists in his Mansion of Millions of Years lies on the transverse axis of the temple. (Plates 20, 38 no.3) Therefore, it too is aligned to this same group of ancestor cult centers, a fitting orientation for the place where the daily offerings for the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors were made.[228] The king and crown prince

225 See above 4.1 Osiris, Horus and the Moon: Axial Alignment of the Entranceway.

226 L. Bestock, "Brown University Abydos Project: Preliminary Report on the First Two Seasons" JARCE 48 (2012), 41-44.

227 "After the end of the reign of Khasekhemwy, when later kings shifted their place of burial to the north, near the capital of Memphis, the area of the low desert at the edge of the Nile Valley where the kings of Dynasties 1 and 2 had constructed their monumental cultic enclosures appears to have been protected, perhaps even sacred, space. While life in the nearby town continued uninterrupted, and extensive cemeteries serving the town's population developed both to the north and south, the area of the enclosures themselves appears to have been assiduously avoided for around 700 years. No tombs or other structures were built there, no burials were made, and the area may have been considered sacrosanct because of its early exclusive use by Egypt's first kings. Eventually, around 2000 BCE in the early Middle Kingdom, after a period of significant political change known as the First Intermediate Period, the area of the enclosures saw the first intrusions in the construction of tombs, accompanying offering chapels, and simple interments in the desert sands. In fact, very quickly this part of Abydos became the main cemetery at the site and was filled with funerary constructions, which frequently were built on or cut into the buried remains of the early royal monuments. The enclosure of king Khasekhemwy still stood, however, and it continued to be respected in the way the entire area had been previously. Tombs were built and burials made up to the exterior sides of its walls, but they did not intrude upon the interior, a pattern that continued for another 1000 years, [which, of course, was hundreds of years after Seti's reign]." M. Adams, "Encounters with Ancient Egyptians" (post March 2, 2012) at: www.abydos.org/blog/

228 See R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981), 83-97, for a discussion of the Ritual of the Royal Ancestors.

Ramesses are depicted there making the offerings. (Plate 447) They are positioned in such a manner that they look to the notional west, facing both the list of the cartouches of the royal ancestors immediately before them and the ancient cultic enclosures of Khasekhemwy, Djer and Menes out in the North Cemetery. (Plate 4) Seti calls out:

> "Hail to you, O Ptah-Sokar South of his Wall!
> Come that I may do for you the things that
> Horus did for his father Osiris." [229]

The skillfully positioned Seti temple complex is such that the rear temenos wall with its Desert Pylon, if it were extended to the northwest would diagonally intersect the monumental Khasekhemwy enclosure in the North Cemetery, "which is by far the largest monument to survive from Early Dynastic Egypt", [230] and thereby conceptually linking the two. We have already seen that the Entrance Archway to the Osireion in the skewed notional western temenos wall points to the moon at the northern limit of its nineteen year cycle. It also appears to be aligned to the buried enclosure of Djer (Osiris) and/or the unidentified enclosure (of Menes?) behind it. This positioning of Seti's temple complex in relationship to Khasekhemwy's ancient ceremonial enclosure also creates a celestial and mythical link between the two. When viewed from Seti's temple at the time of the culmination of the Osiris mysteries and the subsequent annual coronation rites during Seti's reign and that of his son, Ramesses II, [231] the constellation Orion, which is the stellar manifestation of Osiris, [232] can be see rising in the eastern horizon not long after sunset. (Plate 416) Visually, *sꜣḥ*-Orion appears to be on his back, face up when he rises, standing upright during the middle of the night as he passes directly overhead Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and the Sacred Precinct with its statue of Osiris open to the night sky in the House of Life. As the night progresses *sꜣḥ*-Orion, because of its large size, appears to descend face down into the massive mudbrick enclosure on the western horizon, the fortress of Osiris Khasekhemwy, [233] and by extension the fortress of Menmaatre and the entrance to the Osireion. Just before sunrise, Osiris-Orion disappears from the night sky as the god re-enters face down into the underworld, the *ḏuat*. With that sunrise, the coronation of the king as the living Horus on earth, son of Osiris and Re, is celebrated and renewed as is the affirmation of Osiris as Ruler of the West with the feast of Nehebkau, 'Uniter of the

229 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I: Translations (1993), 153. See above 1.4, The Realm of Osiris Re-created.

230 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 167.

231 The wandering Egyptian civil calendar had reset itself so that during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II the seasons were in their "proper places" and the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius, marking the start of the New Year, occurred during the first month of the first season, Akhet (*ꜣḫt*). See n. 236 below.

232 Since the time of the Pyramid Texts, Osiris was associated with the constellation Orion, *sꜣḥ*. See J. Griffiths, The Origins of Osiris and his Cult (1980), 155-158; and P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 18-56.

233 Although Osiris is not attested in Khasekhemwy's reign, in Seti's list of royal ancestors in the Gallery of Lists , Khasekhemwy is the fourteenth ancestor king and like all others is determined by a seated figure of the god Osiris.

Kas' (of Horus and Osiris). [234] It is I *prt* 1, the Second New Year's Day, *wp rnpt*. [235] It is the day of the Blacked-out Moon and marks the opening of a new planting season as the waters of the inundation recede and with it the revival of vegetation that springs forth from the efflux of Osiris.

Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and the Osireion were carefully designed in such a manner that *sꜣḥ*-Orion and thus Osiris would also play a crucial role in the determination of the First New Year's Day, *wp rnpt*, marked by another important celestial event, 120 days earlier on I *ꜣḫt* 1. [236] The role of *sꜣḥ*-Orion here was (and still is) literally to point to the place on the horizon where Sothis, the brightest star in the Egyptian sky, and a stellar manifestation of Isis called *spdt*, [237] would reappear in the sky after having been absent from it for seventy days. Her rebirth (heliacal rising) from the rejuvenating *ḏuat* occurred shortly before sunrise when she would unite with her father Re. This event signaled the start of the New Year. The opening of the New Year saw the onset of the Nile inundation, the life blood of Egypt. Since the age of the Pyramid Texts, it was associated with the efflux, (*rḏw*) of Osiris, a poignant symbol of the regenerative power of this great god, the Lord of Abydos. [238]

The method that the ancient Egyptians devised to mark this celestial event of such vital importance to them is not only brilliant in its simplicity, but also highly symbolic and could only have been an

234 H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (1978), 104.

235 On the Second New Year's Day see: A. Spalinger, "The Date of Amunhotep II's First Accession" SAK 40 (2011), 387-397; and his "Remark on Renewal" SAK 17 (1990), 289-294.

236 This was the case for the ideal year when the heliacal rising of Sothis actually fell on I *ꜣḫt* 1. But because of the Egyptian civil calendar year consisted of 365 days and the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius occurred every 365 ¼ days, after four years the heliacal rising would fall one day later in the civil calendar. The cycle would reset every 1461 Egyptian civil years when the heliacal rising of Sothis again occurred on I *ꜣḫt* 1. See R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 51. With the civil calendar back in alignment with the heliacal rising of Sothis, the seasons would return to their proper places, as was the case during Seti I's reign. This last occurred near the end of the Second Dynasty when Khasekhemwy ruled or at the start of the Third Dynasty in Zoser's reign. This may have been another consideration and perhaps a major one in Seti's decision to recreate or better still "renew" the Fortress of Khasekhemwy with a duplicate of his own, the Fortress of Menmaatre, thereby adding a calendrical connection as well as a direct link to the prior period when the seasons were in their proper places, which may well have been the date of the origin of the Egyptian civil calendar. If correct, this would certainly fit well with Seti's state sponsored program of *wḥm mswt* to restore *mꜣʿt* after the Amarna Hersey, which had to reach back to the very beginning of (measured) time on the first occasion, *zp tpj*.

237 R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003), 167-168. "The goddess who personified the bright, first magnitude star Sirius (the 'dog star') was called Sopdet [*spdt*] by the Egyptians and Sothis by the Greeks. Her husband was Sah [*sꜣḥ*], the god of the neighboring constellation Orion... Thus the goddess was called 'bringer of the New Year and the Nile flood' and became associated at an early date with Osiris who symbolized this annual resurgence of the Nile and who was also personified in the night sky by the neighboring constellation Orion."

238 A. Winkler, "The Efflux That Issued From Osiris – A Study on *rḏw* in the Pyramid Texts" GM 211 (2006), 133. "... the efflux (*rḏw*), which exuded from Osiris... it expresses that he is in a state of completeness, just as the land of Egypt is complete after the inundation... This interpretation is in line with the idea that Osiris is a microcosmic reproduction in myth of the most important event for the ancient Egyptians, namely the yearly inundation. The inundation of the Nile was believed by the ancient Egyptians to originate at the first cataract in Elephantine. This belief is according to Assmann, very ancient and connects the flood of the Nile, with the efflux that exuded from Osiris, or more precisely, the efflux, which issued from his leg [specifically then the star Rigel, the front leg of the constellation Orion]... Kettel discusses the physical appearance of the Nile and the supposed nature of *rḏw*. He stresses the physical resemblance between the inundating Nile carrying decomposing plants that add a special color and an odor of rotting to the river. *rḏw*, if interpreted correctly as rotting bodily fluids, has a physical resemblance to the Nile during the inundation, green-browish, and carrying a strong smell [stench]."

integral component in the temple's original design. Indeed, the key to its identification by Leitz came from the dedicatory speech in the Stairway Passage by Seshat and the axis, more specifically the transverse axis of the temple itself. [239] The key statements from her address to Seti are as follows: [240]

> "I [Seshat] laid it out, together with Sokar.
> It was Ptah who did the work on it.
> I stretched out the measuring-cord within its walls,
> my mouth was (devoted) to it with great incantations,
> while Thoth was there with his books." [241]

It is clear from this that Seshat and Thoth were responsible for laying out the axis of the temple complex, while Seti I still reigned, connecting it to the original design.

> "You [Seti I] repeat renewal,
> and you begin to flourish youthfully like the Moon(-god).
> Indeed, you are youthful from season to season like Nun at his moment.
> Your destiny ('birth') is to repeat jubilees –
> (here's) life to your nostrils!
> (As) you are king of the entire land eternally [*nḥḥ*],
> so shall your Temple exist.
> You shine forth in the land like Orion at his moment,
> you being alive like Sothis." [242]

This section of Seshat's speech makes reference to the king at the beginning of the monthly lunar cycle; to Nun at his moment, the beginning of the inundation, a youthful manifestation of Nun; and to the king shining forth in the land at his moment as Orion, being alive like Sothis, where "alive" likely connotes being born and visible in the sky at her heliacal rising. Leitz suggests that should the last sentence quoted above contain an astronomical orientation, as will be shown that it does, it would definitely narrow down the possibilities and would have to concern a striking position of Orion and/or Sothis. [243]

Leitz determined that (1) at the time of the heliacal rising of Sothis, (2) the brightest star in the constellation Orion – the stellar manifestation of Osiris – Rigel would be passing over (3) the

239 C. Leitz, Studien zur agyptischen Astronomie (1989), 67.

240 For this important address by Seshat see above Staircase Passage in 6.2.

241 K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions I Translations (1993), 161.

242 Ibid., 162.

243 C. Leitz, Studien zur agyptischen Astronomie (1989), 67.

transverse axis of the temple.[244] It is the interaction of these three fundamental elements that creates the marker for an accurate witnessing of this sacred event from the portion of the roof top of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, that was accessible from the staircase leading up from the Sacred Precinct. The marker is formed for the observer by positioning himself facing eastward and parallel to the temple's transverse axis; then locating the prominent constellation *sꜣḥ* Orion-Osiris visible in the eastern sky; and creating an imaginary line connecting Rigel, the 'toe star', with the star, Saiph, of Orion's other leg and extending it down to the eastern horizon.[245] Sothis will become visible in the eastern horizon as Rigel nears the transverse axis. When Rigel is crossing the transverse axis, Sothis will be clearly visible just above the horizon within a few degrees of the imaginary line.[246] With the sunrise, Sothis enters the barque of Re, where her union with her father marks the start of the New Year. The New Year brings the life-giving waters. It is "the efflux that exuded from Osiris, or more precisely, the efflux which issued from his leg."[247] Rigel, 'the toe star' represents that leg. So here we find the imagery of Osiris-Orion's leg Rigel, the source of the inundation, not only bringing his efflux, the inundation, but also in a sense, lifting Isis-Sothis out of the *ḏuat*, the realm of Osiris at the time of her heliacal rising, as Rigel steps over and crosses the axis of his main cult center, i.e. the Osiris Complex at the rear of the Mansion of Millions of Years, where rituals were likely being performed

244 C. Leitz, Studien zur agyptischen Astronomie (1989), 67-69. His calculations showed that Sirius/Sothis should start to become visible at approximately 2.3 degrees in altitude, at that point the Azimuth of Rigel was 55.2 degrees southeast of north. Three minutes later Sirius had risen to an altitude of approximately 3 degrees above the horizon, the azimuth of Regal was 54.8 degrees. By extrapolation in another 5-6 minutes Rigel would pass directly over the transverse axis of 54 degrees with Sothis now clearly visible. The Egyptian-Spanish Mission for the Archaeoastronomy of Ancient Egypt in their observation of the heliacal rising of Sirius from the Djebel Thoth (Thoth Hill) in Thebes noted that: "our data force the observation of Sirius' heliacal rising at an angular height of nearly 9 degrees, both in 3000 and 2000 BC. However, according to our experience, this is highly overestimated since Sirius is perfectly visible at a height of 4 to 5 degrees, or even less, at the moment of its heliacal rising." See J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout, In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 229-230. Their observation tends to support Leitz's assumption of Sirius' visibility at so low to the horizon especially when considering the position of the sighting from a roof top on the edge of the desert at Abydos.

Given the precision of the temple's alignment, Leitz's calculations seem to suggest that the first moment of visibility of Sothis' return to the night sky was not the 'event' that the ancient Egyptians were trying to witness. Being that it is not yet I *ꜣḫt* 1 but still the night of epagomenal day 5, whose name is *ḥwn jmj šs.f* 'the child who is in its nest' [(pLeiden 346, II 5-III 4) see A. Spalinger, "Some Remarks on the Epagomenal Days in Ancient Egypt" JNES 54 (1995), 33-47}, perhaps the priests were tying to confirm that indeed the child was in its nest in preparation for the main event of *wp rnpt*, when 'Soped (Sothis) goes forth' (*prt spdt*) into the barque of Re (union with the sun disk) and opens the New Year at sunrise on I *ꜣḫt* 1 on the ideal calendar.

Leitz had hedged his conclusions because of the need for a more accurate determination of the orientation of the transverse axis. This has since been done and confirmed that Leitz's 54 degrees assumption is indeed accurate to + or - .5 degrees. See J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout, In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 348.

245 I designed this simple marker based on a method used today for locating the pole star, Polaris. It is unlikely to have been missed by the ancient Egyptian astronomer priests, because this simple technique greatly enhances the ability to observe the heliacal rising of Sirius, especially since heliacal risings are notoriously difficult to observe. Briefly, in its modern application, one must first find the easily recognizable constellation, the Big Dipper; then mark off a distance equal to five times the length between the front two stars, Merak and Dubhe, of the Big Dipper's ladle along an imaginary line that projects outward from those two stars. If the night is clear, the pole star will be visible.

246 While the line drawn from Rigel through Saiph down to the eastern horizon intersects the horizon a few degrees from where the actual heliacal rising of Sirius takes place, nothing else is happening in that part of sky along the horizon that could confuse her sighting. Recall too, Sirius is the brightest star in the sky so the observer's eye would be naturally drawn to the event.

247 A. Winkler, "The Efflux That Issued From Osiris" GM 211 (2006), 133. See also n. 238 above.

to assist in unfolding of this vital sacred event. The symbolism is quite clear in explicating the nature of this event and Osiris' key role in it. Here too should be added the comments by Goebs. "Orion is repeatedly given the epithet 'father of the gods', which Osiris can also bear... The epithet may refer to his function as the decanal constellation that preceded the appearance of Sothis (and the official New Year...), and thus opened the new annual cycle of the decans, which were 'born' in intervals of ten days. The term 'father' may therefore simply imply temporal precedence."[248] But viewed in the context here, Osiris-Orion as father also should be interpreted as the creator of the events: both the heliacal rising of Isis-Sothis, marking the start of the New Year; and the life-giving efflux, the inundation, that exudes from his leg.

The likely position on the roof where the observer would have stood to witness Rigel, the 'toe star' of *sꜣḥ*-Orion cross over the transverse axis of the temple can be adduced from the ceiling decoration in the Second Osiris Hall at the notional eastern end of the Osiris Complex. The ceiling is decorated with the same northern constellation panel and southern decanal panel as found in the sarcophagus chamber of Seti's tomb, KV 17. (Plates 413, 414, 146, 151, 156) "The one block in situ [on ceiling in Second Osiris Hall] of the northern constellation panel establishes that true north was observed and *not* the river orientation followed by Miss Calverley in her publication",[249] allowing for an accurate determination of the viewing point of the event from the roof top. The southern panel "is the prototype of a family of depictions of *rising* decans that Neugebauer and Parker designate as the third family [Seti I C]."[250] Note that "the orientation of the southern panel is astronomically correct, so that Orion precedes Sirius in the western motion of the southern sky."[251] Clagett provides a rather colorful description of the key scene. "Osiris-Sah, participating in the nightly westward motion of the sky, is running away from Isis-Sopdet; he turns his head eastward to look at the pursuing goddess; the bow of her boat is almost ramming the stern of his."[252] (Plate 157) A closer inspection of the scene shows that the bow of the barque of Isis-Sopdet is actually intertwined with the stern of Orion's barque. It is more likely that Orion, who looks back at the goddess, is actually pulling or towing her into position for her impending heliacal rising, rather than running away from the standing goddess, certainly not depicted in hot pursuit. In any event, the position marked on the roof for the observer, would have been directly above the barque of Orion on the ceiling underneath it, symbolically and magically linking the scene in the astronomical ceiling with the event unfolding in the sky.

The skillful design of Seti's temple complex integrated it with the surrounding sacred Abydene landscape. A natural elevation known as South Hill plays a key role. It lies along the main axis of

248 K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature (2008), 249.

249 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical texts III (1969), 16; referring to A. Calverley, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos I-IV (1933-1958).

250 M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science: Calendars, clocks and astronomy (1989), 235.

251 Ibid., 122.

252 Ibid., 122-123.

6. THE SACRED PRECINCT ABOVE

Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years and that of the Central Hall of the Osireion, through the rear 'Desert Pylon' some 1400 m. (5000 ft.) out in the desert. (Plates 6-7 blue line, 12) According to the German Archaeological Institute (DAI),[253] there are traces of a slightly recessed processional way leading out from the rear [Desert] Pylon in the direction of South Hill. However, it has not yet been traced further out into the open desert. About 70 m. (230 ft.) beyond the pylon, the processional route passes through a sizable landfill, 80 m. (260 ft.) x 50 m. (165 ft.), with numerous fragments of offering vessels typical of those at Umm el-Qaab. There may be other structures that are related to this processional axis. Two elevated points in the terrain which many large size mudbricks lie on the surface appear to be remnants of a wall. The pottery around them seems mainly to be Roman or from the late antique period. The two areas are each about 320 m. (1050 ft.) out from the Desert Pylon and are some 170 m. (560 ft.) apart from each other. An imaginary line connecting these two points intersect at a right angle to the processional way. Both are equal distance from the processional way. They suggest that these two structures may mark a demarcated area borders of a restricted sacred zone similar to the one formed by the stelae of Neferhotep I in the Wadi of Umm el-Qaab. South Hill seems to have played a special role in the cult of Osiris. It is deeply covered by late period offering ceramics. The processional route from Seti's temple and the Osireion to South Hill was used for a very long period, an indication of its importance. This processional way remained active at least until Ptolemaic times of which a Greek foundation inscription [on the Desert Pylon] can testify.[254] (Plate 494) The Roman ceramics along this processional route hint at its continued use in Roman times as well.

In the case of Umm el-Qaab, (Plate 6-7) the "cult was practiced there until the end of the 31st Dynasty. After this, neither inscriptional data nor archaeological material such as datable ceramic types indicates any subsequent activity. The implication is that, in Ptolemaic and Roman times, the annual processional festival no longer made its way to Umm el-Qaab and the tomb of Osiris there was no longer of significance. (Plates 6-7, 14, 13, 15) Mark Smith has in fact observed that: 'In the Graeco-Roman period... the tomb of Osiris... was thought to lie within the god's temple complex' at Abydos, and indeed a large cemetery of the Roman period was allowed – for the first time in Abydos' long history – to block the mouth of the processional valley, a good indication that the path was no longer used. The annual festival of Osiris was still celebrated, but perhaps in and around the Osiris temple itself. Or possibly, since the Seti temple was upgraded into a temple of Serapis in the Ptolemaic period, the processional festival went *there*, and treated the Osireion,... as the actual tomb of Osiris. Certainly the Osireion and its access tunnel were open throughout most of Abydos' last 1500 years, for they display graffiti running perhaps as late as the 3rd century AD."[255]

South Hill is at the nexus of three processional ways attesting to its great importance in the sacred Abydene landscape at least since Seti's reign. (Plate 6-7) The second connects the so-called Portal

253 U. Effland, A. Effland, "'Ritual Landscape' und 'Sacred Space'" MOSAIK Journal I (2010), 127-158. Author's translation from the German text. See MOSIAKjournal.com

254 W. Petrie, "A Foundation-Deposit Inscription from Abydos" Journal of Hellenic Studies 22 (1902), 377; U. Effland, A. Effland, "'Ritual Landscape' und 'Sacred Space'" MOSAIK Journal I (2010), 143.

255 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 135.

Temple of Ramesses II, which in fact was actually begun by Seti I in the metropolitan temple district of Osiris at Kom el-Sultan,[256] with South Hill and to the opening in the Great Wadi, that was already viewed by the early kings of the first dynasties as the entrance to the underworld.[257] (Plate 10) The importance of the concept of a symbolic gate to the Netherworld was reinforced by Seti's positioning his new Portal Temple in the metropolitan temple district where the annual "festival procession of Osiris emerged onto the desert" such that it is on a direct line of sight with the opening in the Great Wadi and intersects South Hill.[258] (Plate 6-7 red line)

The third is along a 300 m. (985 ft.) processional route from South Hill directly to Djer's tomb, forming a symbolic link between South Hill and the tomb of Osiris-Djer. (Plate 6-7 black line)

What then is the possible significance of this South Hill that Seti I had these cult and processional ways directly aligned to it?[259] Until South Hill is excavated, the role it played in the Osiris Mysteries will have to remain an open question. However, the DIA expects "a substantial improvement in understanding the integration of Umm el-Qaab into the Abydene ritual landscape", when they excavate South Hill.[260] Kees, however, may have already identified its symbolic significance. "In the mid-1980's borings were made by the DAI on the hill, which showed it to be only a natural elevation. Nevertheless, this was, perhaps, the original reason for the inclusion of the hill in the various cult and processional alignments. With the occasional [heavy] rainwater runoff from the wadi situated to the southwest and to the south, as can be clearly seen on aerial photographs, South Hill becomes surrounded but not flooded by the water. Perhaps South Hill was considered to be the mythical mound of creation, which appeared at the beginning of all things [*zp tpj*] as an island-like land [rising] out of the primordial waters",[261] called by the ancient Egyptians, Tatenen. The first occasion, *zp tpj*, was of particular importance to Seti as part of his official state sponsored program, *wḥm mswt*, for the conclusive restoration of *mɜʿt* after the Amarna Hersey.[262] South Hill as Tatenen, the visible primeval mound rising up out of the Abydene landscape on the first occasion, appears to be the focal point of Seti's redesign of the sacred Abydene landscape. By axial alignment and processional routes, it connected the tomb of Osiris, the new Portal Temple of the metropolitan Osiris complex, the ancient opening to the underworld in the Great Wadi, Seti's own Mansion of Millions of Years and the Central

256 P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I (2000), 184-185.

257 U. Effland, A. Effland, "'Ritual Landscape' und 'Sacred Space'" MOSAIK Journal I (2010), 144.

258 M. Adams, "Comments on C.H. Herzer, Jr., *Study of the Osirion at Abydos"* 2021 review. I thank Dr. Adams for catching and correcting the error of fact on the Portal Temple's axial alignment.

259 That Seti was responsible for the alignments of his Mansion of Millions of Years, the Central Hall of the Osireion and the Portal Temple, all structures that he founded, is self evident. It remains still to be determined if Seti constructed the processional way from South Hill to the tomb of Osiris, or if this was the work of another pharaoh. If it already existed, Seti may have enhanced it. The more likely case is that it is also of Seti's design, symbolically connecting South Hill to both the tomb of Osiris and the Osireion, as well as to the metropolitan temple complex of Osiris and his own Mansion of Millions of Years.

260 U. Effland, "Abydos, Umm el-Qaab – The Cult of Osiris in Abydos (Research Cluster 4) at www.dainst.org

261 U. Effland, A. Effland, "'Ritual Landscape' und 'Sacred Space'" MOSAIK Journal I (2010), 144. Author's translation. See also: H. Kees, Der Gotterglaube im Alten Agypten (1977), 96 and 129.

262 See above 1.2, Restoration, Renewal and Renaissance (*wḥm mswt*): The Counter-Reformation.

Hall of the Osireion. The island, Tatenen, surrounded by the watery abyss of the Nun in the Central Hall is the subterranean and hence invisible counterpart in the *ḏuat* to the visible terrestrial Tatenen, South Hill. While the axis connects the underworld and terrestrial manifestations of Tatenen, it also connects the chapel of Amun-Re, king of the gods, in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years to South Hill, the visible manifestation of the first occasion on the earth. Importantly, the same axial alignment also subtly connects South Hill to the Colonnade of Luxor temple and to the Opet festival celebrated there as part of the Cycle of 76, the annual renewal of kingship, and thus to a specific point in the here and now of cyclical *nḥḥ*-time. At Abydos, it was 30 Khoaik and I *prt* 1.

The sacred terrestrial Abydene landscape was linked to the celestial events that folded overhead. At the time of the year on the ideal calendar for the celebration of the Osiris Mysteries on the night of IIII *ꜣḫt* 30 and the king's coronation on the following night of I *prt* 1, the constellation Osiris-Orion would connect and complete the circuit of the world view of the ancient Egyptians – heaven, earth and the underworld. Shortly after the sun god, Atum-Re, had sunk below the western horizon and entered the *ḏuat*, Orion would be seen slowly rising on his back as if awakening in the eastern horizon. (Plate 416) Osiris-Orion first rose above the extensive pyramid and temple complex of Ahmose, *jʿḥ ms* 'the moon is born', the founder of the New Kingdom, who was the 'beloved of Osiris'. (Plates 2, 9) His pyramid, the last royal pyramid to survive from ancient Egypt, was encased in white limestone, some 50 m. (165ft.) high covering an area of over 2000 sq. m. (21,500 sq. ft.), roughly comparable in size to the smaller Old Kingdom pyramids and those of the Middle Kingdom. It was a prominent feature of the royal sacred Abydene landscape, forming its notional eastern anchor, where the cult of the deified Ahmose was still active in Seti's reign. [263]

As Osiris-Orion continues to proceed on its westward trajectory across the sky, the god crosses over the main axis of his cult center, the Osiris Complex in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. [264] Important here is the critical symbolic connection that is made between the image of the rising constellation Osiris-Orion, who still appears lying on his back but awakening, (Plate 416) and the depictions of Osiris, who is also shown on his back awakening in the two conception of Horus scenes in the innermost sacred chapel of Osiris lying on his back being ritually awakened for the conception of Horus and later in the birth house of Isis in the *ḏuat*, the Central Hall of the Osireion, where it is in the central innermost chapel (Room 11) in the notional eastern end of the Osiris Complex. (Plates 426, 427, 432) Together they capture the essence of the concept “as above so below”. This “event” takes on a cosmic significance on the night of I *prt* 1, when the celestial Osiris-Orion is seen on his back awakening in the night sky as he crosses the main axis of the Osiris Complex, passing directly over the terrestrial scenes the awakened Osiris and Isis conceive Horus on the first occasion. On this sacred night of I *prt* 1, heaven earth and *ḏuat* are united to create divine kingship and the means for the transmission of royal power from father Osiris to son Horus.

Rising still higher in the sky as the night progresses, Osiris-Orion traverses over the 'Mountain of

263 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 105-110.

264 The Osiris Complex in the Mansion of Millions of Years was aligned along the transverse axis of the temple from notional west to the east, mirroring the path of the moon across the night sky.

Anubis' and the Middle Kingdom complex of Senwosret III, called 'Beautiful is the *Ka* of Senwosret III. [265] (Plates 2, 11) At its notional southern end was a gigantic subterranean tomb over 170 m. (560 ft.) long that projects beneath the gebel, the 'Mountain of Anubis', *ḏw jnpw*. Its location was carefully chosen such that from the entrance, which is devoid of a built superstructure, the cliff above looks like a natural pyramid. Furthermore, the tomb itself may have been an early prototype of the later royal Amduat type tomb. "The conclusion becomes unavoidable that the Senwosret III tomb offers compelling evidence that it was conceived and built in a mode where its design, orientation and materials tangibly expressed core ideas encompassed in the Amduat." [266] This creates a strong symbolic link to the later more formalized Osireion architectural rendition of the Amduat, built by Seti I. The connection though is through its likeness to the Amduat and subterranean character of the structure, not its final use. [267]

Now standing fully erect, Osiris-Orion in the hours of the deep night, first passes over the ancient entrance to the underworld, the Great Wadi. (Plate 10) Next Osiris-Orion crosses directly overhead the Sacred Precinct with its statue of Osiris open to the night sky in the House of Life, (Plate 493) and over the main axis of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years, with Tatenen in the *ḏuat* hidden beneath and South Hill itself, as the visible terrestrial 'rising land', Tatenen. Then on his descent back down to the western horizon, Osiris-Orion crosses over his tomb in Umm el-Qaab. Later still, as Re prepares to emerge from the *ḏuat* renewed and about to be reborn in the eastern horizon as Khepri, Osiris-Orion returns to the underworld as he enters face down, "inverted", into the great enclosure of ancestor king, Osiris-Khasekhemwy and by extension back into the Osireion, the *ḏuat*, with Isis-Sothis still visible hovering protectively just above the western horizon. (Plate 416) As his epithets in the Central Hall inscribed above Tatenen proclaim, Osiris truly is 'the Foremost of the West', 'Beloved Lord of Abydos', 'Ruler of the West', 'Lord of Eternal Recurrence' (*nḥḥ*), and the 'Lord of the Sacred Land' [scape].

"By the Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1307-1196 BCE) Abydos had been a major cultic center for over seventeen-hundred years; and Osiris' 'divine' temple [the metropolitan complex], located near the edge of the flood plane at the north of the site, was well established as its pivotal cultic feature (Plate 5) … The sacred landscape of Abydos was arranged around two processional routes extending from this temple precinct.

The more famous route linked Osiris' temple to his tomb at Umm el-Qaab (ancient Peker), in front of the cliffs separating the high and low desert. During his annual festival, Osiris' corn mummy was carried along the wadi, where building was suppressed until the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1070-712 BCE). This route first passed the chapels of the 'votive zone', clustered to the west of the temples, including a pair of buildings dedicated to Thutmose III (c. 1479-1425 BCE) flanking the entrance to

265 D. O'Connor, Abydos (2009), 96-100.

266 J. Wegner, "The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos: Considerations on the Origins and Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb" in D. Silverman, W. Simpson, J. Wegner (eds.), Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2009), 103-169, quote on 145.

267 See above chapter 5, particularly 5.5 A Reconstruction of the Birth House of Isis: The Lost Decoration.

the wadi. It continued between the North and Middle Cemeteries – the former dominated by two early dynastic enclosures and the latter by the mastabas of the late Old Kingdom high officials. The route ended at Umm el-Qaab, where Osiris was believed to be buried among the early dynastic kings." [268] On the night of 30 Khoiak, the culmination of the Osiris mysteries, the corn mummy was taken to and buried in his tomb, after which the rejuvenated statue of Osiris returned to his temple amid great jubilation. Until South Hill can be excavated, it is impossible to tell what role, if any, the processional route from Seti's temple to South Hill with its extension connecting to the tomb of Osiris played on that night, or other festivals during the year.

With respect to the other processional route, Otto pointed out that "a fundamental change has taken place in the celebration of the mysteries of Osiris:

> 'I let a statue remain in it [the memorial chapel of Ramesses I],
> provided like the [other] kings.
> When the Majesty of the sacred god Wennefer came in order to rest there,
> he greeted my father as he did the ancestors...'

The meaning of this is that the god Osiris-Wennefer visited the king's temple during his procession and stayed there with them in the same way as Amen used to stay inside the Theban mortuary temples during the procession on the occasion of the valley festival. This addition to the procession of Osiris was doubtless an imitation of the Theban ritual customs, and the reason for its introduction in the reign of Seti I was to give to the mortuary temple at Abydos a ritual similar to that found in the Theban temples." [269] Furthermore, it had the effect of putting the Abydene Osirian half of the 76 day cycle of the renewal of kingship on par with the Theban Amen-Re portion.

The "processional route extended south from Osiris' temple, connecting 'memorial' temples dotting the edge of the flood plane. (Plate 5) The 'Ramesses II Temple', 'Ramesses I Chapel', and 'Seti Temple' are the northernmost extant stops on this route. (Plate 5) A significant gap … lies between these Ramesside memorials and south Abydos. New Kingdom processions would then pass the ruins of Senwosert III's temple, which closed at the end of the Middle Kingdom (c. 1640 BCE). The Ahmose Complex [founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the New Kingdom], active until about the time of Merenptah (c. 1224 -1214 BCE), was the southernmost point on the route. Although textual accounts indicate that there were other memorials, none survive". [270] More likely is that they are yet to be uncovered, like the recently discovered limestone mahat chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhopet II, founder of the Eleventh Dynasty, situated between the chapel of Ramesses I and the notional

268 K. Eaton, "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.) Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 231-232.

269 E. Otto, The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1968), 50.

270 K. Eaton, "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.) Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007), 232.

northwestern corner of the temenos wall of Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years.[271] (Plate 8) The dedication inscription informs us that: “It is for Osiris, Khentiamentiu, Wepwawet and the gods who are in Abydos, that he made his monument”.[272] Importantly, its axis is aligned directly to Djer's tomb in Umm el-Qaab – the symbolic tomb of Osiris – already connecting the two at the very beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

271 J. Wegner, “A new temple: the mahat of Nebhepetre at Abydos” Egyptian Archaeology 46 (2015), 3-7.

272 J. Wegner, “A new temple: the mahat of Nebhepetre at Abydos” Egyptian Archaeology 46 (2015), 5.

APPENDIX A

THE OSIREION AS THE TEMPLATE FOR THE DECORATION PROGRAM OF THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI

There is a remarkable similarity between the decoration program in the Osireion and that of the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9), although architecturally they are quite different. (Plates 58, 24, 40, 18) The Osireion is L-shaped with its Entrance Passage, Antechamber and Annex on a notional west to east axis mirroring the nocturnal course of the sun god. Its axial alignment to Rigel, the 'toe star' of the constellation Orion is such that when this star crosses the meridian it points to the place along the horizon where the heliacal rising of Sirius/Sothis will occur. This event marked the beginning of the Egyptian New Year and heralded the coming of the Nile inundation, the life giving efflux of Osiris. The Sloping Passage and Central Hall are on a notional south to north axis mirroring the annual course of the sun from winter solstice to summer solstice.[1] From its 'birth' on the winter solstice, the day steadily grows longer until its peak on the summer solstice. Its axial alignment is the same as the Eighteenth Dynasty Colonnade Hall in Luxor temple, where the scenes of the royal Opet Festival are inscribed and the renewal of kingship is highlighted.[2] It also runs parallel to the Nile, source of the efflux of Osiris. The Luxor temple complex is on a notional north to south axis reflecting the other half of the annual solar journey from summer to winter solstice and completes the annual cycle.[3] Recall too that Seti's other Mansion of Millions of Years to the south of Abydos in Gurna has its main axis aligned to mark the southernmost limit of the nineteen year lunar cycle. (Plate 160) Interestingly, the four temples built or decorated by Seti I which mark the course of the moon-Osiris and reconciles it with that of the sun-Re over their nineteen year cycle, form and follows the same pattern as the Cycle of 76, the annual celebration for the renewal of kingship; thereby harmonizing this cycle to that of the sun,

1 From Sloping Passage to the Central Hall.

2 J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 348-349.

3 It should be noted here that the decoration programs of both the Luxor Colonnade and the Osireion chambers symbolically could be equated to the complete annual solar cycle from winter solstice to the summer solstice and the return. In the Colonnade both the procession to Karnak and the return start and end at the southern end of the Colonnade. In the Osireion, the ritual progression can be determined by the retrograde reading of the texts. They begin at the upper end of the Sloping Passage on the left wall and conclude on the right wall at the upper notional eastern end of the Antechamber, the eastern akhet, in the notional south, the place of the winter solstice.

moon and the stars.[4] This cosmic coordination may have been deemed essential for the restoration of *mꜣʿt* following the cataclysmic episode of the Amarna heresy.

KV 9, the tomb of Ramesses V-VI, is essentially on a single axis running from east to west with a slight skewing of the axis to the left (south) after corridor D. (Plate 58) The east to west axis follows the daily course of the sun which leads to the realm of the Ruler of the West, Ramesses VI as Osiris. "The dromos of access to the tomb of Ramesses VI, fifth king of the 20th Dynasty, showing that the horizon, far from being open, is actually being obscured by the cliffs of the hills above Deir el Bahari. This precludes its possible orientation to the rising of Sirius at the time of construction. However, the central asterism of the constellation of Sah ['Orion's Belt'] would have been visible in that area of the sky in the correct period."[5] (Plate 59) This is significant because it ties the tomb's axial orientation to the constellation Orion, the stellar manifestation of Osiris, and thus to the alignment of the Osireion itself. It should also be noted that the "orientation [of the tombs of Ramesses IV and Ramesses VI] is so similar, despite the distance between them within the Valley, that it is difficult to ascribe it to pure chance. Although unfinished, these tombs show a similar gradient that would have permitted solar or stellar light [from Orion's Belt] to reach the burial chamber."[6] Furthermore, it should be pointed out here that the decoration for the tomb of Ramesses IV (KV 2) also drew heavily from that of the Osireion, notably the Book of Nut and is the only tomb to have used this composition in the Valley of the Kings. It is paired with the Book of the Night on the ceiling of the Sarcophagus Chamber,[7] mimicking the ceiling design found only in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion and nowhere else. Sections of the Book of Caverns and the Book of Gates as well as BD 125 were also used, all key elements of the decoration program in the Osireion.

In his study on the tomb of Ramesses VI, Abitz recognized that the decoration program was so significantly different from those of its predecessors that he considered it a break with tradition.[8] The cannon of decoration for the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, which was established by Seti I seemed to have been almost obligatory and was used in seven royal tombs constructed over a 140 year period.[9] Abitz provided a detailed comparison of the differences in these tombs and KV 9.[10] He also

4 They are Seti's two Mansions of Millions of Years in Abydos and Gurna and the Osireion which were built and decorated by him. Whereas in the Colonnade in Luxor temple built by Amenhotep III and largely decorated by Tutankhamun, "it was Seti I who undertook the final carving of the interior of the Colonnade Hall, completing the ritual scenes before the barques in Luxor Temple and the southern walls of the Hall." Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall (1994), xvii.

5 J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 300, fig. 9.14.

6 Ibid., 298-299 and fig. 9.13.

7 E. Hornung, "The Tomb of Rameses IV" in K. Weeks (ed.) Valley of the Kings (2001), 242-243.

8 F. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI (1989), 172, 178.

9 Ibid., 172.

10 Ibid., 98-186. He omitted the tomb of Ramesses IV (KV 2) so as not to influence Hornung's study in preparation at the time.

APPENDIX A

briefly mentions some of the Netherworld Books in the Osireion, pointing out that many of them found their way into the tomb of Ramesses VI. Oddly, Abitz did not note the presence of the cryptographic texts and partial scene from the Books of the Earth in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, because they occupy such a prominent position in the Sarcophagus Chamber in Ramesses VI's tomb, which like the Second Transverse Hall is the final room of his tomb.[11] Had he recognized the significance of the presence of the traces of the Book of the Earth texts and vignette on the west (notional south) wall, he may have realized that the source of and template for Ramesses VI's "break with tradition" was none other than the Osireion itself! This too was the design of Seti I.

The basis for my conclusion that the template for the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI was that of the Osireion is straightforward, so straightforward, in fact, that I am quite surprised that it has not been recognized before. It is the order in which the same Netherworld Books appear in both structures. The correspondence of the use of the exact same Underworld Books in essentially the same order is not accidental or a coincidence. The comparison is outlined in Table II. (Plate 34) Ramesses VI copied the decoration program of the Osireion and modified it slightly for use in his tomb. To be sure, there are differences which are discussed below and in the chapters covering the three ritual cycles where appropriate. They are a result of the different functions of the two structures – subterranean temple and royal tomb.

Both structures' decoration begin in the same fashion. The actual decoration is preceded by an undecorated corridor at their entrances. It is followed by the opening scenes which depict the king making offerings on one wall and an invocation on the other to both the falcon-headed Re-Horakhti and Osiris.[12] (Plate 66) The opening scenes are followed by complete versions of the Book of Gates on one wall and the Book of Caverns on the opposite wall. The depictions of the king in these two compositions serve to highlight the different functions for the Osireion and that of the royal tomb. In the Book of Caverns in the Osireion, the king is shown with the nocturnal ram-headed sun god entering the first cavern in his role as the chief ritualist, the living Horus. He is also depicted inside the first cavern greeting the arriving sun god.[13] (Plate 174) In the royal tomb the king is not shown accompanying nor greeting the sun god in the Book of Caverns. In the Osireion version of the Book of Gates, the king is depicted in the solar barque offering the figure of Maat to the sun god as he accompanies him through the twelve gates and hours of the night. (Plates 72, 115, 124) In the tomb of Ramesses VI, the king is not in the solar barque.[14] (Plate 103) He can no longer act in his capacity as the living Horus and chief ritualist as he does in the Osireion. However, the king's name does appear

11 The vignette from the Book of the Earth was identified by Piankoff some years earlier in his book, Le Creation du Disque solaire (1953), which is listed in Abitz's bibliography, 196.

12 Ramesses VI altered the Osireion scene of offering Maat to the falcon-headed son of Osiris preceding the Book of Caverns to offering to a falcon-headed Re-Horakhti and Osiris. See 5.2. It should be noted that the identification of the falcon-headed deity as Re-Horakhti in the tomb of Ramesses VI adds further support for the identification of the unnamed falcon-headed deity seated before Osiris in the opening scenes before the Book of Gates in the Osireion. See 3.1.

13 See 4.3.

14 Nor is the king depicted in the solar barque in the eleven hours of Amduat in his tomb.

before every gate in the royal tomb. (Plate 118) While in the Osireion the king's name appears occasionally in the Book of Gates other than in the night barques, it is not at the gates. The king's name at the gates in the royal tomb undoubtedly represents the changed status of the now deceased king, who through the funerary rituals has been transfigured into Osiris. Now the gates are his as Osiris Ramesses VI and for his protection.

The different axial alignments of the two structures necessitated a change in position.[15] In order to maintain the proper orientation of the Book of Gates to the winter solstice in the royal tomb, the composition had to be placed on the left wall instead of the right wall as it is found in the Osireion. The final scenes of the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns are at the end of the Entrance Passage. In the tomb of Ramesses VI both compositions end at the rear of Hall E as do the Books of the Day and the Night on the ceiling. It should be noted that it is unusual for the ceiling decoration to span more than a single corridor, hall or chamber. Yet the decoration of corridors C, D and Hall E in the tomb of Ramesses VI does just that as is also the case in corridors A and B.[16] While it is less uncommon to find compositions like the Book of Gates and the Book of Caverns to be spaced throughout multiple chambers, it is highly unusual to find complete and sequentially ordered ones spanning multiple corridors let alone four corridors and a hall. It is as if it was copied from the original in some very long passage like that of the Entrance Passage of the Osireion which itself is two meters longer than Ramesses VI's entire tomb, thus forcing Ramesses' artisans to utilize the ceiling and wall space of four corridors and one hall in the royal tomb.[17] The point being made is that the decoration of corridors A through Hall E were not designed for that tomb, but rather adapted for its use there. The only source available during the reign of Ramesses VI for the complete Book of Caverns was the Osireion. No other copy is known to have existed. Furthermore, it is paired with a complete copy of the Book of Gates just as it is reproduced in Ramesses VI's tomb.

On the rear wall of Hall E above the descending corridor F to the second half of the tomb, the lower *ḏuat*, is a double scene of the king burning incense to an enthroned Osiris. The back to back figures of Osiris are depicted in a double shrine. (Plate 227) As noted this arrangement although abbreviated corresponds to the decoration program and themes in the Antechamber of the Osireion.[18] The inscriptions under the roofs of the right and left shrines connect them because they relate directly to the two key events that will unfold in the Antechamber of the Osireion, the first sunrise of *zp tpj* and the rites for the Blacked-out Moon that lead to its restoration as the living Udjat-eye.

15 The azimuth of the Entrance Passage to the Osireion is 306 degrees whereas the tomb of Ramesses VI is 110.25 degrees. See J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.) In Search of Cosmic Order (2009), 297 and 348.

16 The Books of the Day and of the Night span corridors C, D and Hall E. The astronomical scenes and decan lists (“Ramesside Star Clocks”) are in corridors A and B and repeated again on the sides of the ceiling of Hall E.

17 The length of the Entrance Passage is 118.5 m. (390 ft.) including the 32 m. (105 ft.) of undecorated mud brick. The tomb of Ramesses VI is 116.84 m. (383 ft.) according to the Theban Mapping Project's survey.

18 See 4.5.

APPENDIX A

"Right Shrine:
Live the Great God, the eldest of Geb [Osiris],
the first (born) of the belly of Nut [Osiris and also Re].
Divine Youth, Divine Heir of *nḥḥ* [as the new born sun god],
Noble Son of He who is in his disk [Son of Re],
the justified one [lit. true of voice].

Left Shrine:
Live the Good God, the eldest of Re,
Protector of He in the Horizon,
the living Udjat-eye,
who rests in the Netherworld [*ḍuat*]
[at the time of the Blacked-out Moon]..." [19]

The living Udjat-eye who rests in the *ḍuat* immediately follows the conclusion of the Book of Gates linking it to this composition further supporting Manassa's lunar interpretation for it. [20] It may also connect to the Annex texts of BD 168, part of the rites for the New Moon behind the enshrined Osiris.

The standing king is depicted twice burning incense before the enthroned Osiris. The shrine on the right corresponds and equates to the notional southern wall in the Antechamber of the Osireion which is in tact. (Plates 228, 216, 224) In a like fashion although more elaborate, the standing king burns incense and makes offerings to an enthroned Osiris who is here called Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners. My reconstruction for the destroyed notional north wall expresses the same concepts as in the left shrine scene in Hall E, the one that refers to the living Udjat-eye, but again differing from the ritual cycles in the Osireion. On the first part of the wall would have been depicted the standing figure of the king again burning incense and making offerings before the door of the shrine of Osiris, just as he is depicted on the notional southern wall opposite it. (Plate 218) But here as in Hall E the king is wearing the blue crown just as he appears further along in the third ritual cycle in the Sloping Passage. (Plate 271) Here too the sign of the *ḥb-sd* may have been attached to his elbow. (Plate 229) Importantly, this raises the intriguing possibility that the Osireion may also have been intended to be used as part of the celebration Sed Festival - "a jubilee of the king's accession to the throne." [21]

The entrance doorway to the Sloping Passage, leading to the Central Hall where an enthroned Osiris statue stood on the island as it is depicted in the Book of the Gates (scene 33), corresponds to the door of the second Osiris shrine in Hall E. The design of this door could well have mimicked the false

19 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 24 and plate 35. Because this text comes from the king's own tomb, the deceased king referred to as the Good God, is emphasized by intermingling him with both Osiris and Re.

20 See C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (1995), 180, 210-213; C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates" RdE 57 (2006), 109-150.

21 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 24.

doors at the rear of the seven main chapels in Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years. (Plate 230) Recall that the false door and the concept behind it, the place of offerings to the gods and to the deceased was also abolished by the heretic Akhenaten and is here restored also.

The double scene of the enshrined Osiris separates the tomb. In the same sense, the enthroned Osiris in the Antechamber and the doorway of the "second shrine" which opens to the Sloping Passage separates the Osireion. On the ceiling above the double scene of the enshrined Osiris in the royal tomb is a decan list on either side of the Books of the Day and of the Night. (Plate 142) This has its conceptual parallel in the Osireion where traces of a star table are in situ at the upper end of the Sloping Passage.[22] (Plate 266) As Neugebauer and Parker have suggested, the first season (*ꜣḫt*) most probably extended out on to the ceiling of the Antechamber to complete the star table.[23] This would place it across from the enshrined Osiris and by his great litany BD 142. The descent to corridor F in the royal tomb leads to the lower *ḏuat*. (Plate 227) It and corridors F and G are decorated with Amduat hours one through eleven.[24] In the Sloping Passage, the ritual sequence which contains all the knowledge that the living Horus, the king requires to enter the house and temple of his father Osiris in the Hidden Chamber is inscribed.[25] (Plates 270, 269, 274, 275, 276) In keeping with the ritual function of the Osireion, it logically and necessarily precedes the depiction of the Book of the Hidden Chamber, Amduat, reserved for the Central Hall in all probability.[26]

At the end of corridor G leading into Hall H of the tomb of Ramesses VI are inscribed the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat.[27] (Plates 329, 330, 337) Together with Hall H, they functionally correspond to the architectural layout of the Sloping Passage, First Transverse Hall and the Central Hall,[28] which due to their ritual use in the Osireion are considerably larger and more elaborate. They are the focus of the crucial events unfolding in the lower *ḏuat* on the first occasion. As noted, the Sloping Passage corresponds specifically to the layout of the lower half of the fourth hour Amduat.[29] In corridor G of the royal tomb it is depicted directly above the fifth hour of Amduat. (Plate 329) So like the Sloping Passage itself, it leads down to the fifth hour, the Hidden Chamber which is the Central Hall of the Osireion.

22 For a discussion of this star table and its significance for the third ritual cycle see 5.3.

23 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 32 fig. 16 and 34-35.

24 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 312. "The Twelfth Division is not depicted in the tomb of Ramesses VI."

25 The texts are located on the left wall descending into the lower *ḏuat*. See 5.3.

26 For the ancient Egyptians' original name of the modern designation 'Amduat' see E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 32. For its probable location in the Central Hall see 5.1.

27 B. Porter, R. Moss, The Theban Necropolis pt. 2 (1973), 575.

28 See 5.1 for the details of the architectural design of this area of the Osireion.

29 See 5.1 for a discussion of the Amduat symbolism employed in the architectural design of the Osireion.

APPENDIX A

According to Frankfort, the tomb of Amenhotep II most resembles the architectural design of the Osireion.[30] (Plates 55, 24) In that tomb the hours of Amduat are first used sequentially,[31] and a side chamber separates the fourth hour from the fifth. In the Osireion the First Transverse Hall separates the Sloping Passage, the fourth hour of Amduat, from the fifth hour, the Central Hall.[32] Its identification is explicit and is found in the text immediately preceding the Transverse Hall on the left wall at the bottom of the Sloping Passage. (Plate 276 columns 89-90) In the vignette directly above the text naming it, its entrance is depicted as an open door shrine. (Plate 271) It is clearly called the Hall of Two Truths in the texts title,[33] and is followed by the so-called negative confession portion of BD 125. BD 125 dominates the decoration on the left wall in Hall H of the royal tomb with a hymn to Maat equally prominent on the right wall, (Plate 286) strongly suggesting that it too represents the Hall of Two Truths. In fact in the text in Hall H following the conclusion of the "negative confession", the identity is confirmed by the statement:

> "Hail to you O these Gods,
> King Osiris Ramesses VI knows you,
> he knows your names...
> Hail to you O these Gods,
> who are in the broad-hall of Two Truths..."[34]

Note that the text here is in the third person, whereas in the Sloping Passage the recitation before the Hall of Two Truths by the king is in the first person. Again we find a clear distinction between the king as the living Horus performing the rites in the Osireion in a temple context and the king in the third person effectively the beneficiary of the recitation in the funerary context. Reinforcing the identification of Hall H with the Hall of Two Truths is the manner in which the final scene of the fourth hour of Amduat has been depicted at the end of corridor G, abutting the entrance to Hall H. Maat stands before an open door quite literally leading into Hall H. (Plate 333) In front of the goddess are forty two divine symbols alluding here to the forty two judges who are addressed in the "negative confession" of BD 125 just inside the entrance in Hall H, creating a seamless transition from corridor G into Hall H.[35]

Ramesses VI altered the ceiling decoration in the Hall of Two Truths (Hall H) from that found in the Osireion's Hall of Two Truths. Instead of the Book of the Night paired with the Book of the Day,

30 See 2.2 and H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 11-21.

31 They are also arranged sequentially in the Tomb of Ramesses VI which suggests that they were also so arranged in the Central Hall of the Osireion.

32 See 5.1, Message in Stone.

33 Columns 89 and 90 on plate LXVII in H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933). See my Plate 276.

34 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 325.

35 Recall that in other versions of the final scene of the fourth hour of Amduat, the divine symbols are organized differently highlighting instead their lunar symbolism. See 5.1.

which he moved to his Sarcophagus Chamber, he had the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques placed on the ceiling of Hall H.[36] (Plate 372) By positioning it in Hall H, Ramesses VI was able to maintain essentially the same spatial relationship between that composition and the Book of the Night as it exists in the Osireion, with the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques directly in front of and therefore preceding the Book of the Night on the ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall.[37] (Plate 379) While the shift in the position of the Book of Gates in the royal tomb to maintain its orientation to the winter solstice seems clear, the necessity to maintain the same spatial relationship between these two compositions is not.[38] Furthermore, by placing the Books of the Day and the Night in his Sarcophagus Chamber, Ramesses VI was able to complete his personal microcosm in which he in his oversized sarcophagus placed in a rectangular unfinished pit lay at the center of his Sarcophagus Chamber.[39] While Ramesses IV (KV 2) appears to have borrowed the ceiling decoration of his Sarcophagus Chamber directly from the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion, Ramesses VI chose to substitute and replace the Book of Nut with the Book of the Day emphasizing instead his direct participation in the perpetual circuit of the sun god in *nḥḥ* time through the daytime sky, the nighttime sky and the *ḏuat*. Roberson describes "the symbolic significance of the Ramesside sarcophagus chamber as akhet and divine birth station... The decoration of the royal burial chambers in the Ramesside period exhibits typically a cyclical arrangement, organized along a minor axis, such that the king's body might serve as the literal focal point and nexus for the cosmographic narrative unfolding along the monument's walls and ceiling. The characteristic architectural features of the Ramesside sarcophagus chamber (symmetrically opposed, arching sidewalls; vaulted roof; central sarcophagus depression), in conjunction with its celestial and chthonic decorative program, served to recreate the mythological locale in which Re and Osiris unite in the depths of the Underworld, as well as the akhet through which the rejuvenated sun [and the transfigured king] passes each evening and morning.

The combination of these two aspects of the nocturnal solar journey – the deepest, central point of the *ḏuat* and the transitional boundary of the akhet – invites comparison with the various programmatic concluding representations found in the Underworld Books. The mythological significance of those scenes is threefold, summarizing the most important aspects of the solar cycle: death in the west, travel through the underworld for the purpose of uniting with Osiris at the midpoint of the *ḏuat*, and the rebirth in the east. In a very real sense, the Ramesside sarcophagus chamber serves as a sort of 'concluding representation' for the tomb itself, a microcosmic summary of the sun's perpetual death and rebirth.

36 A single fragment in situ on the ceiling of the First Transverse Hall in the Osireion allows for the identification of the composition as the Book of the Night. See 5.8 for it being paired with the Book of the Day in that hall.

37 In the royal tomb Hall H immediately preceded the Sarcophagus Chamber and therefore the Awakening composition remains in front of the Book of the Night.

38 For a discussion see 5.7.

39 E. Brock, private communication 9/18/2014. "The cutting of the floor of the burial chamber was not completed."

APPENDIX A

The various Books of the Earth, as the conventional designation implies, illustrate the chthonic aspect of this solar cycle. The organization of the books' scene, as attested from the version of Merenptah through that of Ramesses VI, reflects a vertical movement through the Underworld, in which the sun progresses downward from the moment of sunset in the west, represented by the dome-shaped upper register of the left wall, then upward toward the moment of sunrise in the east, represented by the dome-shaped upper register of the right wall.[40] The critical moment of sunrise appears as a vertically oriented concluding representation, which unfolds symmetrically from the center of the uppermost register on the right, replicating to a greater or lesser extent the doomed shape of the wall itself. The inclusion of either an astronomical ceiling or the so-called Books of the Sky, in various permutations, provides the expected celestial counterpart, through a symmetrical bipartition of the ceiling into the northern and southern heavens above the western and eastern mountains of the horizon, represented by the sidewalls. The final element in this architectonic microcosm, the royal sarcophagus, lies within a sunken depression between the dome-shape sidewalls, in a position corresponding to that of the solar disc in the *ꜣḫt*-hieroglyph [GSL-N 27], effectively recreating the *perpetuum mobile* of the solar cycle in stone, in order to assure the eternal afterlife of the king. (Plate 355)

This new "akhet-style" sarcophagus chamber evolved over the course of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, standing in marked contrast to the "Amduat-style" burial chambers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Two of the most characteristic architectural elements of the "akhet-style" chamber – the arched sidewalls and curved ceiling – appear already in the Theban tomb of Seti I, contemporary with the first occurrence of the Book of the Earth in that king's cenotaph at Abydos[41] … The full complement of the architectural and iconographic features that define this new style of burial chamber appear for the last time in the tomb of Ramesses VI."[42] In addition the king's sarcophagus chamber also relates directly to *ḏt* time of *zp tpj*. This was achieved by the placement of the king's sarcophagus in a sunken pit in the "unfinished" floor of the sarcophagus chamber. The rough cut of the flooring symbolizes the undifferentiated matter of precreation, the primordial Nun out of which Tatenen, the distinct land, arose on the first occasion, just as the king's sarcophagus appears resting on the unfinished floor. (Plate 356) Where the primordial abyss meets the lower *duat* was called the Place of Destruction or Annihilation. Graphically symbolized by the bound and beheaded captives, the enemies of Osiris and of Re, who line the bottom of the walls below the register of the scenes from the Books of the Earth which surround the magically protected sarcophagus of Osiris King Ramesses VI.

40 This vertical progression further distinguishes the Books of the Earth from the earlier Underworld Books, which generally depict a horizontal progress through the Underworld (with exceptions, e.g., the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat … With regard to the Books of the Earth, note that, while motion *between* the registers progresses vertically, the sun's course *within* a given register often follows a horizontal path … especially in those scenes that include the solar barque. J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 55-57.

41 Note that the corresponding celestial decoration – the double sky, as represented originally by the so-called astronomical ceiling – appeared already on the arched burial chamber of Seti I. J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 55-57.

42 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 55-57.

APPENDIX A

(Plate 356) It is out of the Place of Destruction that creation arose on the first occasion. The visual image created here brings to mind Manassa's remarks on her Type I sarcophagi's decoration program "which that scholar identifies as a hitherto unrecognized Underworld composition relating to 'resurrection through decomposition/deconstruction' [as is depicted in the sarcophagus chamber arising up from the Place of Destruction]." [43]

Couched here in its funerary context of the royal tomb, the king's sarcophagus on its "unfinished" floor presents the same image and message as that which the island in the Central Hall of the Osireion represents, despite their radically different appearance. The moat surrounding the island contains the formless watery abyss of the Nun duplicated in the royal sarcophagus chamber by the "formless" unfinished pit in which the king's sarcophagus rests. Both are at the very bottom of their respective structures, where the lower *ḏuat* meets the Nun, defined both by their location and their decoration. As noted this region was called the Place of Destruction or Place of Annihilation where the enemies of Osiris and of Re are dispatched to nonexistence, the final "second death". But at the same time and this is the great mystery and paradox, it is also the source of all renewed life as witnessed by the new sunrise and the moon's reappearance in the night sky with first crescent visibility. Not just renewed life as is seen for the gods of the sun and the moon (and the stars) but also transfigured life, where Ramesses VI after his death is ritually transformed into Osiris, Ruler of the West, the Lord of Eternity for his royal role in the afterlife expressed by Osiris and the function of his microcosm created by his sarcophagus chamber. But in the Osireion unlike the royal tomb where the king is ritually transfigured into Osiris Ramesses VI, it was the place of the birth of divine kingship and Dynastic rule on the earth through its mythic prototype. As detailed in 5.5, the rectangular cutout in the floor of the island in the Central Hall was not made for a sarcophagus as has been assumed since the chamber's discovery. [44] It was made to house the lion-headed bier on which lay the awakening and aroused Osiris mounted by Isis as she conceives Horus, representing and recreating the moment of the conception of Dynastic rule on the earth at *zp tpj*.

The scant traces that remain on the notional southern wall of the final Transverse Hall, (Plate 359) as Roberson has demonstrated, are quite revealing. [45] There are only fragments of five texts and one scene. (Plate 360) However, Roberson has determined that two of the texts and the "mound scene" find parallels in the Book of the Earth compilation in the sarcophagus chamber of Ramesses VI, which is not at all surprising accepting my hypothesis that Ramesses VI used the decoration program of the

43 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 61 citing C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld (2007), 15, 65-66.

44 H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933), 29. Almost seventy five years later this assumption has been seriously and credibly challenged by A. von Lieven, "Bemerkungenzum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos" in B. Haring, A. Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologische Tempeltagung (2007), 167-186 and again by L. Gestermann "Einige Anmerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm im Osireion von Abydos" in W. Waitkus, Diener des Horus Festschrift fur Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag (2008), 109-122.

45 For Roberson's skillful analysis of these fragmentary cryptographic texts see J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 93-112; "A Solar Litany From the Tomb of Ramesses IX" JARCE 45 (2009), 227-232; and The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 28-32, 303-307.

Osireion as his template. Again it would appear that even though his choice of scenes and texts from the Books of the Earth is quite extensive, fifty two scenes (of eighty known) and eighty texts,[46] nevertheless it is not a copy.[47] Presumably, it was deliberately selective to accommodate the perceived burial and afterlife needs for the king. In addition, two of the texts, a solar litany (Cenotaph Text 4) and Text 5 find parallels in the tomb of Ramesses IX. "Cenotaph Text 5 appears to represent a later version of the cryptic annotation to the standing mummies in upright sarcophagi attested first on the second gilded shrine of Tutankhamen [as part of the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity]."[48] Finally, "the preserved sections of Texts 1 and 2 have yet to reveal specific parallels, either from the Book of the Earth, or the broader Underworld corpus. Certain words and phrases appear to be consistent with the genre but it remains unclear whether these two passages are unique to Seti I's Cenotaph, or simply remain unidentified due to their fragmentary context."[49] "The identification of the enigmatic Cenotaph Texts presented here demonstrates clearly that manipulation of Book of the Earth scenes, including integration with related underworld compositions,[50] was already taking place by the reign of Seti I. Seti's composition shares scenes and texts with the Book of the Earth of Ramesses VI and the related compilation of Ramesses IX, but not all features found in the Cenotaph are common to both of the later recensions. This point is significant, because it suggests that the so-called 'Book' of the Earth from the tomb of Ramesses VI was itself a compilation not unlike the collections of 'miscellaneous' scene from the sarcophagus halls of Ramesses VII and Ramesses IX. Furthermore, the Cenotaph Texts demonstrate that multiple sections of this composition can now be traced to the earliest years of the Ramessid era or even further, in the case of Text 5, to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty."[51] The diversity of texts contained in so few fragments raises the question of the size and extent of the composition or, more likely, compositions on the walls of the final Transverse Hall that once existed particularly given the large size of this chamber. Furthermore, one of the key functions of the Osireion was the re-formation of the universal order after the Amarna Heresy. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to reach back to the first occasion to re-create it thus allowing for Maat to be properly restored. By it the realm of Osiris was restored and enhanced so that his son could rule on the earth as the living Horus. Certainly then Seti I was indeed beneficial to Osiris as the name of the Osireion underscores.

There remains to be discussed the ceiling decoration of corridors F and G in Ramesses VI's tomb of which there are no existing traces in the Osireion. These are the two corridors where the eleven hours of Amduat are depicted. "The ceiling of corridor F is decorated with representations of the day and the night barques of the sun god. These are shown in different views, both in plan and elevation, together with separate images of the sun god and his companions, including the great coiled serpent

46 J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012), 39.

47 Not only are three of the five textual fragments (60%) not included in his burial chamber, the Osireion texts are all cryptographic and Ramesses VI's are not.

48 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 106.

49 Ibid., 98.

50 In this case, the standing mummy tableau from the Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity.

51 J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 107.

APPENDIX A

Mehen who protects him. These figures give the impression of being taken from a set of instructions for fashioning the image of the sun's boats."[52] (Plates 406, 405) To the right "is a series of lion-[headed] biers bearing mummies or naked figures, placed horizontally. Many of the these representations are similar to those in the first hours of the Book of Night. Above these representations are depicted scenes from the Book of Night: a procession of divinities and the sun god in the night barge towed by gods. Below is a procession of gods from the Book of Day."[53] The Book of the Night scenes depict the twelve barques leading up to sunrise in the first hour of the day. Above the barques are the deities who populate the realm in the upper register of the Book of the Night. Up to and including the ninth hour, the deities are individually distinguishable by their crowns, headdresses, gender, body position, etc. In this composition as well as in all versions of the Book of the Night, after the ninth hour this is not the case, the figures are uniformly standing male deities without distinction.[54] This abrupt change has two possible explanations. The seemingly obvious is that Re is said to leave the *ḏuat* in the ninth hour according to the Book of Nut:

"It is from the *ḏuat* that the majesty of this god goes forth
and in the *msqt*-region that these stars go forth from him.
It is from the *ḏuat* that the god rises,
these stars rising with him in the *msqt*-region.
It is the door of the *ḏuat*.
He is revivified in the *msqt*-region -
that is to say, it is strength for him.
He was glorious in the arms of his father, Osiris, in *tɜ-wr* -
he was beautiful in the hand of his father, Osiris, in the *ḏuat* -
that is to say, it was in the *ḏuat* that he was.
That is the water from which Re rises
at the first time [*zp tpj*] in his <antiquity> -
at the first time of his rising -
that is to say, his rising from it at day [sunrise].
The order comes that he withdraw toward mankind
in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*
It happens that he orders his withdrawal from the *ḏuat*
in the hour of *sḥtp.n.s*
It is the ninth hour of the night.
That is what it (the text) means.

52 E. Brock, "The Tomb of Ramesses VI" in K. Weeks (ed.) Valley of the Kings (2001), 254-255.

53 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 434, plates 173-176.

54 Besides this composition, there are two copies of the Book of the Night in the tomb of Ramesses VI and at least two documented in the Osireion. The copy in the tomb of Ramesses IV is too abbreviated to be useful to this analysis. It breaks off with the fourth hour. E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 122.

APPENDIX A

It happens that the (book) *gꜣbt* … names the eighth gate of the *ḏuat*:[55]
The people who are in it enter.
Another explanation ..."[56]

As the text indicates, the focus shifts to the rearing and revivification on the sun god in the *msqt*-region, all else becomes secondary where by the twelfth hour in the Book of the Night the solar child is depicted on the prow of the barque in preparation for the impending sunrise. This then would be the obvious explanation. Yet this is clearly not the case in either the Book of Gates or in Amduat which also detail the nocturnal solar journey through the twelve hours of the night. Indeed, both the upper and lower registers of these compositions are, in fact, quite detailed, at least as much as the earlier hours if not more so.

The curious fact is that the detailed depictions of the deities in the upper and lower registers of the Book of the Night end exactly where the carving stops on the ceiling of the Second Transverse Hall in the Osireion. (Plates 389, 386) This would suggest that the inked cartoons used by the sculptors in Seti's reign had already vanished about 140 years later when work in Ramesses VI's tomb was being completed. It also suggests that there was no other source such as a papyrus manuscript of the Book of the Night still in existence which could be consulted. Indeed no copy existed except what remained in the Osireion. Ramesses VI had to rely on what was still visible there and, in effect, had to complete his composition in a more general fashion.[57] This also serves to support my hypothesis that the template for the "break with tradition" used for the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI was the Osireion itself.

The composition of the solar barques combined with portions of the Books of the Night and the Day in corridor F appear again in the tomb of Ramesses IX in the third corridor.[58] However, there the depictions of the solar barques reflecting those of a set of instructions for the fashioning of the image of the solar barques are not included. The fact that this composition is found in both the tombs of Ramesses VI and IX, two of the three Ramesside royal tombs that drew heavily from the decoration program of the Osireion, leads one to conclude that it was also present in the Osireion. Logically, its location most probably was on the ceiling at the entrance end of the Central Hall proper, where the hours of Amduat were also to have been located, or less likely on the ceiling of the entranceway to the Central Hall. But its length is quite short only 3.65 m. (12 ft.) compared to the 6.2 m. (20ft.) utilized in

55 O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960), 51. "*gꜣbt*....: A book but obscure; *gꜣbt* is probably for *gbt*, 'sky', usually determined by the figure of the bending Nut. What follows is conceivably to be read *wsḫt* 'broad', though it may as well be *wsḫt* 'hall', and somehow refer to the gate from the eighth to the ninth hour."

56 Ibid., 50-51.

57 Apart from the funerary adaptation of this composition, this is precisely why the Book of the Night cannot be analyzed for the significance of the overall number symbolism embedded in its structure. Only the first nine hours in the Osireion version would benefit from this type of analysis.

58 E. Brock, "The Tomb of Ramesses IX" in K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 268-269.

corridor F, therefore it would have been divided into two halves which would be in keeping with the ritual progression – in on the left side and back out from the Central Hall on the right. The portion of the composition concerning the Book of the Night and attendant scenes that follow would have been on the left leading into the depths of the *ḏuat* where the lower *ḏuat* meets the waters of the Nun and creation begins to manifest, the very image invoked by the attendant scenes. (Plates 405, 408) On the right leading back out from the lower *ḏuat* towards the Antechamber, the eastern akhet and place of sunrise, contained first the "instructions" diagramming the fashioning of the solar barques including the Great Encircler, Mehen, who protects the sun god on his journey.[59] (Plate 407) This is followed by the scenes of the Book of the Day that will unfold after the first sunrise.[60]

The diagrams of the solar barques, (Plate 406) marks the start of the solar journey to the eastern akhet leading to the unfolding of the first sunrise on the summer solstice on I *ꜣḫt* 1, the ancient Egyptian New Year's Day which can only now take place following the union of Re with his corpse, Osiris, in the depths of the *ḏuat* in the Second Transverse Hall, and the necessary conception of Horus in the Central Hall. Recall that this is paralleled at the start of the king's journey into the lower *ḏuat* to see his father. At the beginning of the descent the king must first magically construct his barque in order to cross the winding waterway.[61] So here too the night and day barques of the sun god must be constructed so that the first sunrise will unfold.

The bizarre images in the attendant scenes that follow the depiction of the sun god traveling through the twelve hours of the night are intended to invoke the sense of the unity of existence both in life and in the afterlife and its continuity. (Plate 405) They are symbolized not only by the animated naked human figures and the surrounding standing mummies, but also by the dual lion-headed biers for each group of three figures, each bier having a lion's head at each end. (Plates 410, 411) The continuity is expressed by the movement or flow of the naked animated figures back and forth across the scenes, (Plate 409) reflecting the cyclical nature of *nḥḥ* time which arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion. It is one of the most vivid depictions of human forms in motion in the corpus of the Underworld Books.

The situation with the ceiling decoration for corridor G may have been somewhat different.[62] It is unlikely that there was a parallel in the Osireion for the portion that may have had to have been redesigned specifically for corridor G, where the accidental break through into KV 12 (owner unknown) occurred.[63] "Due to some error in calculating the proper angle of descent for the corridors,

59 Apart from the king's 44 or 45 cartouches and titles there are virtually no hieroglyphic texts in this composition.

60 The scenes selected from the Book of the Day lead the ritualist back into the Hall of Two Truths where the complete Book of the Day was in all probability originally inscribed on the notional southern half of the pitch ceiling, subtly conveying its solstitial orientation.

61 BD 99 at the top end on the left side of the Sloping Passage.

62 A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954), 435-437 for a description of the decoration.

63 E. Hornung, "Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses VI" in J. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk (eds.) Funerary Symbols and Religion (1988), 45-51.

APPENDIX A

the tomb of Ramesses VI collided with the last chamber in the tomb KV 12, resulting in a two foot by 2.8 foot hole in corridor G of the tomb of Ramesses VI. The architects of Ramesses VI were forced to alter the appearance of the fifth corridor (G), and the result was a sloping floor, a ceiling with a dropped portion at the far end, and a relatively high lintel above the doorway to Hall H. [64] The ceiling of corridor G, both the raised and dropped portions, along with the lintel at the end of the corridor, bear Netherworld scenes with enigmatic annotations."[65] (Plates 399, 400, 401, 402, 403)

"During the New Kingdom cryptography appears in texts dealing with solar regeneration, and with the crossing of cosmic boundaries,"[66] which explains the use of the cryptographic texts in corridor G both for the ceiling where the accidental breach of boundaries occurred and the placement of the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat directly below it. "Hornung has noted the predominance of cryptography in the fourth and fifth hours of the Amduat, the time of solar regeneration in the chamber of Sokar.... The cryptographic texts are also particularly associated with the liminal area of the tomb, the area of crossing the boundary between this world and the next. For this reason they proliferate in the tomb texts at Dra Abu-n-Naga and the royal tombs."[67] The scribes skillfully blended the texts for the magical protection of the chamber necessitated by the breach with those of the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat through the use of cryptography by which *mꜣꜥt* is restored at the entrance to Hall H, the Hall of Two Truths. (Plate 399)

"The hole [breach] was perhaps the inspiration for the composition of this portion of the treatise, transforming the accidental break into an older tomb from a way of ingress for noxious influences into a special entrance for the protective rays of the sun. The potentially dangerous accident becomes a second 'way of Shu'. The Schutzbild is not a protective covering of the hole as much as a reaffirmation of the power of the sun, and an attempt to turn the accidental break into another passage for the power of the sun into the recesses of the tomb. The hole through which evil snakelike beings might slither [68] becomes a hole through which the snake-legged manifestation of the power of the sun will slither, for the protection of Ramesses VI and his tomb." [69]

64 E. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI (1989), 30 fig. 5 for a sketch of this corridor G, with a reconstruction of the progression of the quarrying work at the time of the break through into KV 12.

65 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995) PhD Dissertation, 236 including n. 64 above.

66 Ibid., 710.

67 Ibid., 710.

68 E. Hornung, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II (1976), 42 #64, the text to the figure:

> May you bind the enemies of Usermaatre, so that they will not emerge from the earth.

The enemies, emerging from the earth, are apparently snakes.

69 "The passage describing the sun as *jr bꜣyt* could also be a pun on the hole and the anguipede. *Bꜥbꜣ* can designate the hole of a snake (Wb. I 419, 3), as well as a crack or hole in a home, through which malignant influences might enter... *jr bꜣyt* could then refer to the break in the tomb of Ramesses VI – 'It is this god who makes the chinks.'" J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 398-399 and n. 448 just quoted.

APPENDIX A

"In the central portion of the Schutzbild, four snakes emerge from the sun. In the scene to the right of the central disk in the Schutzbild, the legs of the snake-legged Re-Osiris, and the arms which are the sisters Isis and Nephthys, all appear as serpents emerging from the sun. (Plate 404) The serpents emerging from the disk of the sun in the center of the Schutzbild suggest the snakes depicted as if issuing forth from the disk of the sun in the introductory scene to the Great Litany of Re. The introductory scene to the Litany of Re has been interpreted as an emblem of the sun scattering its enemies before it in the Netherworld. ...[70] The snake and the crocodile in the introductory scene to the Litany of Re are not fleeing the sun, but are sent out by it to root out and punish evil in the Netherworld /tomb.[71] The interpretation of the snake and crocodile as evil-punishing emissaries of the sun is supported by the images in the central portion of the Schutzbild. From a small disk above the large, central disk, the head of a crocodile emerges; a snake thrusts its head from the top of another small disk below the large sun. Here, in the corridor G treatise, where fire-breathing serpents spew flames onto bound enemies, the crocodile and the snakes represent the solar deity's aggressive hatred of evil. The final and most persuasive evidence for the meaning of the opening scene of the Litany of Re comes from an apparently thus far ignored scene on the exterior foot end of a Late Period sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum. The scene in question, on the foot of the sarcophagus of the lady Tadikem, CCG 29307,[72] shows a variant of the opening scene in the Litany of Re: from a solar disk containing a scarab and a ram-headed human figure there proceeds a crocodile to the right, and a serpent to the left. Below the crocodile a text specifies the being as *ḫnty sɜwty sbɜ jimnty m dɜt*, 'the *ḫnty*-crocodile (Wb. III 308, 4) who protects the western portal in the Netherworld'. The serpent is described as *wɜmmw sɜwty sbɜ ꜥnḫ m dɜt*, 'the serpent of roasting flame who protects the portal of the West in the Netherworld'. In this late version of the opening scene of the Litany of Re, the crocodile and the serpent are labeled, and they are each termed a guardian of the portal of the West.

The appellation Schutzbild is retained here, for the fiery power of the snake-legged Re-Osiris at the birth of the morning sun is directed at the sinners burning in the fiery oven of the eastern horizon. The central scene also shows the bound damned punished by the sun and its serpentine emanations. The rightmost annotation to the scene does, however, refer to the form of the great deity as depicted on the dropped portion of the corridor G ceiling – namely, with the two sisters as his arms. The fact that a depiction on the dropped portion of the corridor G ceiling is described in a text of the Schutzbild does not prove that the scene was part of the original plan of the decoration for corridor G [taken from the Osireion], but it does show at least an intention that this scene be understood as a part of the whole corridor G composition."[73] Regardless, it is unlikely that the ceiling decoration of corridor G had to be completely altered from the original plan to accommodate the small hole of the accidental breach. By

70 So E. Hornung, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II (1976), 29-30.

71 For the crocodile punishing wrong-doers and protecting the royal tomb, compare the small seal type N from the tomb of Tutankhamun, showing an enemy pressed down by a rearing and roaring lion with a crocodile standing on its tail before him see N. Reeves, Valley of the Kings (1990) 66, fig. 21.

72 G. Maspero, H. Gauthier, Sarcophages des epoques persane et ptolemaique II (1939), 108-109, plate 32.

73 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 405-407 and 340.

APPENDIX A

the use of the cryptographic annotations which are found both below it in the fourth and fifth hours of Amduat and are continued on the ceiling of the adjoining Hall H in the composition of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, (Plate 372) the blunder has been seamlessly integrated into the flow of the tomb's decoration. What and to what extent it replaced is, of course, indeterminable. However, there are a couple of tantalizing clues. In his in depth study on the ceiling decoration of corridor G, Darnell has cited numerous examples of the close association of the deities in this composition and those of the Litany of Re.[74] In the Osireion, the Litany of Re holds a prominent position where the manifestations of Re and Osiris are depicted on the architraves supporting the ceiling of the Central Hall and where in all likelihood the scenes of the compositions of the Solar cycle and of the Lunar cycle from corridor G would have been originally depicted. But the litany of Re in its standard format is strangely absent from the tomb of Ramesses VI, even though the Litany of Re was a regular feature of the royal tombs.[75] "Portions of the Litany of Re in the tombs of Thutmose III and his vizier Useramun, with the excerpts related to one another. The series of figures to the 'Great Litany' also appear in both tombs, but there are no further illustrations. The entire text, with few omissions, first occurs on the shroud dedicated by Amenhotep II to his father, Thutmose III. The subsequent disappearance of the book is especially striking in the case of Tutankhamun, for all the burial equipment in his tomb has been preserved to us. The book is attested again under Seti I, in whose tomb the figure to the title first appears. From then on, the book was the standard decoration in the first and second corridors of the royal tombs; Ramesses VI was the first to give it up in its entirety, though Ramesses IX and Ramesses X again included extracts. The figures were always reserved for the second corridor, while the text filled the first corridor with a little of it reaching into the second corridor. In the tombs of Seti I and Ramesses II, all the hieroglyphs face the interior of the tomb, whereas from Merenptah on, they face uniformly to the right so that all the columns of the text are reversed. A portion of the figures appears in Merenptah's decoration in the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos, and the complete sequence occurs in the temple built at that site by Ramesses II."[76] Perhaps Ramesses VI was forced to give up the standard form but incorporated its essence in the composition of the ceiling of corridor G modified to some indeterminable degree because of the breach.

The evidence has been presented and believe it to be conclusive. While the architectural layout of the two structures is clearly very different as are their functions, there should be no longer any question about the source and template for the decoration program of the tomb of Ramesses VI, the break with tradition. It is the Osireion and it should be added skillfully adapted for its funerary use rather than its ritual function in the Osireion. With two exceptions that of the standard form of the Litany of Re and the Book of Nut which was replaced by the Book of the Day in order to create Ramesses VI's personal microcosm emphasizing his direct participation in the perpetual circuit of the sun god in his sarcophagus chamber, all other major Underworld Books and Books of the Sky, seven in total

74 J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995), 236-405.

75 It is even the more so since the Litany of Re was so closely associated with the Amduat texts, which are depicted on the walls of corridor G.

76 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999), 136.

APPENDIX A

comprising the main corpus of the New Kingdom compositions, that are found in the Osireion also appear in the tomb of Ramesses VI.[77] They are with some minor exceptions all arranged in precisely the same order. In addition, both structures begin with an undecorated corridor. They contain the Hall of Two Truths in the same location and utilize the double shrine for the enthroned Osiris as the dividing point between the upper and lower *duat.*

Additionally as has been demonstrated, "the decoration of the tomb of Ramesses VI differs from that traditionally employed since the time of Seti I [because he chose instead to use the Osireion as his template].... The decoration plan in the tomb of Ramesses IX is, in important parts, a development of that in the tomb of Ramesses VI.... The decoration schemes of the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX correspond as follows:

Scenes at the beginning of the first corridor: in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, the king appears in front of Re in a richly decorated shrine.

Book of Caverns: first-fourth division in the first and second corridor (right), parts of the fifth and sixth division in the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: complete representation of the Book [of Caverns] over the entire right wall in the upper part of the tomb.

Imy-duat [Amduat]: starts with the second division in the second corridor, with the second division and the beginning of the third division in the third corridor. Ramesses VI: first-eleventh division in the fourth and fifth corridors [F and G].

The Book of the Earth: a few scenes in the sarcophagus chamber [including that of the scene still remaining in the Second Transverse Hall of the Osireion]. Ramesses VI: the entire decoration in the sarcophagus hall consist of [large segments of] this Book.

Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead: Ramesses IX continues with the final text of the spell at the precise point Ramesses VI breaks off [suggesting it was copied from the version of the text in the Osireion].

Spell 126 of the Book of the Dead: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the anteroom.

The astronomical ceiling, including the decans, planets, the northern constellation, and the Ramesside star clock: in the second corridor. Ramesses VI: in the second and third corridors.

The Book of Day and the Book of Night: employed by both Ramesses IX and Ramesses VI on the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber.

77 There is a brief excerpt from the Book of the Heavenly Cow in the left niche of corridor C. No traces of this composition remains in the Osireion. However, the two end walls of the Second Transverse Hall were undoubtedly decorated but are completely destroyed and the Book of the Heavenly Cow, usually placed in its own separate space may have adorned one of those end walls.

APPENDIX A

The scene depicting the resurrection of Osiris: rear wall of the sarcophagus chamber. Ramesses VI: ceiling of the anteroom....

For the ceiling of the fourth corridor of Ramesses IX has taken the newly structured scenes from Ramesses VI [corridor F]. They are shown in the center, famed by parts of the Book of Day and the Book of Night, the awakening of the blessed on their mummy biers and the Mehen-snake. In the third corridor of Ramesses IX the scenes with the appearance of Re and the barges for the journey of the king are missing.

The above comparisons serve to establish the fact that Ramesses IX copied essential elements of his tomb decoration from his predecessors [including compositions from the Osireion]. Parts of his tomb are a continuation of the program newly developed by Ramesses VI [in fact taken from the Osireion]. On the other hand, there exists a surprising number of innovations in the texts and scenes."[78] However, some or perhaps many of these so-called innovations may also have been taken from the Osireion.[79] Roberson has demonstrated this with a solar "litany, consisting of twenty-four addresses by the sun god to the inhabitants of the *Duat*... The text, attested first in a highly fragmentary, cryptographic copy from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos [in the Second Transverse Hall], appears largely complete in the burial chamber of Ramesses IX", which concerns the union of Re and Osiris.[80]

78 F. Abitz, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX" in C.N. Reeves (ed.) After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes (1992), 168-169.

79 Ibid., 170-171 figure 29. In all fairness to Ramesses IX, l.p.h., for example, a unique scene of the king offering a libation before Re has been inserted into the fourth division of the Book of Caverns.

80 J. Roberson, "A Solar Litany from the Tomb of Ramesses IX" JARCE 45 (2009), 227-232.

APPENDIX B

THE MOVEMENT OF THE MOON

The following demonstrates how the ancient Egyptians may have been able to determine the important 19 year lunar cycle, known as the Metonic Cycle, on a purely observational basis without benefit of or need for complex mathematics and astronomical instrumentation. Reproduced from: https://www.mythicalireland.com/blogs/astronomy/metonic-cycle-the-19-year-cycle-of-the-moon/

What is the Metonic Cycle of the moon? Here's a very interesting question which many astronomers would initially imagine is easy to answer: "If you saw the full moon above Orion tonight, when would you expect to see another full moon in EXACTLY the same position among the stars again?"

If that's got you thinking, don't be surprised. The answer will not roll off your tongue, even if you are an astronomer! The first time I was asked that question, I was at a loss. You see, the moon's movements through the sky are not straightforward, like those of its companion, the sun. We know the sun takes 365 and a quarter days to make a full journey through the zodiac and return to the same position in the sky again. It follows the same imaginary line (ecliptic) every time it does this journey. It's regular and easy to follow.

The picture above shows a Full Moon above Orion on a sample date, December 18, 2021, at 23:57. When will the Full Moon return to exactly that position between Taurus' horns?

TRYING TO WORK IT OUT

The moon makes its full journey through the sky in, roughly speaking, 27 days (the exact figure is 27.322 days). That's called the siderial lunar month, or the tropical lunar month. Simple enough, one would think. So the moon returns to the same background stars every 27.3 days. There's the answer to the question. But wait – the question is "If you saw the full moon above Orion tonight, when could you expect to see another full moon in EXACTLY the same position among the stars again?"

And herein lies the problem. While the moon takes 27.3 days (tropical month) to return to the same background stars, it does not return to the same phase until two days after. In other words, the time it takes the moon to return from one full phase to the next is, roughly speaking, 29 and a half days. (Actual period expressed as a decimal is 29.5306 days). That period is called a synodic lunar month.

So, we have a full moon above Orion's outstretched hand. We know the moon will come back to this position in 27.3 days (tropical month), but it won't be full until 29.5 days (synodic month). So when can we expect to see it full again, and back in the same position between the tips of Taurus's horns? We will need to count the number of same phases (synodic months) and the number of returns Orion's hand (tropical months) to find out.

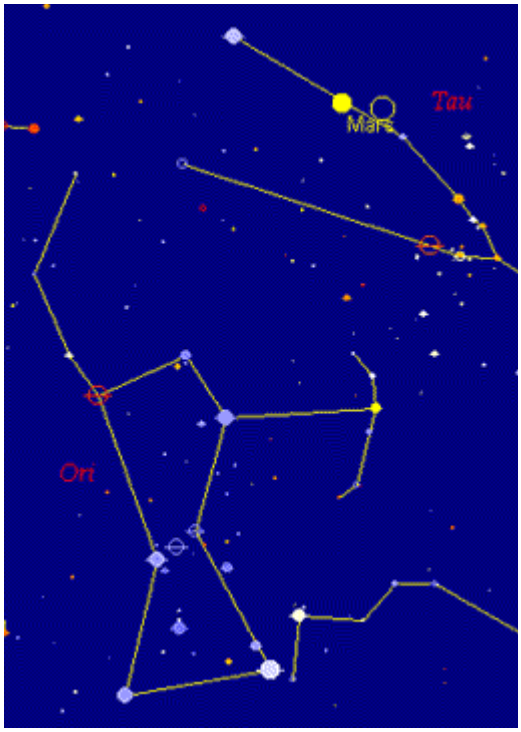
THE LUNAR YEAR

12 synodic months, or 12 returns of the Moon to the same phase, forms the period of time known as a lunar year. If you start from the Full Moon closest to the time of Winter Solstice (Dec. 21st), and count how many times the Moon returns to this position and how many times it returns to the same phase, you will find that in the time it has returned to Full Moon 12 times, it will have passed Orion's hand 13 times. This is one lunar year. 12 same shapes, 13 returns to the same stars. This lunar year is exactly 354.372 days long, which is a whole 11 days shorter than a Solar tropical year.

So, could that be the answer? Is 12 returns to the same shape, one Lunar Year, the time it takes the Moon to return to exactly the same background stars?

Let's try it out. Using an astronomy program such as SkyMap Pro, go forward 354 days from our sample date, Dec. 18 2021, and we get December 7, 2022. This is the first time since our start date that the Full Moon is visible in the horns of Taurus, so it's pretty close. But it's not bang on. Remember, we're looking for the Full Moon in exactly the same position.

If we wait another lunar year, another 12 returns to the same phase, 13 returns to the same shape, we see the Full Moon in this region of the sky again, but its position is under the Pleiades, a bit west from the original position. So we have seen 24 Full Moons and 26 returns to this part of the sky. This is two pure lunar years. To get a more accurate return of the Full Moon to the horns of Taurus, wait another Synodic Month. This takes us to December 26, five days after Winter Solstice, the year 2023. We have seen 25 Full Moons and 27 returns to Orion's hand.



One year later.

In order to keep the lunar periods attached to the solar year (remember we are watching for the full moon closest to winter solstice), we have added one "pure" lunar year containing 12 synodic months, 13 tropical months, with a period we will call the lunar "leap" year – 13 synodic months, 14 tropical months. This is a very valuable first lesson in learning the Metonic cycle - "Dozens and Thirteens". We can express these periods in an easy-to-remember fashion as follows:

12,I – 12 synodic months ending 11 days before 1 tropical year

II,25 – 25 synodic months ending 8 days after 2 tropical years

In this notation, developed by Charlie Scribner, the 12 comes before the I because the 12 synodic months ends 11 days BEFORE one year. In the second period, the 25 follows the II because the 25 sm ends eight days AFTER two years.

We use the period counts of same moon phases and returns to the same stars, called the synodic month and tropical month, to warn us when to pay close attention to what the sun is doing and to better manage time. If we continue our series, we add another "pure lunar year". This time, we will see the full moon for the 37th time, and we've seen it pass Orion's hand 40 times. It's now December 14, 2024 and the full moon is this time located just above the upper horn of Taurus. This gives us the third Metonic interval:

37,III – 37 synodic months ending 3 days before 3 tropical years

The numbers of tropical years in our evolving series have an interesting quality. They are equal to the numbers of tropical months (in the latest instance 40) minus the numbers of synodic months (37). So 3ty = 40tm - 37sm.

Remember the formula: TY = TM - SM
The number of tropical years equals the number of tropical months minus the number of synodic months.

When the synodic month and tropical month come back into phase with one another, when same shapes return to the same stars, the synodic and tropical months also come back into phase with the sun and his seasons. The numbers of tropical years are equal to the numbers of tropical months plus the number of synodic months. The three different periods form what we now call an harmonic. Adding another pure lunar year takes us to:

49,IV,53 – 49 synodic months ending 14 days before 4 tropical years (53 tropical lunar months)

If we add a second lunar leap year to the series, we arrive at another Metonic interval:

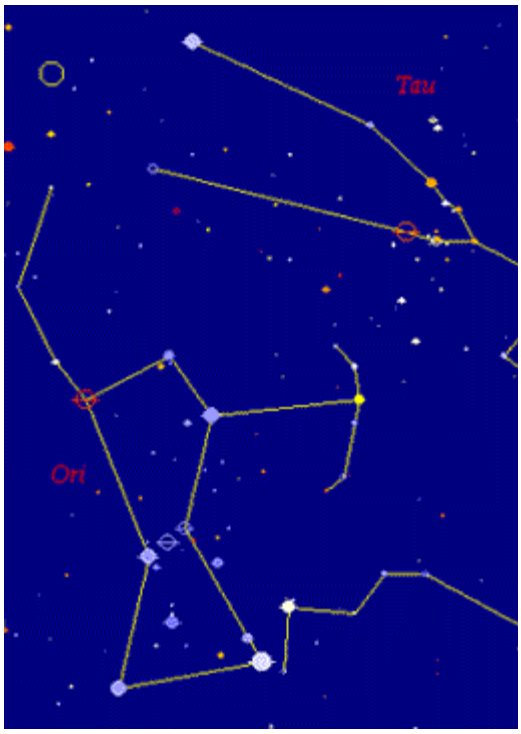
V,62,67 – 62 synodic months ending 5 days after 5 tropical years (67 tropical lunar months)

The first lesson, "Dozens and Thirteens", continues:

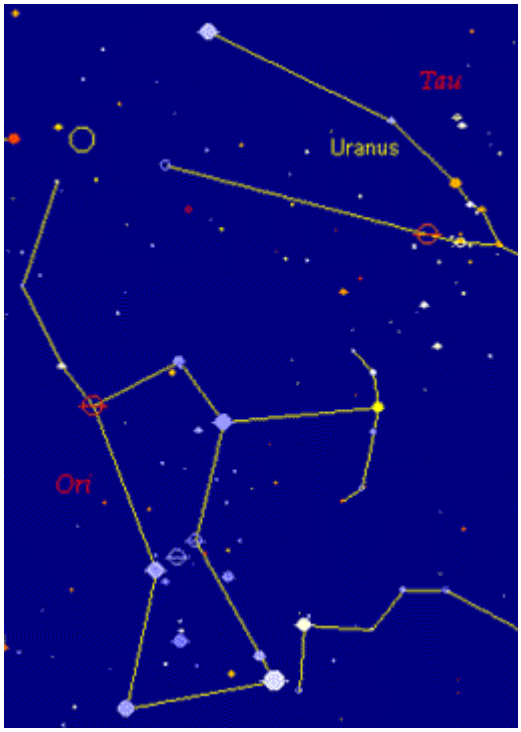
74,VI,80 – 74 synodic months ending 6 days before 6 tropical years (80 tropical lunar months)

VIII,87,94 – 87 synodic months ending 13 days after 7 tropical years (94 tropical lunar months)

VIII,99,107 – 99 synodic months ending 2 days after 8 tropical years (107 tropical lunar months)



The Full Moon back in Orion's hand after Metonic Interval V,62 - five days after 5 tropical years, date: 23 Dec. 2026.



The Full Moon in Orion's hand again, this time at Metonic Interval VIII,99 - 2 days after 8 tropical years, date: 20 Dec. 2029.

This latest Metonic interval, VIII,99, brings the full moon in Orion's hand to within just two days of the date of the same moon we saw eight years back. The original observation was made on December 18th (2021), with the current observation on December 20th (2029) and since our very first full moon eight years ago we have seen 99 full moons, and a whopping 107 returns of the moon to Orion's hand. That's a lot of moon watching!

Here's an interesting fact: This VIII,99 Metonic subunit which brings the same phase of the moon back to the same part of the sky two days after eight solar years, is actually made up of two of the smaller intervals. You can add them up yourself to see how it works:

37,III,40 – 37 synodic months ending 3 days before 3 tropical years

V,62,67 – 62 synodic months ending 5 days after 5 tropical years

VIII,99,107 – 99 synodic months ending 2 days after 8 tropical years

37,III,40 + V,62,67 = VIII,99,107
Adding 37,III, the 3 days before, to VIII,99, the 2 days after, finds the even stronger tie:

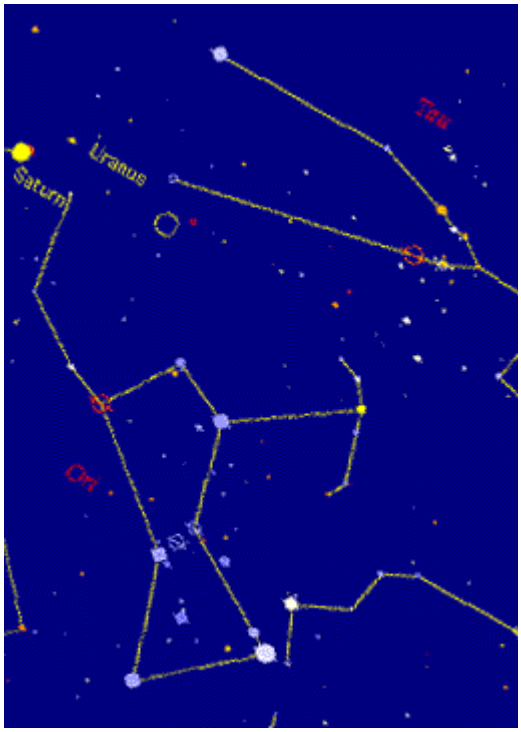
136,XI,147 – 136 synodic months ending about a day before 11 tropical years

Add VIII,99 to 136,XI and find the answer to the question!:

XIX,235,254

235 synodic months ending at the same time as 19 tropical years or 254 tropical lunar months.

This is the Metonic Cycle, and it brings the full moon back to where we first observed it, between the horns of Taurus all those long 19 years ago.



The Full Moon back above Orion at the 11-year Metonic interval of 136 synodic months. This interval brings the same phase to within one day of its original date.

Finally, the Full Moon returns to the exact position where we saw it 19 years before.
Compare this with the very first image at the top of the page.

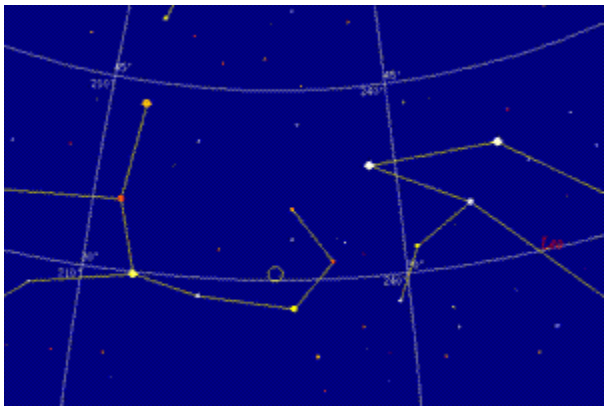
It's most incredible. If you see the moon tonight, watch closely its position and phase, because you won't see it returning to that exact position and phase for another 19 years, or 235 synodic months, 254 tropical lunar months. You might not even be alive the next time it happens. Try it with a computer program like SkyMap or Stellarium. Just pick a date and look at the phase and position of the moon and add 19 years. Here's how it works out in terms of actual days:

365.24 days (solar tropical year) x 19 = 6939.56 days

29.5306 days (lunar synodic month) x 235 = 6939.691 days

27.322 days (lunar tropical month) x 254= 6939.788 days

But remember, you DO NOT have to know the day counts in order to see the Metonic Cycle in action. It's the whole period counts which give us the intervals. We don't think of 12,I -11 as being 354 days. We think of it as being 12 returns of the moon to the same shape, in this case, full moon , and that this is 11 days before the winter solstice sunrise. Try it with another example, this time the full moon on spring equinox, 2000, March 20, the old pagan Easter, with the moon under Denebola, the tail of Leo the Lion, in the stars of Virgo.



Full Moon on March 20, 2000, the Spring Equinox, under Denebola in the stars of Virgo.

Full Moon 19 years later, March 20, 2019, in exactly the same location under Leo's tail.

You can try some of the other intervals too, and watch how the full moon returns to this part of the sky. But remember, think of whole period counts instead of big numbers of days. Add 12 synodic months (one solar year minus 11 days).

If you can look out a window and see the moon among the stars right now, you will see this moon return to the same shape and passing the same stars in 19 tropical years, 235 synodic months, 254 tropical months. We have seen how this can be uncovered visually, without the need for complex mathematics and astronomical instrumentation, and also how we do not need to know the actual day counts because we can record the cycle with period counts – synodic months, tropical months and tropical years. We don't even need to know about fractions. This Metonic Cycle is named after a Greek, called Meton, who lived in the 5th Century BC, and who claimed he discovered the cycle on his own. It seems that simple visual observations are all that's needed to see the cycle ... and there's plenty of evidence it was known and recorded long before Meton ever existed.

Anthony Murphy

This page was last updated on Monday, 30th October 2017 @ 22:57:26

APPENDIX C

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LUNAR NUMBER SYMBOLISM

It became clear after a number of conversations with a colleague,[1] that a dedicated section on lunar number symbolism would not only be useful but also desirable. This is particularly the case in light of the fact that lunar symbolism appears to have been extremely important, not just for its connection with Osiris and thus to the fate of every ancient Egyptian, but also for the less obvious connection to divine kingship and the transmission of royal power, which is only now becoming recognized for its true significance.

In the Osireion versions of the Books of the Underworld, Books of the Sky, and the texts from the Book of the Dead, numerological symbolism would appear to be nearly as widespread and pervasive as the ancient Egyptians "use of word play". "The shape of hieroglyphic signs, as well as words and their pronunciation were believed to have potent magical power, harnessed through writing and oral recitation. Because the ancient Egyptians saw hieroglyphs and language as gifts from the gods, they perceived associations among words with phonetic or visual connections, but different meanings, to be divinely inspired. The use of wordplay, thus, permitted scribes to reveal the associations that were, so to speak, divinely implanted into the spoken and written language, in hieroglyphs, hieratic and demotic. Although the term 'wordplay' carries a frivolous connotation in modern times, exploring the connections between sounds, roots, phrases, and graphic qualities of writing was a serious hermeneutic matter for the ancient Egyptian authors and copyists. Recognizing and illuminating these connections though wordplay was believed to reveal discrete subtleties and organizational principles of the universe.[2] The phonetic, lexical and visual associations among words could shed light on semantic nuances without having to state them explicitly. Accordingly, scribes introduced metaphors and levels of enhanced meaning to a text by manipulating and (re)interpreting individual signs, as well as words and phrases. Moreover, the corresponding roots or initial sounds of words, and the resulting ambiguity of meaning, implied the harmony of maat, verifying the significance and authenticity of a text...

1 I must thank Denise Hoke for this helpful observation.

2 A. Loprieno suggested that wordplay involved a "scientific classification of the world and its entities" [i.e. the created cosmos]. "Puns and Wordplay in Ancient Egyptian" in S. Noegel, (ed.) Puns and Pundits: Wordplay in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature (2000), 8-9 and 13.

APPENDIX C

Moreover, the scribal use of wordplay in religious texts emphasized the complexity of each specific text and the multifaceted quality of Egyptian religion as a whole. In this way, punning functioned as a method of deeper theological interpretations. And, on a more mundane level, wordplay focused an audience's attention on a particular portion of a text and perhaps functioned as a mnemonic device, used in recitation."[3]

In essence, the same can be said for number symbolism. The potent magical power of the hieroglyphs, harnessed through their writing and oral recitation as gifts from the gods, also extended to the function of numbers. A role for numbers in ancient Egyptian magical practices has long been recognized by Egyptologists.[4] However, the extent and depth to their use and understanding has not been appreciated and has been largely ignored or trivialized. This is especially the case as it relates to their role in the discrete subtleties and organizing principles of the universe. Numerological symbolism sheds light on the nuances of the cosmic cycles without having to state them explicitly, which likely explains why to this day they have remained hidden in plain sight.[5] The harmony of *mꜣʿt* embedded in the numerical structures of the creation texts in the Osireion emphasizes the complexity and intricacies of each specific composition and the multifaceted dimension of Egyptian religious thought. It also served as an important magical means for the perpetuation of those cycles, both in their creation on the first occasion and of their continual unfolding.

Barbash further points to the problems in the determination of the intentionality of each pun, which is equally as great a problem with respect to number symbolism. "What modern translators perceive as wordplay may, in fact, be a misunderstanding of a dictated text or a visual misinterpretation of a text copied by a scribe who was not perfectly acquainted with the language.[6] The resulting alternative readings with phonetic or visual references to the original, which may have confused scribes in the first place, are often impossible to differentiate from intentional wordplay."[7] This also holds true for each individual example where numerological symbolism may have been intended. However, when multiple examples occur in a text or group of related texts, it significantly reduces the probability that it was coincidental and therefore the number symbolism was actually intended to enhance the underlying meaning of the texts.

Numbers are an abstract mathematical concept. Number symbolism can be used to express the

3 Y. Barbash, "Wordplay's Place in Mortuary Liturgies Scribal devices in papyrus W551" in B. Backes, J. Dieleman (eds.), Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt (2015), 203-205 and n.5.

4 For example W. Dawson, "The Number 'Seven' in Egyptian Texts" Aegyptus VIII (1927), 97-107; and R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1995).

5 See above 4.4.

6 A. Loprieno, "Our imprecise understanding of certain vocabulary and the principles of pronunciation of the Egyptian language keep many Egyptian puns hidden from modern translators." in "Puns and Wordplay in Ancient Egyptian" in S. Noegel, (ed.) Puns and Pundits: Wordplay in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature (2000), 7.

7 Y. Barbash, "Wordplay's Place in Mortuary Liturgies Scribal devices in papyrus W551" in B. Backes, J. Dieleman (eds.), Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt (2015), 205-206 and n. 16.

concepts that they embody. For example, on the astronomical ceiling in the northeast corner of the pronaos of the main temple of Isis at Philae, there are three large cosmological scenes. The middle composition depicts two arched sky goddesses who are forms of the goddess Nut as both the day sky and as the night sky through which the sun, moon and the stars travel daily.[8] Visually, the stars dominate this composition. (Plate 159) The number of stars is not arbitrary and relate to the measurement of the cycles of time, of which only one will be examined for the purpose of this example. Under the bodies of the two goddesses there are a total of thirty six stars. On one level, they symbolize the thirty six decanal stars that mark the thirty six ten-day periods of the Egyptian civil year. Note that there are another five stars encircled by a male deity beneath the two goddesses. (Plate 159) The hieroglyph for the *duat* is a five-pointed star enclosed in a circle.[9] They represent the five days of the Egyptian civil calendar that lie outside of the year, the epagominal days, i.e. the five days that are outside of the thirty six ten-day periods of 360 days of the twelve thirty-day months of the Egyptian civil year.[10] Together they total forty one units of time and symbolize the Egyptian civil year, with its unique structure of thirty six ten-day periods plus the five epagominal days. Rousseau recognized that the number forty one was one of a group of consecrated numbers used in their funerary architecture and is found embodied in the dimensions of the perimeter of the base of the Third Dynasty step pyramid of Djoser.[11] Combining 36 10-day periods with 5 additional single days to sum to a meaningful number of 41, certainly seems to be incongruous. In the “mechanics” of number symbolism, however, it is not. The 41 represents the sum of a more generic measure of units of time irrespective of their duration. Thus, it is as units of time that allows for their combination in a meaningful manner.

The Egyptians appear to have related a group of numbers to express certain movements of the moon and their relationship to those of the sun. They are extensive and complex. (Plate 36) Many were tied directly to their mythology. Others were important enough to have their own monthly festival. Some even embodied sophisticated astronomical observations not even thought to have been known by the ancient Egyptians until they were supposedly introduced to them by the Greeks, nearly a thousand years after the Osireion was constructed.[12] They have been discussed at length as they were encountered in each of the three ritual cycles. Here, they are summarized for the reader's convenience.

The Number SIX

Six is perhaps the quintessential number in ancient Egyptian lunar symbolism. It is also uniquely Egyptian. “Junker wrote a discerning article, 'Die sechs Teile des Horusauges und der 'sechste Tag',

8 C. Herzer, “Temple of Isis at Philae: Cosmological Scenes as Expressions of Time” in preparation.

9 J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2010), 438. Gardiner's sign list N 15 Ideogram for *dwꜣt* '*Ḏuat*'.

10 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 7-8 and 51-56.

11 J. Rousseau, “The Puzzle of the Consecrated Numbers” BSAK 2 (1988), 114-115.

12 See above 4.4, Hidden in Plain Sight: Astronomical and Calendrical Concepts in the Book of Caverns.

APPENDIX C

which was published in conjunction with Muller's announcement of his discovery that the hieroglyphic and hieratic symbols for the fractions of the grain measure [*ḥqɜt*, heqat] derived from the six parts of the Udjat-eye.[13] Professor Junker gathered a considerable amount of material showing that mythologically the Udjat, the whole, perfect eye, was assembled one piece per day and on the sixth day was complete. This day of 'the filling of the Udjat' was then a day of completion and had considerable significance as a monthly festival... However, the very great importance which the sixth lunar day came to have as a religious festival, an offering day in the cult of the dead and in the temple ritual, scarcely comports with the relative insignificance of the sixth day in the actual monthly lunar cycle. The first or New Moon day, the second or New Crescent day, the seventh or First Quarter day, the fifteenth or Full Moon day and the twenty third or Third Quarter day all have understandable significance in a system of religious observances based upon the lunar cycle. The sixth day, however, does not have any such significance to account for the fact of its very frequent appearance, from the Pyramid Texts (PT 408, PT 458) on, in company with New Moon, New Crescent, First Quarter and Full Moon days, yet it appears more frequently than any of them with the exception on New Moon and Full Moon days."[14]

As we have just seen, it was Moller in 1910 who rediscovered that the signs for the fractions of the grain measurement derived from the six component parts of the Udjat-eye. Junker demonstrated that the Udjat-eye was assembled one piece per day and on the sixth day was complete. This holds the key to understanding the great importance that the ancient Egyptians attached to this day of "filling the Udjat", the sixth day of the lunar cycle – a significant monthly festival dating back to the Pyramid Texts. This lunar festival was their celebration for the complete lunar cycle that embodied the precise measurement for the true duration of the lunar synodic month. In 2002, Priskin rediscovered that these six fractions (1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/16, 1/32, 1/64) form a natural geometric progression. "That there was some rationale behind this series of dimidiated fractions is hinted at by the Egyptians themselves. For example, in one of the eastern crypts of the Dendera Temple, the title of the scene describing the presentation of the *wsnb*, an object connected in all probability with time, or the measurement of time... is as follows:

> To be recited:
> Your *ḳa* is healthy, provided with its fractions
> its pupil is complete in its place,
> the Udjat-eye is hale as Isden (Thoth) [has made] it so
> all it forms are according to the right reckoning (*tp-hsb*)."[15]

Priskin recognized the significance of the phrase "right reckoning" (*tp-hsb*) and was able to demonstrate that the Udjat-eye stood for a basic mathematical operation connected with the 30 day

13 ZAS XLVIII (1910), 101-106 (Junker) and 99-101 (Moller).

14 G. Hughes, "The Sixth Day of the Lunar Month and the Demotic Word for 'Cult Guild'", MDAIK 16, II (1958), 148.

15 G. Priskin, "The Eye of Horus and the Synodic Month" DE 53 (2002), 77.

lunar cycle.[16] Adding up the value of the six fractional parts of the Udjat-eye and multiplying that sum by 30, the number of days in each month in the Egyptian civil calendar, yields 29.53125 days. This is an extremely close approximation of the mean length (29.53059 days) of the synodic month, the period between two identical phases of the moon."[17] Given the symbolism of the restored eye as complete, it specifically refers to the full moon.

The number six symbolizing the six pieces of the Udjat-eye, the restored left lunar eye of Horus, has some important numerological characteristics which relate directly to the monthly lunar cycle. After the disappearance and return to visibility each synodic month, the most prominent feature of the monthly lunar cycle is its two distinct phases of waxing and waning, which is noticeably visible in the sky. The lunar crescent faces away from its direction of travel when waxing and toward it when waning.[18] The design of the Osireion and the Book of Caverns exhibit this same pattern. There are six main chambers and passages divided into two halves in the Osireion, representing the upper and lower *ḏuat.* The Book of Caverns has six divisions, which are separated into two distinct halves. The six pieces of the Udjat-eye can also be divided into its two halves and embodies a deeper numerical significance for the ancient Egyptian understanding of the lunar cycle. The first half represented by the numbers 1 + 2 + 3 totals six, the number of pieces constituting the Udjat-eye itself. The second half represented by the numbers 4 + 5 + 6 equals fifteen. The Udjat-eye is the sound eye because it is complete, that is to say full. There are fifteen days from the New Moon to the Full Moon, the time it takes to restore the eye of Horus by reconstituting the Udjat-eye. This represents the waxing phase of the lunar cycle. It is said that it was Thoth who did this with his own fingers. Thoth from all periods was closely associated with the moon as the regulator of the cycles of time. Notably, the male deities of the Heliopolitan creation process can also be organized along these same lines. The unfolding of Atum + Shu + Geb, representing the initial stages of creation on the first occasion equate to the formation of the lunar cycle, the six pieces of the Udjat-eye. Osiris + Seth + Horus, in that order, symbolize the waning phase of the lunar cycle. Osiris is said to enter the moon on the fifteenth day (half month) festival. Seth is responsible for the dismemberment and death of Osiris-Moon. Horus-Moon is posthumously conceived on the night of the Blacked-out moon to start the cycle all over again.

The Number SEVEN and its Multiples

The seventh day festival is inextricably connected to the sixth day festival in nearly all texts. The reason for this is not immediately obvious, nor does it appear to have been adequately explained.[19] "The seventh lunar day also appears to have been important."[20] In astronomical terms, it is the first-

16 G. Priskin, "The Eye of Horus and the Synodic Month" DE 53 (2002), 75-81.

17 Ibid., 78. The difference is 0.00066 of a day, which is 57 seconds.

18 J. P. Allen, Review of Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten JNES 61 (2002), 63.

19 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 86-89.

20 Ibid., 59.

APPENDIX C

quarter day, *dnjt*.[21] Visually, however, it appears in the night sky as a half-full disk and may have been used to symbolize renewal.[22] Its importance may lie with its connection to the Udjat-eye. There are six visible pieces to the Udjat-eye which was assembled one piece each day until it is complete on the sixth day, the reason for the celebration of the Sixth Day festival. But the lunar cycle also has a period of invisibility each month to which the seventh day can be equated. This would also explain the reason for their inextricable connection.

The significance of the number seven and its multiples in ancient Egyptian magical practice has long been known as has their association with Osiris.[23] Less well recognized is the association of the number seven with the moon. In addition to the seventh day lunar festival, there are the fourteen visible phases of the waxing moon and of the waning lunar cycle. The number twenty one is the sum of six and fifteen, where six can symbolize the six pieces of the Udjat-eye. Fifteen is the number of days from New Moon to the Full Moon, the period required to restore the sound eye, the Udjat-eye.[24] Then there are the twenty eight visible phases of the monthly lunar cycle, which is the sum of 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7, also considered to be the limbs of Osiris-Moon. Forty two is the sum of six, seventeen and nineteen. Six is the number of pieces of the Udjat-eye. Seventeen is the sacred number to Osiris symbolizing Osiris-Moon's dismemberment and death.[25] Seventeen is the number of days for the entire period when the moon first gradually became covered (waning) and then remained totally covered (invisible) during conjunction.[26] Nineteen is the number sacred to Osiris signifying his rejuvenation and renewal. Nineteen is the number of days from the Full Moon to its reappearance in the night sky with first crescent visibility. Said another way, the six pieces of the Udjat-eye which are dismembered over seventeen days are made complete by Thoth and symbolized by the number nineteen. Therefore, the number forty two can be interpreted as representing the complete monthly lunar cycle from new moon to new moon.[27] In the context of *zp tpj* to which the rituals in the Osireion are directed, it symbolizes the creation of Osiris-Moon and the monthly lunar cycle. At another level, forty two can also be interpreted as signifying the limbs of Osiris. This interpretation refers to the “myth of the dismemberment of Osiris, whose body is said to have been torn apart after his death and his limbs

21 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 11. The twenty third day, last quarter moon is also called *dnjt*.

22 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 87.

23 For example W. Dawson, “The number Seven in Egyptian Texts” Aegyptus VIII (1927), 97-107.

24 See above 5.3, The Descent to My Father Osiris.

25 See above 5.3.

26 G. Priskin, “Coffin Texts Spell 155” Birmingham Egyptology Journal 1 (2013), 30-38.

27 The arrangement of the forty two divine judges in BD 125B in the tomb of Ramsesses VI supports such a division. They are depicted in two rows with twenty five magistrates in the top register and seventeen in the lower register. Using the Osireion version as the template for the order of the deities in the royal tomb, after the sixth judge the order for the sequence of the judges was disrupted but restored later so that the final seventeen judges in the lower register again follow the same order as in the Osireion. In essence, this arrangement falls into groups of six, nineteen and seventeen.

dispersed throughout Egypt, each nome receiving one of them.[28] The myth seems to anticipate not only the cult of relics so widespread in Early Christianity, but also the Christian idea of 'ecclesia' – a new form of association and collective identity that constitutes the body of Christ in much the same way as the forty two nomes of Egypt constitute the body of Osiris."[29]

The Number SEVENTEEN

It was Plutarch who alerted us to the importance of the number seventeen for the ancient Egyptians. He said that "the Egyptians have a legend that the end of Osiris' life came on the seventeenth day of the month, on which it is quite evident to the eye that the period of the full moon is over."[30] The fourteenth and the seventeenth days of the lunar month have the same name, *sjꜣw*. "I translate it [*sjꜣ/sjꜣw*] 'full moon period' in accordance with the astute observation of Richard A. Parker that the fourteenth and seventeenth days of the lunar month bear the same name because, due to the complexities of lunar observation, the full moon appears within this time window."[31] We have just seen that seventeen is the number of days for the entire period when the moon first gradually became covered (waning) and then remained totally covered (invisible) during conjunction. Said another way, seventeen days represents the fourteen days of the visible waning of the moon and the maximum of three days of its invisibility from last crescent visibility to the appearance of the new crescent. The mythological papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84 refers to this period: "As for the covering [*ḥbs*] of [….] in Heliopolis until the third day after the moon's invisibility – Seth seizes the eye of Horus."[32] In the Pyramid Texts, Osiris was said to enter the moon in the sky when it is sound, the complete eye, which Thoth had restored with his own fingers. So both Osiris' death and the injury to Horus' eye in the Contendings of Horus and Seth are tied to this same period and the number seventeen. This gains further significance when it is recognized that Osiris and Horus are one god in two manifestations - that of divine kingship and as the moon.

Seventeen is the seventh prime number. The sum of its integers 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12 + 13 + 14 + 15 + 16 + 17 = 153. The Litany of Osiris (BD 142) in the Antechamber of the Osireion is based on this design, where there are three registers of fifty one names (17 x 3 x 3).[33]

28 H. Beinlich, Die Osirisreliquien. Zum Motiv der Korperzergliederung in der altagyptischen Religion (1984).

29 J. Assmann, "Semiosis and Interpretation in Ancient Egypt" in S. Biderman, B. Scharfstein, Interpretation in Religion (1992), 98.

30 G. Priskin, "Coffin Texts Spell 155" Birmingham Egyptology Journal 1 (2013), 30-38, quoting Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride: ch. 42.

31 Ibid., 30-38 and R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13.

32 Ibid., 30-38 and D. Meeks, Mythes et legendes du Delta d'apres le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84 (2006), 79 and 84, IV, 2-3.

33 See above 4.6, The Ritual Sequence for the Second Night: The Rites for the New Moon on the Night of the Blacked-out Moon.

APPENDIX C

Furthermore, there are seventeen scenes in the first half of the Book of Caverns in which Osiris is depicted, frequently in multiple forms.[34] These seventeen scenes contain fifty one manifestations of Osiris, which as we have seen is the same structural format organizing the Litany of Osiris located in the Antechamber. Seventeen times three is fifty one, a multiplicity of names of Osiris in each of the lower and middle registers of the litany's three registers. [35]

The Number NINETEEN

According to Plutarch, this number was also sacred to Osiris, signifying his rejuvenation, renewal and rebirth. With respect to the monthly lunar cycle, nineteen is the number of days from the Full Moon to its reappearance in the night sky with first crescent visibility. As a symbol of renewal it can also be equated with the waxing moon.

In the second half of the Book of Caverns, by my count there are a total of nineteen scenes in which Osiris is depicted, [36] but with fewer multiple forms than the fifty one found in the first half. In total, there are twenty five manifestations of Osiris in the nineteen scenes. At one level and a subtle one at that, they could refer to the relationship that exists between a twenty five civil year period and the lunar cycle. "Underlying this cycle are the facts that 25 Egyptian civil years [300 30-day months plus 5 epagomenal days x 25] have 9125 days and that 309 lunar months (divided into 16 years of 12 months and 9 years of 13 months) have 9124.95231 days." [37] Note that there are a total of 309 figures in the first half of the Book of Caverns, which could signify the 309 lunations that occur in each cycle of 25 Egyptian civil years. This repetitive cycle for renewal results in the same lunar phase falling again on the same day of the civil month once every twenty five civil years, thereby re-synchronizing the solar based civil calendar to the lunar cycle. [38]

In the Book of Caverns there are a total of 36 scenes with seventy six manifestations of Osiris. Of these seventy six manifestations of Osiris, nineteen wear the *ḥḏt*, the white crown, symbol of both Osiris-Moon's luminosity and its regeneration. As we have seen of the thirty six scenes, seventeen are in the first half of the Book of Caverns and nineteen are in the second half. Together, the numbers seventeen and nineteen, which were sacred to Osiris, symbolize the complete cycle of Osiris and of Osiris-Moon, the god's dismemberment, death and rebirth. Their sum is thirty six which may also be interpreted as representing the thirty six decans. They are the stars or star groups used by the ancient Egyptians to mark the thirty six ten-day 'weeks' of the civil year. It is also from the star table in the Sloping Passage of the Osireion that the first direct evidence is found that explicitly links the decanal

34 See above 4.4, Hidden in Plain Sight: Astronomical and Calendrical Concepts in the Book of Caverns.

35 See above in 4.5 for a detailed analysis.

36 Including the final scene. See above 4.4.

37 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 13-15.

38 Ibid., 25. Parker showed that it was accurate only about 72% of the time and off by one day for the remaining 28%. See above 4.4.

stars to the hours of the night.[39]

The seventy six manifestations of Osiris contained in the thirty six scenes are also linked directly to kingship, the transmission of royal power and dynastic rule. Osiris was the symbol *par excellence* of the ancestor kings. Recall that there are seventy six kings in four groups of nineteen each in the cultic assemblage, the so-called "kings list" in Seti's main temple, the Mansion of Millions of Years. Recall too the Cycle of 76, the annual renewal of Kingship celebrated in Luxor and Abydos, which was also segmented into four groups of nineteen days each.[40] There is also an important cycle of four nineteen year periods forming a seventy six year cycle, known today as the Callippic cycle. These seventy six manifestations of Osiris may also be an expression of this cycle.

Embedded in the structure of the Osireion version of the first half of the Book of Caverns are the depiction of 254 deities, including the two of the king at the beginning of the composition, who are not present in the other surviving copies.[41] The insertion of the figure of the king often completes or better still creates the number symbolism desired to be expressed. In total there are by my count 309 figures. Both of these numbers embody numerical relationships that exist which express aspects of the longer term cyclical interaction between the celestial movement of the sun and the moon that define *nḥḥ* time and arose out of *ḏt* time on the first occasion. Yet they are not evident from the daily or monthly movements of the moon and the sun. However, this does not mean that they do not exist, because they do, it means only that they are not readily apparent from the perspective of shorter term observations. I believe that the ancient Egyptians applied this same principle in the structuring of their compositions. These hieroglyphic inscriptions and accompanying vignettes are literally the 'words of the gods' and were organized in the same fashion as the gods' own actions and they mirror the nature of the divine cycles themselves. Because the longer cycles defining the movements of Osiris-Moon and the sun god Re are not visible to an observer on a daily, monthly, or perhaps even a yearly basis, in a sense they appear to be hidden, *jmn*, and mysterious, *šsts*, secret and inaccessible which was precisely how the ancient Egyptians utilized them in their compositions. But they are nevertheless present, hidden in plain sight so to speak. To the keen observer, however, they reveal the precise nature of the cycles. That is to say, the interactions of the gods, Osiris-Moon and Re-Sun in the case of the Book of Caverns. They become "visible" and thus known by counting the number of figures and deities contained within, which form the structure of the composition. The texts interact to further define the meaning being expressed. For example, the first half of the Book of Caverns consists of a total of 309 figures. An address by the Great God provides a valuable clue to understanding the underlying

39 S. Symons, "A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 18-19.

40 See above 1.4, The Realm of Osiris Re-Created.

41 D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch II (2011), 2-3. He does point out that in the non-royal tomb of Pedamenopet (TT 33), Pedamenopet is depicted entering into the first cavern behind the ram-headed sun god. Unfortunately, not enough remains to determined if he also depicted himself receiving the sun god as well.

meaning at least on one level. Note the central location of this scene to which the text refers. It is located in the middle register of the first division, indicative of its importance. (Plate 176)

> "O Osiris, Lord of the *ḏuat* – I am Re!
> Give me your hand!
> I am he, the *ḥa*-Lord,
> the Most Mighty of the beginning of the World..." [42]

The address continues by the ram-headed *ḥa* of the sun god at the beginning of creation on the first occasion who is, of course, Atum.

> "O Ennead of Osiris
> who sits in judgment in the *ḏuat*!
> O Osiris, Lord of the West,
> and you who are in his retinue...
> O deities, give me your hand!
> Ennead, in whom Osiris is, lead me
> to the paths of the *ḏuat*, to the mysterious Caverns!" [43]

Ennead, in whom Osiris is, could be interpreted as the nine additional lunations that occur in the 300 month cycle of twenty five civil years and mark the period when the same phase of the moon will return to the same day of the civil month as they were at their creation on *zp tpj*. The full moon of each of these nine lunations stand apart from the other 300, as they are outside of the normal cycle. They are the second full moon that occur in an Egyptian 30-day civil month and the full moons that fall during the five epagomenal days outside of the year. [44]

Furthermore, the Ennead in whom Osiris is who sits in judgment in the *ḏuat* brings to mind the famous Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates (scene 33) depicted on the opposite wall of the Entrance Passage of the Osireion. [45] (Plate 88) Recall that it too defined and marked off an aspect of the interrelationship between the cycles of the sun and the moon. There are 354 figures depicted that precede the Judgment Hall of Osiris. On one level they can be equated to the 354 days of the twelve month lunar year, which is eleven days short of the 365 day solar year. In the Hall there are ten deities who are with Osiris. Together these eleven complete and in the context of the first occasion create the 365 day solar year. In a certain sense Osiris, like in his nightly union with Re, is the regenerative power that creates and renews the annual solar cycle.

42 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005), 192.

43 Ibid., 193.

44 L. Depuydt, Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt (1997), 202.

45 See above 3.3, The First Occasion and the Hall of Judgment of Osiris.

APPENDIX C

To be sure, this is not the only meanings that these scenes convey, but it is one that reveals an aspect of the underlying structural and interaction of the movement of the sun god and the moon god. This movement is both the means for the measurement of time and importantly the creation of time itself on the first occasion. That is to say, it is the prototype for the interaction between the movements of the sun and the moon created in *ḏt* time and serves as the template for the eternal repetition of this cycle in *nḥḥ* time.

The central scene in the middle register of the second division of the Book of Caverns, which is the exact center of the first half of the composition, contains a total of nineteen deities around the Chest of Osiris, two in front and seventeen behind. (Plate 179) The chest is where his body is hidden after its dismemberment representing the end of the waning phase of the lunar cycle. In the Osireion version of the composition, it is adorned with a solar disk, perhaps alluding to the union of Re with Osiris and the start of their mutual regeneration. These nineteen deities plus the remaining 235 express an important relationship that exists between the solar and lunar cycles. That is to say between the movements of the sun god Re by day and the moon god Osiris by night.

"Meton of Athens (ca. 440 BC) noticed that 235 lunar [synodic] months made up almost exactly 19 solar years. Using modern measurements;

19 years = 19 x 365.2425 days/per year or 6939.6075 days
= 234.997 lunar months x 29.53059 days/per lunar month or 6939.6000 days

The near commensurabilty of the two periods follows from the fact that 235/19 is the 6th convergent [summation operator] of the ratio of the lunar month and the solar year periods (365.2425/29.53059). This nineteen year lunar cycle became known as the Metonic cycle, and was the basis for the Greek calendar until the Julian calendar was introduced in 46 BC."[46] To the ancient Egyptians as we have seen, the number nineteen was sacred to Osiris, the god of regeneration, renewal and in this case rebirth of the cycles. Furthermore, 235 synodic months of 29.53 days (lunar phase to the same lunar phase) is equal to 235 +19 or 254 sidereal months of 27.32 days (lunar orbits, the period it takes for the moon to complete a revolution relative to the fixed stars),[47] which is equal to nineteen solar years. It also suggests that the ancient Egyptians like the noted Babylonian astronomers measured the moon's motion against the stars. These important relationships are not thought to have been recognized by the Egyptians until they were introduced by the Greeks. In no case were these relationships even suspected to have been known at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty (ca. 1300 BC) when the Book of Caverns first appeared.

46 Metonic Cycle – from Eric Weisstein's World of Astronomy at: www.scienceworld.wolfram.com

47 Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, Metonic Cycle at: https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/12389

APPENDIX C

The number nineteen through the Metonic cycle connected the cycles of the sun, Re with those of Osiris-Moon. Nineteen 'Sothic' years, consisting of 235 synodic months or 254 sidereal months marked the maximum period of time required for the movement of the moon across the sky from its northern extreme to its southern extreme and back . That the ancient Egyptians intended to encode this nineteen year cycle in the first half of the Book of Caverns, a Lunar-Osirian treatise used in the rites for the Blacked-out Moon (new moon), can be discerned by their choice of the 254 deities representing the 254 sidereal months of the nineteen year cycle. Among them, there are exactly nineteen solar disks equating to the nineteen solar years. Of the remaining 235 deities, nineteen wear the white crown of Upper Egypt, *ḥḏt*, a symbol of the luminosity of the moon. These 235 deities represent the 235 synodic months of the nineteen year Metonic cycle. As a group they equate to the same nineteen year time period expressed in terms of the shorter sidereal months. Their importance is that these 254 deities represent the totality of Osiris-Moon.[48] That is to say, the maximum length of the full lunar cycle from its major northern extreme to its southern extreme and back. And it is the creation of this lunar cycle on the first occasion that is being expressed here. It would seem reasonable to conclude that this nineteen year cycle reconciling the movements of the sun with the moon was a major reason or perhaps the major reason that the number nineteen was held sacred to Osiris. For without Osiris, Re could not exist, i.e. regenerate and vice versa, a clear message in Seti's *wḥm mswt*.[49]

Returning to the seventy six manifestations of Osiris-Moon found in the thirty six scenes of the Book of Caverns, one can make an important connection to the so-called Callippic cycle of seventy six years. “Callippus made accurate determinations of the length of the seasons and constructed a 76 year cycle comprising 940 [synodic] months to harmonize the solar and lunar years which was adopted in 330 BC and used by all later astronomers... The Callippic period is based on the Metonic period devised by Meton (born about 460 BC). Meton's observations were made in Athens in 432 BC but he gave the length for the year which was 1/76 of a day too long. The relation between Callippus' period and that of Meton are explained in [“Calendar”, Encyclopedia Britannica on line] as follows:

48 The length of the lunar cycle measured by the major standstills averages 18.6 years but at its extreme limit, the totality of the Osiris-Moon cycle is 19 years according to J. Frank, “19-year Lunar Cycle”, (cassiopaea.org/forum/index.php?topic=2890.0). “... every 18.6 years, the rising or setting Moon reaches a northern extreme in rising and setting azimuth at summer solstice, and a southern extreme at winter solstice. Theses are called major standstills. While such standstills can in principle be determined using horizon observations, as with the summer solstice Sun the Moon's year-to-year angular displacement along the horizon at summer solstice is very small near standstill. It should be noted that 18.6 years is measured from the point of view of the lunar orbit. Observationally, from the Earth's surface, the length of time between two major standstills is *not* 18.6 years: it switches back and forth between 18.5 years and 19 years, and 18.6 years is an observational average.” In their creation texts, the ancient Egyptians presumably felt compelled to account for all possible outcomes which has its own certain logic inherent to a creation text. This type of thinking is analogous to the way the ancient Egyptians expressed the monthly lunar cycle, for example, in its representation in the tenth cavern of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168). In the scene, there are fourteen double figures lying on their biers plus one at the start which is trebled totaling thirty one. (Plate 245) They are labeled the 'limbs of Osiris' i.e. phases of the monthly lunar cycle. But in any single monthly cycle there are only 29 or 30 days. What the thirty one represent are all possible combinations of a single monthly lunar cycle. In modern times we tend to focus more on the statistical average rather than the maximum. The Egyptians, at least in their creation compositions focused on the totality of a cycle. This would also help to explain why their civil calendar was permitted to wander through the course of the seasons instead of adjusting it by inserting a 'leap year'. To them it must have been more important to track the greater 1461 Egyptian civil years of the Sothic period or cycle than to keep the seasons in their 'proper' places within the year.

49 For the enhanced role for Osiris in the post Amarna period, see above 1.2 Restoration, renewal, and Renaissance (*wḥm mswt*): The Counter-Reformation.

APPENDIX C

> 'Callippus of Cyzicus (c. 370-300 BC) was perhaps the foremost astronomer of his day. He formed what has been called the Callippic period, essentially a cycle of four Metonic periods. It was more accurate than the original Metonic cycle and made use of the fact that 365.25 days is a more precise value for the tropical year than 365 days. The Callippic period consisted of 4 x 235, or 940 lunar months, but its distribution of hollow and full months was different from Meton's. Instead of having totals of 440 hollow and 500 full months, Callippus adopted 441 hollow and 499 full, thus reducing the length of four Metonic cycles by one day. The total days involved therefore became (441 x 29) + (499 x 30), or 27,759 and 27,759 divided by (19 x 4) gives 365.25 days exactly. Thus the Callippic cycle fitted 940 lunar [synodic] months precisely to 76 tropical years of 365.25 days.'" [50]

It also closely approximates the period of time in antiquity between successive heliacal risings of Sothis/Sirius. [51]

Importantly, "... year 1 of the First Callippic Cycle began on the summer solstice of 330 [BC], which was a new moon. This is confirmed by two of Hipparchus' equinoctial observations that are dated to both year 32 [BC] of the Third Callippic Cycle and year 178 [BC] from the death of Alexander. Dates within a Callippic cycle are either given in an astronomical Athenian calendar, which are then converted to their Egyptian equivalents, or directly as Egyptian dates, apparently according to the convention used by Ptolemy's source." [52] The fact that the First Callippic Cycle began on the summer solstice which was a new moon and the Callippic cycles were measured by Egyptian dates of their civil calendar, which apparently was Ptolemy's source, provides important clues to an earlier source for the so-called Callippic cycle.

From the Nut vignette in the Second Transverse Hall, we learn that the beginning of the Egyptian civil year was also on the summer solstice at the time of the new moon on *zp tpj*, as well as specifying that the heliacal rising of Sothis/Sirius occurred on this day of I *ꜣḫt* 1. [53] The fact that both of these cycles, the Egyptian civil year and the Callippic cycle began on a summer solstice at the the time of a new moon, which is an infrequent event, is unlikely to be coincidental. Furthermore, the use of the Egyptian civil calendar for the measurement of the Callippic cycle forms a direct link to the civil year and attests to its astronomical significance. "Once the Egyptian wandering year was abandoned in daily life, at the latest probably by the fourth century AD, it lived on in astronomy. The 365-day calendar was known and understood down to modern times without interruption because Ptolemy used it in his Almagest (second century AD), antiquity's greatest work of astronomy. There is a continuous line of transmission and study of the Almagest from when it was first written down to the present

50 www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.ukPrintonly/Callippus.html : article by J. O'Connor, E. Robertson.

51 L. Depuydt, "Calendars and Years in Ancient Egypt" in J. Steele (ed.) Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 78, n. 89.

52 C. Bennett "Egyptian Dates" at: www.reocities.com/christopher/bennett/ptolemies/chron/egyptian/chron_eg_cal.htm

53 See above 5.6 and 5.7. The thin crescent moon is depicted inside the body of the goddess Nut and is therefore not visible in the night sky i.e. the new moon.

time."[54]

The function of the Callippic cycle served to harmonize the movements of the moon (Osiris) and the sun (Re) through a seventy-six year cycle consisting of 940 synodic months comprising a total of 27,759 days. Importantly, "the Callippic cycle fitted 940 lunar months precisely to 76 tropical years of 365.25 days exactly."[55] This is also the same amount of time between successive heliacal risings of Sothis, the marker of the Egyptians' New Year's Day.

The so-called Callippic cycle is actually encoded in the timing for a very important Egyptian festival on a fixed date in the civil calendar. It is the nineteenth day of the first month (I *ꜣḫt* 19) and was in celebration of *ḏḥwty*. Thoth's association with the moon and the measurement of time are well known. "It is the sun that marks off day from night, but it is the moon that determines months, and seasons, and years."[56] That is to say the cycles of time of which the Callippic cycle is one with 940 lunations. Recall that Spalinger connected the festival of Thoth on I *ꜣḫt* 19 with the reconciliation of the twelve and thirteen-month lunar years through the number nineteen. He also concluded that "the Thoth feast on day 19 of the first month is associated with the inception of the civil calendar."[57] The heliacal rising of Sothis on the summer solstice at the time of the new moon marked the start of the civil year on I *ꜣḫt* 1 on the first occasion. "The rising [of Sothis] moves slowly forward in the Egyptian [civil] calendar at a pace of either about or exactly one day in four years, that is 10 days in 40 years."[58] Now the Callippic cycle is 940 lunations in 76 tropical years of 365.25 days. It too began on the summer solstice at the new moon. Said another way, the length of the Callippic cycle is measured by 76 successive Sothic risings each also of 365.25 days. With the slow forward movement of the Sothic rising in the civil calendar, from her very first rising on I *ꜣḫt* 1, the culmination of the so-called Callippic cycle of 76 years falls on I *ꜣḫt* 19! That is to say the fixed civil date of the festival of Thoth, the Lord of time.[59] Furthermore, nineteen is also the number of years in the so-called Metonic cycle. It too no doubt would have been celebrated on I *ꜣḫt* 19. Thus, it would seem that at the festival for the Lord of time, the reconciliation of the cycles of Osiris-Moon, the sun god Re and their relationship to the civil calendar and its inception would have made this festival a very important one indeed. It also demonstrates how knowledge of "meaningful patterns reflecting divine planning and cosmic harmony", hidden in plain sight, can be revealed through abstract numbers.[60]

54 L. Depuydt, "Calendars and Years in Ancient Egypt" in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007), 46.

55 www-history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Printonly/Callippus.html

56 P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922, reprinted 1987), 83-84.

57 See above 3.3 and A. Spalinger's discussion in "Thoth and the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time (1994), 52-54.

58 L. Depuydt, "From Twice Helix to Double Helix" in JegH Vol. 2, Nos. 1-2 (2009), 143.

59 One day for each four years from I *ꜣḫt* 1 x 76 years = I *ꜣḫt* 19. For the Lord of time see P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922), 84.

60 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 126.

APPENDIX C

The Number THIRTY ONE

In their creation texts, the ancient Egyptians presumably felt compelled to account for all possible outcomes which has its own certain logic inherent to a creation text. This type of thinking is reflected in the way the ancient Egyptians expressed the monthly lunar cycle, for example, in its representation in the tenth cavern of the Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) in the Annex. This episode is part of the rites for the Blacked-out Moon, the second ritual cycle in the Osireion. In the scene, there are fourteen double figures lying on their biers plus one at the head of this group which is trebled totaling thirty one. (Plate 245) They are labeled the 'limbs of Osiris' i.e. phases of the monthly lunar cycle. But in any single monthly cycle there are only 29 or 30 days. What the thirty one represent are all possible combinations for a single monthly lunar cycle.

In the first ritual cycle, the number of deities chosen to be depicted in front of the first gate in the Book of Gates is thirty one. The reference here to the monthly lunar cycle is more subtle but nevertheless distinct. The deities outside of the solar barque are organized into two groups of fourteen each. (Plate 67) A jackal-headed pole is located in the desert mountain range in the upper register along with the first group of fourteen deities. This group corresponds to the fourteen visible phases of the waxing lunar cycle. The jackal-headed pole alludes to the role of the jackal-headed deity, Anubis as embalmer, who reassembles the limbs of Osiris – Moon. The texts states that:

> The pole (is) the word of command from the Greatest God [*nṯr ꜥɜ*]
> lit. causing his limbs to raise. [*sṯnj ḥꜥw.f*] [61]

In other words, the command of the Greatest God, in his mythical aspect of creator, causes the coming into being of the phases of the waxing moon and the refilling of the Eye of Horus, which also began on the first occasion. Because *zp tpj* embodies the totality of creation, an identical group of fourteen deities are depicted, but here instead with a ram-headed pole in the lower register. This pole is the word of command from the Greatest God in his manifestation as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons,[62] which calls into being the waning lunar cycle, beginning with the setting of the full moon in the western horizon to last crescent visibility in the eastern horizon.

The two groups of identical deities on either side of the gate in the middle, face each other. (Plate 67) The portrayal in this fashion is meant to express the actual appearance of the moon in the night sky. During the waxing phase, the horns of the crescent face left. When the moon is waning the horns face right. When represented simultaneously they appear to face each other as shown on Plate 70.

61 E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Underworld (2005), 114. Hornung translates this last line as: "when he raises His body." The verb "to raise", *ṯnj* is causative here *sṯn* and *ḥꜥw* can be translated as either flesh, limbs or body. P. Wilson, Ptolemaic Lexikon (1997), 621. The context of the 14 deities makes limbs the preferable translation.

62 Like the ram-headed deity depicted in the Central Hall, who is clearly identified as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons. See 5.4, Analysis of the Decoration – Central Hall Rear Wall.

APPENDIX C

The three deities in the solar barque represent the maximum period when the moon is absent from the night sky. (Plate 70) "[PT 483] Pyr. 1012c refers to three days of festival in connection with the New Moon and the First Crescent Festivals. This corresponds to the number of days (c. 2.5 days) from the last crescent visibility before the New Moon to the appearance of the First Crescent."[63] It is the period when the *ɓa* of Osiris, that is the moon, travels with the sun god inside the solar barque – *psḏntyw* as Depuydt has argued. [64] It is not depicted in the solar barque because it cannot be seen when in the presence of the brilliant light of the sun. This concept was discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the monthly ritual cycle.

Finally, the scenes at the first gate, in terms of the means for the marking of time arising from *zp tpj*, subtly allude to the cyclical nature and interrelationship of solar and lunar cycles. The positioning of the opening scenes of the Book of Gates is in the notional southwestern corner of the Osireion complex, the place of the winter solstice, which marks both the start of the annual solar cycle and its end. Recall that the new crescent moon also appears low in the western horizon shortly after the setting of the sun, initiating the visible part of its cycle on the first occasion. The return of the moon to the night sky with first crescent visibility on (*tp*) *ꜣbd* is the birth of Horus. In the Books of the Earth, scene 14, Horus is depicted as rising directly out from the body of Osiris. (Plates 363, 364) In Parker's words: "the new crescent is the symbol both of the reborn Osiris as king of the dead and of his son and successor Horus as king of the living."[65]

The structure of the Osireion version of BD 99, the Ferryman's Spell is a masterful example of the interplay between related numbers and their symbolism. Here it concerns Horus, Osiris and the lunar cycle. It is located at the top of the Sloping Passage initiating the rites for the second night of the third ritual cycle on the night of I *prt* 1, the goal of which is the conception of Horus. The opening to BD 99 III consists of eleven columns of text, which is followed by another twenty one columns naming the deity associated with each of the twenty one parts of the *mḫnt*-boat. [66] (Plates 274, 275) The first column is the title: Spell for bringing [the Ferryboat in the God's Domain] and provides the identity of the speaker, king Merenptah, who is the living Horus. As such, it is separate from the actual text of the spell proper and usually written in red. The spell itself consists of thirty one columns formed by the ten after the title and the twenty one columns about the *mḫnt*-boat, which the king must magically assemble to cross the celestial Winding Waterway, the ecliptic. The thirty one together represent the lunar cycle in its totality, as all possible combinations of phases for any 29 or 30-day lunar month. In the context of *zp tpj*, it is also the creation of the lunar cycle. The first section of the spell is arranged in ten columns. Ten is the number sacred to Horus and thus embodies the concepts of divine kingship and Horus-Moon. The twenty one columns are distinctly different in appearance from the first ten, as each contains a cartouche in the middle of the column. (Plate 274) The number twenty one embodies

63 P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles (2002), 24.

64 L Depuydt, "The Hieroglyphic Representation of the Moon's Absence (*Psḏntyw*)" in L. Lesko (ed.) Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies (1998), 71-89.

65 R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt (1950), 80.

66 Faulkner's designation for the section of BD 99 that is found in the Osireion. See R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111-112.

the very essence of ancient Egyptian lunar symbolism. It is the sum of its six parts (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 = 21); six being the number of pieces of the left lunar eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye. In addition, like the six chambers and passages of the Osireion and the six divisions in the lunar treatise, the Book of Caverns, they are each divided into two halves which on one level can symbolize the waxing and waning phases of the monthly lunar cycle. But there is also a deeper numerical significance through this division into two halves. The first half represented by the numbers 1 + 2 + 3 totals six, the number of pieces constituting the Udjat-eye. The second half represented by the numbers 4 + 5 + 6 equals fifteen. The Udjat-eye is the sound eye because it is complete, that is to say full. There are fifteen days from the New Moon to the Full Moon, the time it takes to restore the eye of Horus by reconstituting the Udjat-eye and represents the waxing phase of the lunar cycle. Technically speaking, in the Osireion version of BD 99 there are actually seventeen separate parts listed for the *mḫnt*-boat including its skipper. The final four of the twenty one are: the 'north wind which went forth from Atum to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners', who is Osiris, (Column 29 on Plate 275); the river, i.e. the Winding Waterway or the *ḫȝ*-canal; the river bank to which the *mḫnt*-boat will travel; and the ground, associated with the Field of Reeds, (Column 32 on Plate 275). The number symbolism is explicit. Seventeen is the number sacred to Osiris representing his state of dismemberment. Here it serves to tie the seventeen parts of the *mḫnt*-boat directly to the dismembered limbs of Osiris, confirming Jacq's linking of the disassembled ferry boat to the dismembered Osiris, to which it should be recalled represents the waning phase of the lunar cycle. [67] Four is the number signifying totality and completeness through its relation to the four cardinal directions of the created cosmos. [68] In BD 99, the final four relate to the goal of the Ferryman's Spell and its completion, the successful crossing of the Winding Waterway. In a lunar context it represents the beginning of the restoration to completeness for the Udjat-eye, i.e. the waxing phase of the monthly lunar cycle. Thus, through the use of the number twenty one in the Osireion version of BD 99 III, we find a subtle expression of the ancient Egyptians' mythology underlying the monthly lunar cycle. The waning phase is symbolized by the seventeen parts of the *mḫnt*-boat. The waxing phase hinted at through the names of the final four and is expressed through the structure of the number twenty one itself - six parts in two halves – numerically symbolizing the six parts of the Udjat-eye to be restored (1 + 2 + 3) and its reconstitution over fifteen days (4 + 5 + 6).

That this number symbolism was intended to be encoded in the structure of the Osireion version of BD 99 III by the ancient Egyptians can be clearly seen by its comparison to the standard version of this spell, where there are a total of twenty two parts to the *mḫnt*-boat. The part that is missing and its associated deity are vital to the successful crossing of the Winding Waterway and as such would appear to be no accident that they were omitted. Their absence served an important dual function here both as an additional protective measure and the means to create the desired numerical structure for the text. The missing part is the mast-step or mast support without which the mast and sail could not be secured

67 C. Jacq, Egyptian Magic (1985), 39. See above 5.3, The Descent to My Father Osiris.

68 R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994), 144-145. “By virtue of its association with the cardinal directions, four is the most common symbol of 'completeness' in Egyptian numerological symbolism and ritual repetition.” R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1995), 162 n. 750.

and “the wind, 'since you are carried thereby'”,[69] would not be able to propel the *mḫnt*-boat across the Winding Waterway effectively thwarting the mission. The deity associated with the mast-step is the earth god Aker.[70] In the fifth hour Amduat, it is Aker who guards/forms the entrance to the Cavern of Sokar in the depths of the *ḍuat*, where the conception of Horus will occur.[71] (Plate 342) Appropriately, the mast-step and earth god Aker form the fifth part of the standard list of twenty two. Five is the number that signified the *ḍuat* for the ancient Egyptians. In an elegant display of the magical power attached to and underlying ancient Egyptian number symbolism is the use of the number nineteen in the Ferryman's Spell, in the full version of BD 99.[72] The nineteenth item of the twenty two that must be created by the ritualist through his naming its name is the wind and it is this that provides an important key for the understanding of the underlying meaning of the Ferryman's Spell:

> “Tell me my name, says the wind, since you are carried thereby.
> 'North wind which went forth from Atum
> to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners' is your name.”[73]

Recall that nineteen is the sacred number to Osiris that symbolizes his rejuvenation. This nineteenth item is that very act which causes his revivification. It is the north wind which went forth from Atum to the nose of the Foremost of the Westerners, exactly as Horus, Avenger/Protector of his Father, is shown performing on the Foremost of the Westerners in the final scene of the Way of Osiris in the Antechamber and again in the Second Transverse Hall at the depths of the Underworld. (Plates 225, 224, 369) In the context of this ritual cycle and of *zp tpj*, without this vital act of rejuvenation, the conception of Horus and Horus-Moon could not have occurred, nor would the created cosmos have come into existence and without its annual ritual repetition would cease to exist.

The Number THIRTY TWO

It is closely related to the number thirty one. In essence, it is a subtle but important extension of the concept. It signifies the group of thirty one limbs of Osiris, the phases of the lunar cycle, plus its initiator and creator responsible for its coming into existence on the first occasion. In the Osireion it is symbolized variously by: Atum, the creator of all that exists; the Udjat-eye, signifying completeness; Horus in the western horizon, a manifestation of Horus in the *ḍuat*, who also sets the stars upright; and

69 R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994), 111.

70 L. Lippiello, Symbolic Perceptions of New Kingdom Watercraft: Building Boats from Gods (2004), 21.

71 See 5.1, 5.3, and 5.6.

72 It should be understood that in the performance of this rite the recitation of the missing part would have been included creating the full version of BD 99 and with it the magical power of the associated number symbolism.

73 See above 5.3 for a more detailed explanation of these concepts.

most frequently the king and living Horus as ritualist, the begotten becoming begettor. Furthermore it should be noted that in the Osireion, it is found in each of the three ritual cycles attesting to its great importance.

It is first expressed in the first ritual cycle in the Osireion by the number of deities depicted in front of the first gate of the Book of Gates. In all other versions there are thirty one, as discussed in that section.[74] (Plate 67) But in the Osireion version there are actually thirty two, because the king is shown in the barque with Khepri, offering Maat to the god and thereby magically insuring its successful outcome. (Plate 497) By the offering of Maat and the recitation of the texts, the king initiates and thus creates the lunar cycle, calling it into existence on the first occasion. In the five instances of a grouping of thirty two that I have identified, the addition of a thirty-second divinity serves the same function, that of the initiator and creator.

In the second ritual cycle of the Rites for the New Moon, it is found in both the group of rituals for the first and the second nights. On the night of last crescent visibility after the king, the sun god and the revivified potent *ba* of Osiris have emerged from the six caverns of the Book of Caverns and entered into the eastern mountain in the eastern akhet (the Antechamber), the king recites BD 18 before the thirty one gods of the ten Great Councils, which were spawned by Atum and depicted seated behind him.[75] (Plate 231) The thirty one symbolize all combinations of phases possible for any twenty-nine or thirty-day lunar month. Here it is Atum, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, who is the creator of the lunar cycle, but the king through his recitation is the initiator. Having completed the recitations of BD 18, the king here is clearly identified as Menmaatre, *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, (Plate 232, first column) necessary for his impending departure with Re and the *ba* of Osiris from the eastern akhet at sunrise on the Day of the Blacked-out Moon. On the night of the Blacked-out Moon, the second night of the second ritual cycle, the thirty one 'Limbs of Osiris' are depicted in the Annex in the tenth cavern of the Book of the Twelve Caverns as was discussed above in the section on the number thirty one.[76] Note that the king is shown kneeling and making offerings to the thirty one 'Limbs of Osiris'. (Plate 245) As the thirty-second figure in this grouping he again is the initiator and also serves as the creator by performing the rite.

There are two further examples of the number thirty two in the grouping of deities in the third ritual cycle for the night of I *prt* 1, the annual celebration of the king's coronation. The first, which opens the ritual sequence as was discussed above in the section on the number thirty one, concerns the particular structure of the Osirieon version of the text for BD 99.[77] It consists of a total of thirty two

74 Also see above the beginning of 3.2.

75 See above 4,5 and 5.8.

76 Also see above 5.8.

77 Also see above 5.3.

APPENDIX C

columns, the first column identifies the speaker as the king. (Plates 274, 275) It is followed by thirty one columns of the text for BD 99 III. Here too the structural design based on the number thirty two allows for the association of it with the monthly lunar cycle and its being called into existence by the king as the living Horus and initiator. The second is when the king begins his ascent from the lower *ḏuat* and is found encoded on the opposite wall of the Sloping passage in the vignettes for BD 17.[78] (Plate 31) In total there are thirty six divinities depicted in the Osireion version of the vignettes. (Plates 277, 278). Of relevance here to the lunar cycle are the first, fifteenth, thirty-first and thirty-second deities. The first is a depiction of a falcon perched on the hieroglyphic sign for the West which rests on the horizon sign. (Plate 277) Together they represent the falcon god Horus in the western akhet, which can also be interpreted as a manifestation of Horus in the *ḏuat.* Recall that Horus-Moon is born/reappears emerging from the *ḏuat* in the night sky low in the western horizon ending the period of the Blacked-out Moon on the second day of the lunar month, initiating the visible waxing cycle. The fifteenth deity is Osiris. (Plate 277) He is depicted facing backwards as the phases of the waxing moon appear moving across the night sky. (Plate 70) Fifteen is the number of days from the time of the new moon until it is full. Recall that Osiris is said to enter the moon when it is full signifying that Osiris represents the full moon as the fifteenth deity in the Osireion version of the vignettes for BD 17. The thirty-first deity is another manifestation of Osiris but now facing forward. (Plate 278) This is how the moon appears moving across the night sky when it is waning. (Plate 70) It signifies the inclusion of the waning aspect to the complete lunar cycle, symbolized by the number thirty one. The thirty-second deity is a large depiction of the Udjat-eye, the left lunar eye of Horus. (Plate 278) It also faces back toward the opening scene of the falcon god Horus perched on the signs for the western horizon, where the moon will emerge out of the *ḏuat* to reappear in the night sky as the monthly lunar cycle begins anew. The backward facing Udjat-eye as the symbol of the sound and complete eye, the full moon, alludes to its creation from the waxing of the lunar cycle.

The number thirty two as shown is associated with the Udjat-eye by its position in the Osireion version of vignettes for BD 17. Expressed as the sum of its component numbers 15 and 17, it signifies both the waxing phase of the lunar cycle, the fifteen days from new moon to full moon, and its waning the seventeen days from full moon to and including conjunction.

78 See above 5.8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

E. S. Abbas, The Lake of Knives and the Lake of Fire (2010). https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.511087

F. Abitz, Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses VI (1989). https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/150956/

F. Abitz, "The Structure of the Decoration in the Tomb of Ramesses IX" in C.N. Reeves (ed.), After Tutankhamun: Research and Excavation in the Royal Necropolis at Thebes (1992). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Reeves

T. Abt, E. Hornung, Knowledge for the Afterlife: the Egyptian Amduat – a Quest for Immortality (2003).

Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, "Metonic Cycle" at: https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/12389

M. Adams, "Encounters with Ancient Egyptians" (post March 2, 2012) at: www.abydos.org/blog/

C. Aldred, Akhenaten: King of Egypt (1988). https://archive.org/details/akhenatenkingofe0000aldr

S. Alexander, "Summary of New Findings from Seismic Observations at Abydos" Geosciences, Penn State University (2008).

J. P. Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (2005). https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianp0000unse/mode/2up

J. P. Allen,"Corrigenda and Addenda" for Genesis in Ancient Egypt (1988).

J. P. Allen, Genesis in Egypt The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts (1988). https://ancientegyptdigitalibrary.blogspot.com/search/label/Allen%20James%20P

J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian (2000). https://archive.org/details/middleegyptianin0000alle/mode/2up

J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian Second Edition (2010).

J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian Third Edition (2014). https://archive.org/details/middleegyptianin0000alle_k7r2_3rdedi/mode/2up

J. P. Allen, "The Natural Philosophy of Akhenaten" in W. Simpson (ed.), Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt, YES 3 (1989), 89-101.

J. P. Allen, Review of R. Krauss, Astronomische Konzepte und Jenzeit-vorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten in JNES 61 (2002), 62-68.

J. P. Allen, "Shadow", D. Redford (ed.), The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 334-335. https://archive.org/details/ancientgodsspeak0000unse/

T. G. Allen, Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms SAOC 37 (1974). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research

T. G. Allen, The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum OIP 82 (1960). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research

E. Amelineau, Le Tombeau d'Osiris (1899). https://archive.org/details/tombeaudosirismo00amel/mode/2up

BIBLIOGRAPHY

R. Anthes, “Fuss und Zehe”, in Festschrift Schott (1968),1-6. AEB 68.0036 @ 2001 Editors of the AEB.

D. Arnold, J. Allen, L. Green, The Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt (1996). https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll10/id/108941/

D. Arnold, Temples of the Last Pharaohs (1999). https://archive.org/details/isbn_9780195126334/mode/2up

D. Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in agyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reich (1962). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Dieter Arnold

J. Assmann, Agyptische Hymnen und Gebete (1975). https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram%3AAssmann%20-%20Aegyptische%20Hymnen%20und%20Gebete.pdf

J. Assmann, “Death and Initiation in the Funerary Religion of Ancient Egypt” in W. Simpson (ed.), Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt YES 3 (1989), 135-159. https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/1930/

J. Assmann, Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt (2005). https://archive.org/details/ASSMANNDeathAndSalvationInAncientEgypt/mode/2up

J. Assmann, Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom (1995). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Assmann

J. Assmann, Der Koenig als Sonnenpriester (1970). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Assmann

J. Assmann, Ma'at Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Agypten (1995). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Assmann

J. Assmann, “Neith spricht als Mutter und Sarg” MDAIK 28 (1972). https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/1736/

J. Assmann, The Search for God in Ancient Egypt (2001). https://archive.org/details/searchforgodinan00assm/mode/2up

J. Assmann, “Semiosis and Interpretation in Ancient Egypt” in S. Biderman, B. Scharfstein, Interpretation in Religion (1992). https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/2139/

J. Assmann, “Theological Responses to Amarna” in G. Knoppers, A. Hirsch (eds.) Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford (2004), 179-191. https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/2354/

J. Assmann, Zeit und Ewigkeit im Alten Agypten (1975).

B. Baches, S. Gulden, M. Muller-Roth, I. Munro and Stohr, Bibliographie zum Altagyptischen Totenbuch (2009) SAT 13.

L. Baque, “On that Day when the Long-horned Bull was Lassoed... (PT [254] 286). A Scene in the Corridior of the Bull of the Cenotaph of Sethos I in Abydos: an Iconologic Approach” SAK 30 (2002).

J. Baines, “An Abydos List of Gods and an Old Kingdom Use of Texts” in J. Baines et al. (eds.), Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards (1988).

J. Baines, “Abydos, Temple of Sethos I: Preliminary Report” JEA 70 (1984).

J. Baines, Fecundity Figures (1985). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Baines

J. Baines, “Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation” in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman, Ancient Egyptian Kingship (1995), 3-35.

J. Baines, “Organization of Sacred and Secular Knowledge” in J. Sasson (ed.), Civilizations of the Ancient Near East (1995).

J. Baines “Recording the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos in Egypt” BAOM XI (1990).

Y. Barbash, The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikaken (2011). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Barbash

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Y. Barbash, “Wordplay's Place in Mortuary Liturgies. Scribal devices in Papyrus W551” in B. Backes, J. Dieleman (eds.), Liturgical Texts for Osiris and the Deceased in Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt (2015), 203-216. www.academia.edu/44691982/

P. Barguet, “Le Livre des Cavernes et la Reconstitution du Corps Divin” RdE 28 (1976).

P. Barguet, “Le Livre des Portes et la Transmission du Pouvoir Royal” RdE 27 (1975).

P. Barguet, “Note Sur le Complexe Architectural de Seti I a Abydos” Kemi 16 (1962).

P. Barguet, “Au sujet d'une representation du ka royal” ASAE 51 (1951), 205-215.

W. Barta, Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbucher fur den verstorbenen Konig (1985).

D. Bastin, “De la fondation d'un temple: 'Paroles dites par Seshat au Roi Sethi Ier'” in P. Derchain, M. Broze, P. Talon (eds.) L'atelier de l'orfevre . Melanges offerts Ph. Derchain (1992), 9-24.

D. Bastin, “De la fondation d'un temple: 'Paroles dites par Seshat au Roi Sethi Ier'” in P. Derchain, M. Broze, P. Talon (eds.) L'atelier de l'orfevre . Melanges offerts Ph. Derchain (1992), 9-24. Summary of the article AEB 92.0333, Editors of the AEB 2001.

A. Baumann, The Suffix Conjugation of Early Egyptian as Evidenced in the Underworld Books (1998), unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Baumann

A. Becker-Colonna, “Myths and Symbols in a Cartonnage Coffin of the XXIst Dynasty” in Acts 1st ICE (1976).

H. Beinlich, Die Osirisreliquien. Zum Motiv der Korperzergliederung in der altagyptischen Religion (1984).

L. Bell, “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka” JNES 44 (1985). https://archive.org/details/templesofancient0000unse_u2c0/

L. Bell, “The New Kingdom 'Divine' Temple: The Example of Luxor” in B. Shafer (ed.), Temples of Ancient Egypt (1997). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Shafer

J. Belmonte and M. Shaltout, In Search of Cosmic Order (2009). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Belmonte

G. Benedite, Le Temple de Philae (1893-1895). https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5110808/

C. Bennett, “Egyptian Dates” at: www.reocities.com/christopher/bennett/ptolemies/chron/egyptian/chron_eg_cal.htm

J. Bennett, “The Restoration Inscription of Tutankhamun” JEA 25 (1939), 8-25.

C. Benoit, “A New Moon Festival in Abydos during the Ramesside era?” in Current Research in Egyptology Symposium VIII April 2007 Abstracts.

O. Berlev, “Two Kings – Two Suns – on the Worldview of the Ancient Egyptians” in S. Quirke (ed.), Discovering Egypt from the Neva : The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D Berlev (2003), 19-33.

J. Bergman, “Ba as Form Of Divine Manifestation in Ancient Egypt” (1970, English translation 1994) at:

M. Bernard, “Quand Osiris regnait sirs terre” in Egypte, no. 10, August 1998. English translation available by the author at: www.osirisnet.net/dieux/osiris/osiris_mathieu.htm

L. Bestock, “Brown University Abydos Project: Preliminary Report on the First Two Seasons” JARCE 48 (2012). www.academia.edu/37001325/

L. Bestock, The Development of Royal Funerary Cult at Abydos Two Funerary Enclosures from the Reign of Aha (2009). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Bestock

M. Betro, Review of Roulin, Le Livre de la Nuit (1996) in Or 67 (1998).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Bettum, Death as an Eternal Process, A case study of a 21st Dynasty coffin at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo (2004).

N. Billing, "The Corridor Chamber. An Investigation of the Function and Symbolism of an Architectural Element in the Old Kingdom Pyramids" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007).

N. Billing, "Re-assessing the Past Context and Tradition of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 181" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006).

N. Billing, "The Secret One. An analysis of a core motif in the Books of the Netherworld" SAK 34 (2006), 51-71.

N. Billing, "Writing an Image – The Formulation of the Tree Goddess Motif in the Book of the Dead, Ch. 59" SAK 32 (2004).

C. Bleeker, Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal (1967). https://archive.org/details/egyptianfestival0000unse/mode/2up

C. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion (1973). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com
Forum search: Bleeker

P. Bochi, "Images of Time in Ancient Egyptian Art" JARCE 31 (1994), 55-62.

J. Bonomi, S. Sharpe, The Alabaster Sarcophagus Of Oimenepthah I [Seti I], King of Egypt (1864).
https://archive.org/details/cu31924028654469

C. Booth, Horemheb: The Forgotten Pharaoh (2009). https://archive.org/details/horemhebforgotte0000boot/mode/2up

K. Bosse-Griffiths, "The Papyrus of Hapi-ankh" ZAS 123 (1996).

P. Boylan, Thoth the Hermes of Egypt (1922, reprinted 1987). https://archive.org/details/thoththehermes00boyluoft/mode/2up

P. Brand, "Ideology and Politics of the Early Ramesside Kings (13th Century BC) A Historical Approach" in W. Bisang, D. Kreikenbom (eds.), Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordostafrikas/Westasiens (2005).
https://ancientegyptdigitalibrary.blogspot.com/2016/01/peter-james-brand.html

P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I and Their Historical Significance (1988), Ph.D. Dissertation, Toronto.
https://ancientegyptdigitalibrary.blogspot.com/2016/01/peter-james-brand.html

P. Brand, The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical, and Art Historical Analysis (2000).
https://dlib.nyu.edu/ancientworld/books/brill_awdl000053/1

P. Brand, "Secondary Restorations in the Post-Amarna Period" JARCE XXXVI (1999), 113-134.
https://ancientegyptdigitalibrary.blogspot.com/2016/01/peter-james-brand.html

P. Brand, "Use of the Term *ꜣḫ* in the Reign of Seti I" GM 168 (1999), 23-33.
https://ancientegyptdigitalibrary.blogspot.com/2016/01/peter-james-brand.html

J. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt Historical Records I (1906).
http://etana.org/sites/default/files/coretexts/14896.pdf

L. Breck-Bernsen, J. Steele, "Eclipse Prediction and the Length of Saros in Babylonian Astronomy" Centaurus 47 (2005), 181-206.

L. Breinig, Astronomy, Cosmology, and Religious Expression in the New Kingdom: A Study of Late Ramesside Cosmological Funerary Scenes (2012). www.academia.edu/83911371/

E. Brock, "The Tomb of Ramesses VI" in K. Weeks (ed.) Valley of the Kings (2001), 244-265.

E. Brock, "The Tomb of Ramesses IX" in K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001), 266-269.

B. Bryan, "The statue program for the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III" in S. Quirke (ed.), The Temple in Ancient Egypt New Discoveries and Recent Research (1997), 57-81. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Quirke temple

BIBLIOGRAPHY

B. Byran, E. Hornung (eds.), The Quest for Immorality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt (2002). https://www.nga.gov/research/publications/pdf-library/quest-for-immortality.html

J. Buchwald, “Egyptian Stars under Paris Skies” Engineering & Science No. 4 (2003).

E. A. W. Budge, The Book of the Dead: Facsimiles of the Papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet; with supplementary text from the Papyrus of Nu with transcripts, etc. (1899). https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/budge1899

E. A. W. Budge, Egyptian Magic (1901, reprint 1971). https://archive.org/details/EgyptianMagic/mode/2up

E. A. W. Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians II (1904, reprint 1969). https://archive.org/details/godsofegyptianso02budg/mode/2up

E. A. W. Budge, The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum (1912). https://archive.org/details/greenfieldpapyrus00ness/mode/2up

E. A. W. Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection I (1911, reprint 1973). https://archive.org/details/osirisegyptianre00budg/mode/2up

G. Burkard, Spatzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri (1995).

A. Calverley, A. Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos I-IV (1933-1958). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/

H. Carter, The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, Vol. II (1927). https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.106168/mode/2up

A. Caulfeild, The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (1902, reprint 1989). https://archive.org/details/templekingsatab00petrgoog/mode/2up

S. Cauville, Dendara Les chapelles osiriennes (1997) X/1 and X/2. https://www.ifao.egnet.net/publications/catalogue/Temples-Dendara/

S. Cauville, Le Temple de Dendara: Les chapelles osirienne, II commentaire, BdE 118 (1997). https://www.ifao.egnet.net/publications/catalogue/BiEtud/118/

S. Cauville, La Theologie d'Osiris a Edfou (1983).

M. Centrone, “Behind the Corn-Mummies” in K. Piquette, S. Love (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology IV (2005), 11-28.

M. Centrone, “Corn-Mummies, Amulets of Life” in K. Szpakowski (ed.) Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt (2006), 33-46.

M. Centrone, “Corn-Mummies: A Case of 'Figuring It Out'” in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2006), 293-301.

E. Chassinat, Le Mystere d' Osiris au mois de Khoiak (1966). https://archive.org/details/PIFAO_Khoiak_Fasc1/mode/2up https://archive.org/details/PIFAOKhoiakFasc2/mode/2up

E. Chassinat, Le Temple d'Edfou V (1930). https://www.ifao.egnet.net/publications/catalogue/MMAF/

E. Chassinat, Le Temple d'Edfou VI (1931). https://www.ifao.egnet.net/publications/catalogue/MMAF/

M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science: Calendars, clocks and astronomy Volume I, tomb 2 (1989). https://archive.org/details/80-ancient-egyptian-science-a-source-book-vol-1-knowledge-and-order-part-2/mode/2up

M. Clagett, Ancient Egyptian Science Volume II Calendars, Clocks and Astronomy, (1995). https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianscienceasourcebookcalendarsclocksandastronomymclagett_921_F/mode/2up

R. Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (1959 and reprint 1978). https://archive.org/details/20191017innerroomsofpharaohsandqueensofegyptiansthesix/mode/2up

P. Clayton, Chronicle of the Pharaohs (1994). https://archive.org/details/chronicleofphara0000clay_x8k6/mode/2up

J. Conman, Ancient Egyptian Star Lore Rethinking the Conventional Wisdom (2013). www.academia.edu/5195433/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

K. Cooney “The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Role of the King” JARCE 37 (2000). https://karacooney.squarespace.com/publications

S. Cross, “An Alabaster Coffin and Sety I's Last Secret” Ancient Egypt (February/March 2010). www.academia.edu/2366416/

S. Cross, “The Hydrology of the Valley of the Kings” JEA 94 (2008). www.academia.edu/1476994/

E. Cruze-Uribe, Hibis Temple Project III (1988).

A. Cwiek, Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom (2003). www.gizapyramids.org

J. Darnell, “The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye” SAK 24 (1997). www.academia.edu/19068026/

J. Darnell, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity (1995) Ph.D. Dissertation https://www.4shared.com/web/preview/pdf/a-6OZRVJce and www.academia.edu/19068611/ (published edition).

J. Darnell, Opet Festival. UEE (2010). www.academia.edu/19068421/

J. Darnell, C. Manassa-Darnel, The Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books (2018). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Darnell

S. D'Auria, “Preparing for Eternity” in R. Freed (ed.), Pharaohs of the Sun (1999). https://archive.org/details/isbn_9780821226209

R. David, A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos (1981). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: David

R. David, Religious Ritual at Abydos c. 1300 B.C. (1973). https://archive.org/details/religiousrituala0000davi/mode/2up

N. Davies, A. Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhet (1915). https://archive.org/details/tombofamenemhtno00davi/mode/2up

W. Davies, “The Origin of the Blue Crown” JEA 68 (1982).

W. Dawson, “The Number 'Seven' in Egyptian Texts” Aegyptus VIII (1927), 97-107.

J. DeGreef, The Heb Sed Festival Sequrnce and p.Brooklyn 47.218.50” GM 223 (2009). www.academia.edu/4329440/

R. Demaree, “The Ax jqr n Ra – Stelae” JEOL 18 (1964). https://www.nino-leiden.nl

L. Depuydt, “Ancient Egyptian Star Clocks and Their Theory” BiOr 112 (1998). https://www.researchgate.net/publication/250138461

L. Depuydt, “Ancient Egyptian star tables: A reinterpretation of their fundamental structure” in A. Imhausen, T. Pommerening (eds.), Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Rome, and Greece (2010).

L. Depuydt, “Calendars and Years in Ancient Egypt” in J. Steele (ed.) Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007).

L. Depuydt, Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt (1997). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Depuydt

L. Depuydt, “From Twice Helix to Double Helix: A Comprehensive Model for Egyptian Calendar History” in JEH Vol. 2, Nos. 1-2 (2009).

L. Depuydt, “The Hieroglyphic Representation of the Moon's Absence (PsDntyw)” in L. Lesko (ed.), Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies (1998), 71-89.

P. Derchain, “Mythes et dieux lunaires en Egypt” in La lune mythes et rites (1962), 17-68.

P. Derchain, Papyrus Salt 825 (B. M. 10051), Rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Egypte (1965). https://archive.org/details/lepapyrussalt8250000papy/mode/2up

J. Dieleman, Review of Alexandra von Lieven, The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch in M. Kohbach, R. Lohlker, S. Prochazka, G. Setz (eds.), Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes (2012).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Dodson, Amarna Sunset (2009). https://archive.org/details/AmarnaSunset/mode/2up

P. Dorman, "Creation on the Potter's Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven" in E. Teeter, J. Larson, (eds.), Gold of Praise Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente (1999). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research

P. Dorman, The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353, (1991). https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll10/id/176704/

F. Dunand, C. Zivie-Coche, Gods and Men in Ancient Egypt 3000 BCE to 395 CE (2004). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Dunand

T. DuQuesne, Anubis Master of Secrets (Hry-sStA) and the Egyptian Conception of Mysteries" DE 36 (1996).

T. DuQuesne, "Exalting the God processions of Upwawet at Asyut in the New Kingdom" DE 57 (2003), 21-45.

T. DuQuesne, "Guide to the Ways of Re-setawe" DE 31 (1995).

T. DuQuesne, "The Osiris-Re Conjunction with Particular Reference to the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen (2006), 23-33.

T. DuQuesne, "Osiris with the Solar Disk" DE 60 (2004).

T. DuQuesne, Review of F. Servajean, Les formules des transformations du Livre des Morts, DE 58 (2004).

T. DuQuesne, "Squaring the Ouroboros" DE 33 (1995).

K. Eaton, Ancient Egyptian Temple Ritual Performance, Pattern, and Practice (2013). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Eaton

K. Eaton, "The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khoiak: The Evidence from Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Monuments at Abydos" SAK 35 (2006).

K. Eaton, "Memorial Temples in the Sacred Landscape of Nineteenth Dynasty Abydos: An Overview of Processional Routes and Equipment" in Z. Hawass, J. Richards (eds.) Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I (2007).

K. Eaton, "Monthly Lunar Festivals in the Mortuary Realm: Historical Patterns and Symbolic Motifs" JNES 70 (2011), 229-245.

K. Eaton, "A 'Mortuary Liturgy' from the Book of the Dead" JARCE 42 (2005-2006).

K. Eaton, The Ritual Functions of Processional Equipment in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos (2004) unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Eaton

M. Eaton-Krauss, The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun (1993).

EES Negatives, courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society and its Director C. Naunton.

U. Effland, "Abydos, Umm el-Qaab – The Cult of Osiris in Abydos (Research Cluster 4) at www.dainst.org

A. Effland, "You will open up the ways in the underworld of the god": Aspects of Roman and Late Antique Abydos in E. R. O'Connell (ed.), Egypt in the First Millennium AD Perspectives from new fieldwork (2014), 193-205 www.academia.edu/6399067/

U. Effland, A. Effland, "'Ritual Landscape' und 'Sacred Space'" MOSAIK Journal I (2010), 127-158. www.academia.edu/363043/

R. Egberts "Action, Speech, and Interpretation: Some Reflections of the Classification of Ancient Egyptian Liturgical Texts" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Egyptologists (1998).

A. Egberts, In Quest of Meaning A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves (1995).

Egypt Exploration Society, The Excavation of the Osireion at Abydos (1925).

J. Elliott, "The Lunar Standstill Season" (2005), www.skyscript.co.uk

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. El-Sawy, “The Deification of Sety I in his Temple of Abydos” MDAIK 43 (1986).

A. El-Sawy, “A New Discovery at the Sety I Temple in Abydos” in Z. Hawass, L. Brock (eds.) Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century (2003).

G. Englund, “The Treatment of Opposites in Temple Thinking and Wisdom Literature” in G. Englund (ed.), Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions (1987).

Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu III. The Calendar, the “Slaughterhouse”, and Minor Records of Ramesses III (1934). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/epigraphic-survey

Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu V The Temple Proper part I (1957). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/epigraphic-survey

Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VI The Temple Proper part II (1963). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/epigraphic-survey

Z. Fabian, “Did They Say 'Yes' in the 19th Dynasty Version of Book of the Dead 145?” Specimina Nova Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis XV 1999 (2000), 13-25

H. Fairman, “The Kingship Rituals of Egypt” in S. Hooke (ed.), Myth, Ritual, and Kingship (1958). https://archive.org/details/mythritualkingsh0000shho/mode/2up

R. Faulkner, Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I-III (1973-1978). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Faulkner

R. Faulkner, The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts (1969). https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianp0000rofa/mode/2up

R. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (1986), updated (2017) https://archive.org/details/pj1425.f3/mode/2up

R. Faulkner, The Egyptian Book of the Dead (1994). https://archive.org/details/egyptianbookofde0000unse/mode/2up

K. Ferrari d'Occhieppo, R. Krauss, T. Schmidt-Kaler, “Die Gefilde der altagyptischen Unterwelt” ZAS 123 (1996), 104-109.

C. Finch, “Solar Eclipses in the Ancient Nile Valley”: education.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/pages/traditions_moreegypt.htm#moreegypt

R. Finnestad, Image of the World and Symbols of the Creator (1985).

J. Foster, Hymns, Prayers, and Songs (1995). https://archive.org/details/hymnsprayerssong0000unse

P. Frandsen, “Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt” in N. Brisch (ed.), Religion and Power: Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond (2008). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Brisch

P. Frandsen, “BWT – Divine Kingship and Grammer”, Akten des Vierten Internationalen Agyptologen - Kongresses (1989), 151-158.

J. Frank, “19-year Lunar Cycle”, www.cassiopaea.org/forum/index.php?topic=2890.0

H. Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos (1933). https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.1/ and https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2/

H. Frankfort, Kinship and the Gods (1948 reprint 1978). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/misc/kingship-and-gods-study-ancient-near-eastern-religion-society-and-nature

H. Frankfort, “Preliminary Report of the Expedition to Abydos 1925-6” JEA 12 (1926).

J. Frazer, The Golden Bough (1922, reprinted 1966). https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.210147/mode/2up

F. Friedman, “Notions of Cosmos in the Step Pyramid” in P. Manuelian (ed.) Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I (1996). www.academia.edu/25810837/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

D. Furlong, “Astronomical Alignments in the Temples of Egypt (2007). www.davidfurlong.co.uk/pdf/egyptian_temple_orientation.pdf

K. Gadre, S. Roques, “Astronomical dating proposals of the ancient Egyptian stellar clocks” (2009) www.academia.edu

A. Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh” JEA 36 (1950).

A. Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (1961). https://archive.org/details/in.gov.ignca.29736

A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, Third Edition, (1982). https://archive.org/details/egyptiangrammar_202001/mode/2up

A. Gardiner, 'Horus the Behdetite' JEA 30 (1944), 46-52.

A. Gardiner, “The House of Life” JEA 24 (1938),.

A. Gardiner, The Inscription of Mes (1905). https://archive.org/details/UGAAe4_3

J. Garnot, “A Hymn to Osiris in the Pyramid Texts” JNES 8 (1949).

A. Gasse, Les Papyrus Hieratiques et Hieroglyphiques du Museco Gregoriano Egizeo Vol I (1993).

J. Gee, “Prophets, Initiation and the Egyptian Temple” JSSEA 31 (2004).

J. Gee, The requirements of Ritual Purity in Ancient Egypt (1998), PhD Dissertation.https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Gee

J. Gee, “The Use of the Daily Temple Liturgy in the Book of the Dead” in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen (2006).

L. Gestermann, “Einige Anmerkungen zum Dekorationprogramm im Osireion von Abydos” in W. Waitkus (ed.), Diener des Horus Festschrift fur Dieter Kurth (2008). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Waitkus Kurth

L. Gestermann, “Konigliche Vorstellungen zu Grab und Jenseits im Mittleren Reich, II: Osiris-graber des Mittleren Reiches in koniglichen Kontext: Amduat, 6 Stunde (1999), 97-110. AEB 1999.0830, Editors of AEB 2001.

E. Ghazouli, “The Palace and Magazines Attached to the Temple of Sety I at Abydos and the Facade of this Temple” ASAE 58 (1964), 99-186.

K. Goebs, Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature, Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction (2008). www.academia.edu/364662/

K. Goebs, “Njswt nHH – Kingship, Cosmos, and Time” in Z. Hawass (ed.), Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century II (2003). www.academia.edu/42716796/

K. Goebs, “Some Cosmic Aspects of the Royal Crowns” in C. Eyre (ed), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998). www.academia.edu/364673/

H. Goedicke, “Ancient Egyptian Vision of Eschatology” JSSEA 25 (1995).

J-C. Goyon, The Edifice of Taharqa (1979). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research

G. Graham, “Iconography of the Sokar-Osiris Bed During the Graeco-Roman Period”, presentation at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE).

G. Graham, “The Mysteries of Osiris from the First Room of the Eastern Osirian Chapel on the Roof of the Temple of Hathor at Dendara” (2000). Contact greg@egyptology.com

BIBLIOGRAPHY

C. Graindorge, “Sokar” in D. Redford (ed.), The Ancient Gods Speak (2002). https://archive.org/details/ancientgodsspeak0000unse/

S. Gregory, Tutankhamun Knew the Names of the Two Great Gods *ḏt* and *nḥḥ* as Fundamental Concepts of Pharaonic Ideology (2022) www.academia.edu/66706642/

S. Gregory, “On the Horus throne in Dt and nHH: changeless time and changing times” OLA 265 (2017) www.academia.edu/29298477/

R. Grieshammer, Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten (1970). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Grieshammer

G. Griffiths, The Conflict of Horus & Seth (1960). https://archive.org/details/conflictofhoruss0000unse

G. Griffiths, The Origins of Osiris and his Cult (1980). https://archive.org/details/originsofosirish0000grif/mode/2up

G. Griffiths, “Osiris and the Moon in Iconography” JEA 62 (1976).

M. Grofe, “Measuring deep Time: the Sidereal Year and the Tropical Year in Maya inscriptions” in C. Ruggles (ed.), “Oxford IX” International Symposium on Archaeoastronomy (2011), 214-217. www.academia.edu/3894959/

N. Guilhou, “Myth of the Heavenly Cow”, UEE (2010). www.academia.edu/43586443/

F. Guilmant, Le Tombeau de Ramses IX (1907). https://archive.org/details/letombeauderamse00guil/mode/2up/

A. Gutbub, Textes Fondamentaux de la Theologie de Kom Ombo (1973).

A. Gulyas, “A Cosmic Libation Researches on the Theology of Luxor Temple” in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007).

G. Haengy, “New Kingdom 'Mortuary Temples' and 'Mansions of Millions of Years'” in B. Shafer, Temples of Ancient Egypt (1997). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Shafer

R. Hannah, “The Tethering of Meskhetiu” GM 160 (1997).

R. Hari, New Kingdom Amarna Period (1985).

The harmonic interval 19:11, the “sound of the Caverns” at www.youtube.com/user/stylesjkaufman

E. Harris, Ancient Egyptian Divination and Magic (1998). https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptiand00harr/mode/2up

G. Hart, A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses (1986). https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofegyp0000hart

Z. Hawass, The Royal Tombs of Egypt (2006).

H. Hays, Funerary Rituals (Pharaonic Period), UEE 2010. www.academia.edu/380067/

H. Hays, “Transformation of Context: The Field of Rushes in Old and Middle Kingdom Mortuary Literature” in S. Bickel, B. Mathieu (eds.), D'un monde a l'autre: Textes des Pyramides verses Texts des Sarcophages (2004). www.academia.edu/388680/

H. Hays, W. Schank “Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representations” in P. Dorman, B. Bryan (eds.) Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes (2007). www.academia.edu/380068/

W. Helck, Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses II in Karnak (1968). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Helck

W. Helck, Urkunden Der 18. Dynastie. IV. Abt. (1958). https://archive.org/details/urkundendesaegyp2021steiuoft/page/n5/mode/2u p

B. Hellinckx, “The symbolic assimilation of head and sun as expressed by headrests” SAK 29 (2001).

F-R. Herbin, “Une Hymne a la Lune Croissante” BIFAO 82 (1982), 237-282. https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bifao/82/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

F. Hermsen, Die zwei Wege des Jenseits. Das altagyptische Zweiwegebuch (1991). https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/152769/

C. H. Herzer, “Cosmological Scenes as Expressions of Time in the Temple of Isis at Philae”, in preparation.

S. Hodel-Hoenes, Life and Death in Ancient Egypt (2000). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Hodel-Hoenes

N. Hoffmann, “Reading the Amduat” ZAS 123 (1996).

J. Hoffmeier, Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt (1985). https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/158218/

M. Holmberg, The God Ptah (1946). https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.284073

E. Hornung, Der Agyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh (1982). https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram%3AHornung%20-%20Der%20Agyptische%20Mythos%20von%20der%20Himmelskuh.pdf

E. Hornung, Akhenaten and the Religion of Light (1999). https://archive.org/details/akhenatenreligio0000horn

E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife (1999). https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianb00horn/mode/2up

E. Hornung, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld (2005).

E. Hornung, Das Amduat Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes II (1963). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Hornung Amduat

E. Hornung, “Black Holes Viewed from Within: Hell in Ancient Egyptian Thought” Diogenes 165 (1994).

E. Hornung, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II (1975-6). https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram%3AHornung_Das_Buch_der_Anbetung_des_Re_im_Westen_Sonnenlitanei,_Nach.pdf

E. Hornung, Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits II (1980). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Hornung Pforten

E. Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt, the One and the Many (1985). https://archive.org/details/conceptionsofgod0000horn/mode/2up

E. Hornung, “The Discovery of the Unconscious in Ancient Egypt” in An Annual of Archetypal Psychology and Jungian Thought Spring 1986, 16-28.

E. Hornung, “Funerary Literature in the Tombs of the Valley of the Kings” in K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001).

E. Hornung, Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal des Konige (1971).

E. Hornung, Idea into Image (1992). https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram%3AHornung_Idea_into_Image,_Essays_on_Ancient_Egyptian_Thought.pdf

E. Hornung, “The rediscovery of Akhenaten and his Place in Religion”, JARCE 29 (1992).

E. Hornung, “Zu den Schlussszene der Unterweltsbucher” MDAIK 37 (1981).

E. Hornung, “Zum Schutzbild im Grabe Ramses VI” in J. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk (eds.) Funerary Symbols and Religion (1988), 45-51. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Milde

E. Hornung, “The Tomb of Rameses IV” in K. Weeks (ed.) Valley of the Kings (2001).

E. Hornung, The Tomb of Pharaoh Seti I (1991).

E. Hornung, Das Totenbuch der Agypter (1990).

E. Hornung, Valley of the Kings Horizon of Eternity (1990).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Amduat Book of the Hidden Chamber (2007). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Hornung Amduat

E. Hornung, T. Abt, The Egyptian Book of Gates (2014). https://archive.org/details/the-egyptian-book-of-gates/mode/2up

E. Hornung, R. Krauss and D. Warburton (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Chronology (2006). https://archive.org/details/AncientEgyptianChronology_201303

J. Houser-Wegner, "Khonsu" in D. Redford, The Ancient Gods Speak A Guide to Egyptian Religion (2002). https://archive.org/details/ancientgodsspeak0000unse/mode/2up

W. Hovestreydt, "Secret Doors and Hidden Treasure: Some Aspects of Egyptian Temple Treasuries from the New Kingdom" in J. van Dijk (ed.), Essays in Honour of Herman te Velde (1997). www.academia.edu/2939938/

W.J. Howson, Osireion – One night's thoughts, four years work. (2019) www.academia.edu/38260074/

G. Hughes, "The Sixth Day of the Lunar Month and the Demotic Word for 'Cult Guild'", MDAIK 16 (1958), 147-160.

R. Hutchens, The Bridge to Light (1985). https://www.scribd.com/document/481442007/

O. Illes, "Single Spell Book of the Dead Papyri as Amulets" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.), Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006).

ISIDA-Project, Osirion (2018). https://isida-project.org/egypt_april_2018/osirion_en.htm

S. Iskander, O. Goelet, The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos Volume I, Wall Scenes, pt. 2 (2015).

E. Iversen, "sDm.f and sDm.n.f and the Egyptian conception of time" DE 31 (1995), 69-79.

C. Jacq, Egyptian Magic (1985 and 1998). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Jacq Magic

R. Jasnow, K. Zauzich, The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica I Texts (2005). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Jasnow Thoth

H. Jauhiainen "Do Not Celebrate Your Feast Without Your Neighbours" A Study of References to Feasts and Festivals in Non-Literary Documents from Ramesside Period Deir el-Medina (2009), Academic Dissertation. https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/19196

G. Jameson, The Prime Number Theorem (2003). https://www.scribd.com/document/483694945/

G. Jequier, Manuel d'Archeologie Egyptienne I (1924). https://archive.org/details/Jequier1924

J. Jorgensen, "Myth and Cosmography: on the union of Re and Osiris in two types of religious discourse" in Horn, Marteen, et. al. (eds.), Current Research in Egyptology 2010 (2011), 71-80.

H. Junker, "Die sechs Teile des Horusauges und der 'sechste Tag' " ZAS 48 (1910), 101-106. https://archive.org/stream/zeitschriftfr48brug#page/100/mode/2up

L. Kakosy, "Some Problems of Late-Egyptian Religion" in W. Reineke (ed.), Acts. First International Congress of Egyptology (1977).

H. Kees, Der Gotterglaube im Alten Agypten (1977).

H. Kees, Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen (1956). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kees

B. Kemp, How to Read the Book Of the Dead (2008). https://archive.org/details/howtoreadegyptia0000kemp

T. Kendall "III. H. Jebel Barkal and Luxor Temple" (2010). www.jebelbarkal.org

S. el-Kholi, "The Lost Colossus of the Mate of the Sphinx" in Z. Hawass, L. Brock (eds.), Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century II (2003).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

D. Kisor-Go, A Stylistic and Iconographic Analysis of Private Post-Amarna Period Tombs at Thebes (2006), unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: go

K. Kitchen, "Aspects of Ramesside Egypt" in W. Reineke (ed.), Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptology (1979).

K. Kitchen, Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt (1982). https://archive.org/details/pharaohtriumphan0000kitc_r6r6 or https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kitchen

K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. I (1975). https://archive.org/details/KennethA.KitchenRamessideInscriptionsVol1/mode/2up

K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. II (1979). https://archive.org/details/KennethA.KitchenRamessideInscriptionsVol2/mode/2up

K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. IV (1982). https://archive.org/details/KennethA.KitchenRamessideInscriptionsVol4/mode/2up

K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Notes and Comments Vol. I (1993). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kitchen

K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Translations Vol. I (1993). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kitchen

K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions II Notes and Comments (1999). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kitchen

K. Kitchen, Ramesside Inscriptions Vol. II Translations (1996). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kitchen

K. Kitchen, Rameside Inscriptions Translations Vol. IV (2003). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kitchen

D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple (2006). www.academia.edu/240044/

P. Koemoth, Osiris et les arbres (1994) in AEB 94.0970.

P. Kousculis, "Magic in Greco-Roman Egypt" MAA 2 (2002).

A. Kozloff, "Bubonic Plague in the Reign of Amenhotep III?" KMT 17, 3 (2006), 36-46.

A. Kozloff, "Star-Gazing in Ancient Egypt" in C. Berger et al. (eds.), Hommages a J. Leclant (1993).

R. Krauss, "Akhenaten: Monotheist? Polytheist?" BACE 11 (2000). www.academia.edu/25123821/

W. Kristensen, Life out of Death. Studies on the Religions of Egypt and of Ancient Greece (1992).

K. Kuhlmann, Der Thron im alten Agypten (1977). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Kuhlmann

H. Lange, O. Neugebauer, Papyrus Carlsberg No.1 (1940). https://archive.org/details/Lange1940

G. Lapp, The Papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA9900) The Texts of Chapter 180 (2002). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Lapp

G. Lapp, The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA10477), (1997). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Lapp

G. Lapp, Totenbuch Spruch 17 (2006).

E. Leach, "The Mother's Brother in Ancient Egypt" Royal Anthropological Institute News 15 (1976).

E. Lefebure, Les Hypogees Royaux de Thebes III (1889). https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/lefebure1889bd3 and https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/lefebure/1889bd2 and https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/lefebure/1886bd1

C. Leitz, Alteaegyptische Sternuhren (1995). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Leitz

C. Leitz, Quellentexte zur Agyptischen Religion I (2004).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

C. Leitz, Studien zur agyptischen Astronomie (1989). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Leitz

T. Lekov, "The Shadow of the dead and its representation" JES III (2010). www.academia.edu/9114978/

R. Leprohon, Patterns of Royal Name-Giving, UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (2010). https://escholarship.org/uc/item/51b2647c

R. Lepsius, Denkmaler aus Aepypten und Aetheopien Abtheilung III Band 6 (1849). www.bibliothek.uni-halle.de

L. Lesko, The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Two Ways (1972). https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptianb0000unse/mode/2up

L. Lesko, Dictionary of Late Egyptian Volumes I-V (1982-1990). https://archive.org/details/dictionaryoflate0001unse/mode/2up and https://archive.org/details/dictionaryoflate0002unse/mode/2up

L. Lesko, "Some Observations on the Composition of the Book of the Two Ways" JAOS 91 (1971).

M. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I (1973).
https://archive.org/details/Miriam_Lichtheim_Ancient_Egyptian_Literature_Vol_I_II_III_2006

L. Lippiello, "An Explanation of New Kingdom Ritual Watercraft: Embodied mimesis", Paper represented at the 56th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt (2005) Abstract.

L. Lippiello, Symbolic Perceptions of New Kingdom Watercraft: Building Boats from Gods (2004) MA thesis at:
https://yale.academia.edu/LaurenLippiello

A. Loprieno, "Puns and Wordplay in Ancient Egyptian" in S. Noegel, (ed.) Puns and Pundits: Wordplay in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature (2000).

D. Lorton, Review of Erik Hornung, Der agyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh in Bibliotheca Orentalis 40 (1983), 609-616.

R. Lucarelli, The Book of the Dead of Gatseshen (2006). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Gatseshen

R. Lucarelli, "Demons (benevolent and malevolent)" UEE (2010). www.academia.edu/383305/

R. Lucarelli, "Demons in the Book of the Dead" in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stoher (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006).
www.academia.edu/384399/

R. Lucarelli, "The guardian-demons of the Book of the Dead" in The British Museum, BMSAES 15 (2010). www.academia.edu/383655/

J. Lull, J. Belmonte, "The Constellations of Ancient Egypt" in J. Belmonte, M. Shaltout (eds.), In Search of Cosmic Order (2009).
www.academia.edu/3094969/

M. Lurker, The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt (1984). https://archive.org/details/godssymbolsofanc0000lurk/mode/2up

D. Mackey, Sothic Dating Examined: The Sothic Star Theory of the Egyptian Calendar (1995) at:
http://www.specialityinterests.net/sothic_star3.html.

J. Malek, J. Baines, Atlas of Ancient Egypt (1981): https://archive.org/details/AtlasOfANCIENTEGYPT_201803/mode/2up

C. Manassa, "Divine Taxonomy in the Underworld Books" in Archiv fur Religionsgeschichte 14 (2013). www.academia.edu/2389824/

C. Manassa, "The Judgment Hall of Osiris in the Book of Gates", RdE 57 (2006). www.academia.edu/323244/

C. Manassa, The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period (2005), Ph.D. Dissertation.
www.academia.edu/323263/ published edition

C. Manassa, "Sounds of the Netherworld" in B. Rothohler, A. Manisali (eds.), Mythos & Ritual, Festschrift fur Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag (2008). www.academia.edu/323270/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Maravelia, “Cosmic Space and Archetypal Time: Depictions of the Sky-Goddess Nut in Three Royal Tombs of the New Kingdom and her Relation to the Milky Way” GM 197 (2003). www.academia.edu/38104155/

Maree, “A Scorpion for Eternity” Nekhen News 18 (2006).

A. Mariette, Abydos I-II (1869-80). https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869bd1
https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880bd2

G. Maspero, H. Gauthier, Sarcophages des epoques persane et ptolemaique II (1939). https://archive.org/details/MasperoSarco1939

W. Mayer, Lecture given on June 23, 2002 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York on the history of the Satet Temple.

D. McBride, The Egyptian Foundation of Gnostic Thought (1994), PhD dissertation, Toronto. https://gnosis.study search: McBride

D. Meeks, Mythes et legendes du Delta d'apres le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84 (2006).https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Meeks papyrus Brooklyn

D. Meeks, C. Favard-Meeks, Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods (1996).https://archive.org/details/dailylifeofegypt0000meek/mode/2up

A. Mekhitarian, M. Kunnen, R. Wulleman, Abydos Sacred Precinct of Osiris (1998).

E. Meltzer, “Some Basic Principles of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Basis for Further Exploration” DE 57 (2003).

S. Mercer, Horus Royal God of Egypt (1942). https://archive.org/details/horusroyalgodofe0000unse

L. Mikhail, “Raising the Djed-Pillar The Last Day of the Osirian Khoiak Festival” GM 83 (1984), 51-69.

H. Milde, The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet (1991).
https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram%3AMilde%20-%20The%20Vignettes%20in%20the%20Book%20of%20the%20Dead%20of%20Neferrenpet.pdf

A. Mironova, “The Relationship Between Space and Scenery of an Egyptian Temple: Scenes of the Opet Festival and the Festival of Hathor at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III” in ejournal Mosikjournal.1 2010 (in English).

G. Moller, “Die Zeichen fur die Bruchteile des Hohlmasses und das Uzatauge” ZAS 48 (1910), 99-101 at:
https://archive.org/stream/zeitschriftfr48brug#page/100/mode/2up

R. Monfort, R. Rothenflug, Temple de Sethy (2019). www.abydossethy.net/templesethy/temple_sethy.html

A. Morales, “Threats and warnings to future kings: The inscriptions of Seti I at Kanais (Wadi Mia)” in Z. Hawass, J.H. Wegner, In Millions of Jubilees Studies in Honor of David Silverman (2010), 387-411. www.academia.edu/286013/

S. Morenz, Egyptian Religion (1973 translated from German by A. Keep 1996). https://archive.org/details/egyptianreligion0000more

A. Moret, Le Rituel du Culte devin jouralier en Egypte, d'apres les papyrus de Berlin et les Textes du Temple de Seti I, a Abydos (1902, reprint 1998). https://archive.org/details/lerituelduculted00more

M. Mosher, The Papyrus of Hor (2001).

M. Muller-Roth, Das Buch vom Tage (2008). https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/148228/

I. Munro, Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Agyptischen Museum Cairo Textband (1994).
https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Munro

W. Murnane, “The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution”, in D. O'Connor, D. Silverman (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Kingship (1995), 185-217. https://archive.org/details/AncientEgyptianKingship

W. Murnane, The Penguin Guide to Ancient Egypt (1988). https://archive.org/details/penguinguidetoan0000murn

W. Murnane, The Road to Kadish (1990).
https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/saoc/saoc-42-road-kadesh-historical-interpretation-battle-reliefs-king-sety-i

BIBLIOGRAPHY

W. Murnane, Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt (1995). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Murnane

W. Murnane, United With Eternity (1980). https://isac.uchicago.edu/research

M. Murray, The Osireion at Abydos (1904). https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

S. Murthy, "Number Symbolism in the Vedas" at: www.ejvs.laurasianacedemy.com/ejvs1203/ejvs1203article.pdf

K. Mysliwiec, "Atum" in D. Redford (ed.) The Ancient Gods Speak (2002), 25-26. https://archive.org/details/ancientgodsspeak0000unse/

K. Mysliwiec, "Beziehungen zwischen Atum und Osiris" MDAIK 35 (1979), 195-213.

K. Mysliwiec, "Die Parallele von Atum und Re-Harachte" SAK 10 (1983), 297-306.

K. Mysliwiec, Studien zum Gott Atum (1978). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Gott Atum

NASA, Periodicity of Solar Eclipses 1.4 Saros at: http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsaros/SEperiodicity.html

National University of Singapore, "Predicting Eclipses with the Stonehenge" at:
www.math.nus.edu.sg/aslaksen/gem-projects/hm/0102-1-stonehenge/eclipses.htm

E. Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie I Text und Vignetten Volumes I-II (1886, reprint 1971).
https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/011742868

E. Naville, Das Agyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie I Text und Vignetten Einleitung (1886).

E. Naville, "The Book of the Dead" PSBA 24 (1902). https://archive.org/details/egyptianbookdea00navigoog/page/n3/mode/2up

E. Naville, "Excavations at Abydos: The Great Pool and the Tomb of Osiris" JEA 1 (1914), 159-167.

E. Naville, "Excavations at Abydos – the Osireion" in F. Griffith, Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report 1911-1912.

E. Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari VI (1908). https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/naville1908bd6/

J. Naydler, The Temple of the Cosmos The Ancient Egyptian Experience of the Sacred (1996).
https://archive.org/details/templeofcosmosan0000nayd/mode/2up

H. Nelson, "The Calendar of Feasts and Offerings at Medinet Habu" in H. Nelson, U. Holscher, Work in Western Thebes 1931-33 (1934).
https://oi.uchicago.edu/research

H. Nelson, W. Murnane (ed.), The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak Volume 1, part 1: The Wall Reliefs (1981).
https://oi.uchicago.edu/research

O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts I (1960). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Parker

O. Neugebauer, R. Parker, Egyptian Astronomical Texts III (1969). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Parker

A. Niwinski, "Les Periodes WHM MSWT Dans l'Histoire de l'Egypte: Un Essai Comparatif" [The Periods wHm mswt in the History of Egypt: A Comparative Essay], BSFE 136 (1996), 5-26.

A. Niwinski, "The so-called Chapter BD 141-142 and 148 on the Coffins of the 21st Dynasty from Thebes" in B. Backes, m. Muller-Roth, S. Stohr (eds.) Festschrift fur Irmtraut Munro: SAT 14 (2007).

A. Niwinski, "The Solar – Osirian Unity" JEOL 30 (1987- 88), 89-106.

A. Niwinski, Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C. (1989).
https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/156842/

K. Nordh, Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings (1996). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Nordh

B. Ockinga, "Theban Tomb 233 – Saroy regains an identity" BACE 11 (2000).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

D. O'Connor, Abydos Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris (2009). https://archive.org/details/DavidB.OConnorAbydosEgyptsFirstPharaohsBookFi/mode/2up

J. O'Connor, E. Robertson, “Callippus” at: www.history.mcs.st-andrews.ac.uk/Printonly/Callippus.html

J. Ogdon, “Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Thought, V. A New Look at the Terminology for 'Spell' and Related Terms in Magical Texts” DE 40 (1998).

S. Onstine, “The Relationship Between Osiris and Re in the Book of Caverns” JSSEA 25 (1995).

J. Oswalt, The Concept of Amon-Re as Reflected in the Hymns and Prayers of the Ramesside Period (1968) unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation.

E. Otto, Das Agyptische Mundoffnungsritual (1960). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Otto

E. Otto, Ancient Egyptian Art The Cults of Osiris and Amon (1967/1968). https://archive.org/details/ancientegyptiana0000otto/

E. Otto, “An Ancient Egyptian Hunting Ritual” JNES 9 (1950), 164-177.

R. Park, “The recorded Solar Eclipse of Nectanebo I” at: www.academia.edu/1863522/The_recorded_Solar_Eclipse_of_Nectanebo_I

R. Parker, “Ancient Egyptian Astronomy” in Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London A. 276 (1974).

R. Parker, The Calendars of Ancient Egypt SAOC 26 (1950). https://oi.uchicago.edu/research

A. Peden, Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty (1994).

W. F. Petrie, “A Foundation-Deposit Inscription from Abydos” Journal of Hellenic Studies 22 (1902).

W. F. Petrie, Notes and News, Ancient Egypt (1922).

J. Pendlebury, The City of Akhenaten: part III The Central City and the Official Quarters (1951). https://archive.org/details/EXCMEM44.1

K. Pfluger, “The Edict of Horemheb” JNES 5 (1946), 260-268.

A. Piankoff, Le Creation du Disque solaire (1953). https://archive.org/details/BdE-19

A. Piankoff, The Litany of Re (1964). https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram:Piankoff%20-%20The%20Litany%20of%20Re.pdf

A. Piankoff, Le Livre des Quererts. https://www.ifao.egnet/bifao/42/ https://www.ifao.egnet/bifao/43/ https://www.ifao.egnet/bifao/45/

A. Piankoff, The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon (1955). https://archive.org/details/shrinesoftutank00pian

A. Piankoff, The Tomb of Ramesses VI (1954). https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram:Piankoff%20-%20The%20Tomb%20of%20Ramesses%20VI%201%20Texts.pdf and plates https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram:Piankoff%20-%20The%20Tomb%20of%20Ramesses%20VI%202%20Plates.pdf

A. Piankoff, The Wandering of the Soul (1974). https://www.dirzon.com/Doc/Details/telegram:Piankoff%20-%20The%20Wandering%20of%20the%20Soul.pdf

A. Piankoff, C. Maystre, “Deux Plafonds dans les Tombes Royales” BIFAO 38 (1939). https://www.ifao.egnet/bifao/38/

P. Piccione, The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and its Significance for Egyptian Religion (1990). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: senet

P. Piccione, “In Search of the Meaning of Senet” Archaeology 33/4 (1980). www.academia.edu/83737808/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Plutarch, Moralia Isis and Osiris, Vol. V in the Loeb Classical Library edition (1936). See on line edition: www.penelope.uchicago.edu.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Moralia/Isis_and_Osiris*/A.html

B. Porter, R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography I. The Theban Necropolis, Part 2. Royal Tombs (1973). http://topbib.griffith.ox.ac.uk//pdf.html

B. Porter, R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography V, Upper Egypt: Sites (2004). http://topbib.griffith.ox.ac.uk//pdf.html

B. Porter, R. Moss, Topographical Bibliography VI: Upper Egypt Chief Temples (1970). http://topbib.griffith.ox.ac.uk//pdf.html

M. Pouls Wegner, "Wepwawet in Context: A Representation of the Jackal Deity and its Role in the Spatial Organization of the North Abydos Landscape" JARCE 43 (2007). www.academia.edu/2030650/

G. Priskin, "Coffin Text 155 on the Moon" Birmingham Egyptology Journal (2013).

G.Priskin, "The Dendera Zodiacs as narratives of the myth of Osiris, Isis, and the child Horus" Egypte Nilotique et Mediterraneene [ENiM] 8 (2015),160. at: www.enim-egyptologie.fr/index.php?page=enim-8&n=9

G. Priskin, "The Eye of Horus and the Synodic Month" DE 53 (2002). www.academia.edu/4809173/

G. Priskin, "On The Number Delimiting the Sacred Space of the Dendera Temple" DE 55 (2003). www.academia.edu/4808819/

G. Priskin, "The Philosopher's stones: the Great Pyramid" DE 51 (2001). www.academia.edu/64743236/

J. Quack, "Fruhe agyptische Vorlaufer der Paranatellonta?" Sudhoffs Archiv 83 (1999). https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/609/

S. Quirke, The Cult of Ra (2001). https://archive.org/details/cultofrasunworsh0000quir

S. Quirke, "Judgment of the Dead" in D. Redford, The Ancient Gods Speak (2002).https://archive.org/details/ancientgodsspeak0000unse/

D. Raue, "Who was who in Elephantine in the third Millennium BC?" British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 9 (2008). https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/british-museum-publications/bmsaes

M. Raven, "Corn-Mummies" OMRO 63 (1982), 7-38. www.academia.edu/37762695/

M. Raven, "A New Type of Osiris Burials" in W. Claysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (eds.) Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years I (1998), 227-239. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Willems

E. Raymond, "The *sʿḥ*, 'Eternal Image'" ZAS 98 (1972), 132-140.

D. Redford, Pharaonic King-Lists (1986). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum Search: Redford King

N. Reeves, The Complete Tutankhamun (1990). https://archive.org/details/completetutankha0000reev/mode/2up

N. Reeves, Valley of the Kings (1990). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Reeves

N. Reeves, R. Wilkinson, The Complete Valley of the Kings (1996). https://archive.org/details/TheCompleteValleyOfTheKingsTombsAndTreasuresOfEgyptsGreatestPharaohsC.N.ReevesRi/mode/2up

I. Regulski, "Investigating a new Dynasty 2 necropolis at South Saqqara" in BMSAES 13 (2009), 221-237. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/british-museum-publications/bmsaes

J. Relke, A. Ernest, "Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Ursa Major – Symbol of Rejuvenation" Archaeoastronomy XVII (2002-2003), 64-80. www.academia.edu/78135472/

M. Rice, Egypt's Legacy (2003). https://archive.org/details/egyptslegacyarch0000rice/

B. Richter, "The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers" JARCE 44 (2008). www.academia.edu/4749187/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

R. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (1993 and 1995). https://oi.uchicago.edu/research

J. Roberson, The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth (2012). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Roberson

J. Roberson, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques, Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky (2013). www.academia.edu/1967409/

J. Roberson, "An Enigmatic Wall from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos" JARCE 43 (2007), 93-112. www.academia.edu/627551/

J. Roberson, "The Rebirth of the Sun Mortuary Art and Architecture in the Royal Tombs of the New Kingdom" Expedition Vol. 50, No. 2 (2008). www.academia.edu/626384/

J. Roberson, "A Solar Litany From the Tomb of Ramesses IX" JARCE 45 (2009), 227-232. www.academia.edu/627552/

A. Roberts, My Heart My Mother (2000). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Roberts My Heart

M. de Rochemonteix, Le temple d'Edfou I Fasc. 1-4 (1984-1987). www.ifao.egnet.net

D. Mendez Rodriguez, "The Transmission of the Book of the Twelve Caverns" (2017) www.academia.edu/76225737/

C. Roehrig, "Gates to the Underworld: The Appearance of Wooden Doors in the Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings" in R. Wilkinson (ed.), Valley of the Sun Kings (1995). www.academia.edu/18934837/

E. Romanosky, "Min" in D. Redford (ed), The Ancient Gods Speak (2002). https://archive.org/details/ancientgodsspeak0000unse/

J. Rose, 'The Sons of Re' Cartouches of the Kings of Egypt (1985).

E. Rossiter, The Book of the Dead Papyri of Ani, Hunefer, Anhai (1984). https://archive.org/details/bookofdeadfamous0000unse

G. Roulin, "The Book of the Night" in C. Eyre (ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists (1998).

G. Roulin, Le Livre de la Nuit I-II (1996). https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/141093/ https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/141094/

G. Roulin, Le Livre de la Nuit (1996), AEB 96.0385, Editors of AEB 2001.

J. Rousseau, "the Puzzle of the Consecrated Numbers" BSAK 2 (1988).

M. Saleh, Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengrabern des Neuen Reiches (1984). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com
Forum search: Saleh

M. Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten (1938). https://archive.org/details/textsfromtimeofa0000sand/

S. Sauneron, The Priests of Ancient Egypt (1980), New Edition (2000). https://archive.org/details/priestsofancient00saun

H. Schaefer, Principles of Egyptian Art (1981). https://archive.org/details/principlesofegyp0000scha

H. Schlogl, Der Gott Tatenen. Nach Texten und Bildern des neuen Reiches (1980). AEB 80.0787 Editors of the AEB (2001).
http://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/149708/

M. Schneider, A Beginner's Guide to Constructing the Universe The Mathematical Archetypes of Nature, Art, and Science (1994).

A. Schweizer, The Sungod's Journey Through the Netherworld: Reading the Ancient Egyptian Amduat (2010).
https://archive.org/details/andreas-schweizer-the-sungods-journey-through-the-netherworld-reading-the-ancien

T. Scott, "Remarks on the universal symbolism of the number 72," Eye of the Heart: A Journal of Traditional Wisdom (2008) Issue 1
www.latrobe.edu.au/eyeoftheheart/issue1.html

C. Seawright, "Egypt: Serqet, Goddess of Scorpions and Venomous Creatures, Magical Protection and the Afterlife" www.touregypt.net

BIBLIOGRAPHY

C. Seeber, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Agypten (1976). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com
Forem search: Seeber

J. Sellers, The Death of Gods in Ancient Egypt (1992 and revised edition 2007). https://archive.org/details/deathofgodsinanc0000sell/

F. Servajean, “Duality” UEE 2008. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/95b9b2db

O. Sety, H. el Zeini, Abydos: Holy City of Ancient Egypt (1981). https://archive.org/details/abydosholycityof0000omms/mode/2up

R. Shalomi-Hen, Classifying the Divine Determinatives and Categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17 (2000).

S. Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and Other Sources, First and Second Series (1837, 1841, 1855).

G. Shaw, The Egyptian Myths A Guide to the Ancient Gods and Legends (2014).

A. Shedid, Das Grab des Sennedjem Ein Kunstlergrab der 19. Dynastie in Deir el Medineh (1994).

R. Shonkwiler, The Behdetite: A Study of Horus the Behdetite from the Old Kingdom to the Conquest of Alexander (2014).

A. Shore, “Human and Divine Mummification” in A. Lloyd, Studies in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths (1992).
https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Lloyd

D. Silverman, “The So-called Portal Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos” BSAK 2 (1988).

D. Silverman, J.W. Wegner, J.H. Wegner, Akhenaten and Tutankhamun: Revolution and Restoration (2006).

L. Sims, “The 'Solarization ' of the Moon: Manipulated Knowledge at Stonehenge”, Cambridge Archaeological Journal 16:2 (2006).
www.academia.edu/1344447/

L. Sims, “What is a lunar standstill? Problems of accuracy and validity in “the Thom paradigm'”, Mediterranean Archaeology Archaeometry, Special Issue 6:3 (2006), 157-163. www.academia.edu/1344449/

I. Singer, “The Failed Reforms of Akhenaten and Muwatalli” BMSAES 6 (2006).

D. Smith, “'Blindness' in Ancient Egypt – A New Interpretation of Some New Kingdom Texts” (2004) at:
www.egiptomania.com/EEF/Blindness.pdf

M. Smith, On the Primaeval Ocean (2002).

M. Smith, Traversing Eternity Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt (2009). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com

R. Sousa, “The Meaning of the Heart Amulets in Egyptian Art” JARCE 43 (2007). www.academia.edu/410393/

A. Spalinger, “The Beginning of the Civil Calendar”, M. Barta, F. Coppens, J. Krejci (eds.) Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/1 (2011). www.academia.edu/36332193/

A. Spalinger, “The Date of Amunhotep II's First Accession” SAK 40 (2011), 387-397. www.academia.edu/100066040/

A. Spalinger, “The destruction of mankind: A transitional literary text” SAK 28 (2000). www.academia.edu/304627/

A. Spalinger, The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II: A Solar-Osirian Tractate at Abydos (2009).
https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Ramesses Abydos

A. Spalinger, “Night into Day”, ZAS 119 (1992). www.academia.edu/100123485/

A. Spalinger, “Nut and the Egyptologists” SAK 41 (2012). www.academia.edu/36332073/

A. Spalinger, “A Remark on Renewal” SAK 17 (1990), 289-294. www.academia.edu/5760948/

A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time. Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics (1994). www.academia.edu/34626333/

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Spalinger, “Some Remarks on the Epagomenal Days in Ancient Egypt” JNES 54 (1995), 33-47. www.academia.edu/100066116/

A. J. Spencer, “Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs and Their Relationship to the Sed-Festival” JEA 64 (1978), 52-55.

P. Spencer, The Egyptian Temple A Lexicographical Study (1984). https://archive.org/details/egyptiantemplele0000spen

M. Stadler, Judgment after Death (Negative Confession), UEE 2008. www.academia.edu/30944472/

M. Stadler, Weiser und Wesir: Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im agyptischen Totenbuch (2009), 295-319. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Stadler

J. Steele, “Eclipse Prediction in Mesopotamia” Arch. Hist. Exact Sci. 54 (2000). www.academia.edu/2360577/

J. Steele, “A Simple Function for the Length of the Saros in Babylonian Astronomy” in J. Steele, A. Imhausen (eds.), Under One Sky (2002), 405-420. www.academia.edu/2361098/

J. Steele, F. Stephenson, “The Accuracy of Eclipse Times Measured by the Babylonians” JHA 28 (1997), 337-345. www.academia.edu/2360709/

H. Stewart, Traditional Egyptian Sun Hymns of the New Kingdom (1966).

Strabo, Geography Book XVII Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VIII (1932). https://archive.org/details/Strabo08Geography17AndIndex/Strabo%2008%20Geography%2017%20and%20index/mode/2up

B. Stricker, “The Enemies of Re” DE 23 (1992).

B. Stricker, De Geboorte van Horus I (1963).

S. Symons, Ancient Egyptian Astronomy: Timekeeping and Cosmography in the New Kingdom (1999), unpublished PhD Dissertation. https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.518318

S. Symons, “Comparison of Near-horizon Astronomical Events Recorded in the Ancient Egyptian Diagonal Star Tables”, Biennial History of Astronomy Workshop (2011), Abstract. www.3.nd.edu/histast/workshops/2011ndx/abstracts.shtm

S. Symons, Events of a Sirius Nature [presentation] Archaeoastronomy Colloquiette 2007, University of Leicester, unpublished.

S. Symons, “A Star's Year: The Annual Cycle in the Ancient Egyptian Sky” in J. Steele (ed.), Calendars and Years Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East (2007).

M. Tarasenko, “Mythological Allusions Connected with Cosmogony in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead” in B. Backes, I. Munro, S. Stohr (eds.) Totenbuch-Forschungen SAT 11 (2006). www.academia.edu/1455731/

M. Taussig, Mimesis and Alterity A Particular History of the Senses (1993). https://archive.org/details/MichaelTaussigMimesisAndAlterityAParticulbOk.org

J. Taylor (ed.), Journey Through the Afterlife Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead (2010).

E. Teeter, Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization (2011). www.academia.edu/1823765/

E. Teeter, The Presentation of Maat Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt (1997). SAOC 57 https://oi.uchicago.edu/research

H. te Velde, “The God Heka in Egyptian Theology” JEOL 21 (1970). https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl/BiblHtV.html

H. te Velde, Seth: God of Confusion (1977). https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl/BiblHtV.html

The Theban Mapping Project (www.thebanmappingproject.com).

360cities.net Temple of Seti I – Kings List https://www.360cities.net/image/list-of-kings-temple-of-seti-1-abydos-egypt

C. Traunecker, “Kamutef” in D. Redford (ed.) The Ancient Gods Speak (2002),184-185. https://archive.org/details/ancientgodsspeak0000unse/mode/2up

BIBLIOGRAPHY

L. Troy, “The Ennead: The Collective as Goddess” in G. England (ed.), Cognitive Structures and Popular Expressions (1989).

L. Troy, “The First Time: Homology and Complementority as Structured Forces in Ancient Egyptian Cosmology” in Cosmos, The Journal of the Traditional Cosmology Society 10 (1994).

L. Troy, Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History (1986). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com
Forum search: Troy Queenship

L. Troy, “Religion and Cult during the Time of Thutmose III” in E. Cline, D. O Connor (eds.), Thutmose III: A New Biography (2006).

J. Tyldesley, Egypt's Golden Empire The Dramatic Story of Life in the New Kingdom (2002).

University College London, “Ancient Egypt Knowledge and production: the House of Life” (2003) at:
www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/museum/museum2.html

E. Uphill, “The Egyptian Sed-Festival Rites” JNES 24 (1965).

J. van Dijk, “The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom” in I. Shaw, Oxford History of Ancient Egypt (2002).
https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Shaw Oxford

J. van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus” JEOL 26 (1979 - !980), 10-25. https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl

J. van Dijk, “Early Christian Apocrypha and the Secret Books of Ancient Egypt” in A. Hilhorst, G. van Kooten (eds.), The Wisdom of the Egyptians (2005). https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl

J. van Dijk, “An early hymn to Osiris as a nocturnal manifestation of Re” in G. Martin, The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb I (1988), 61-69, plates 66-67. https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl

J. van Dijk, “Entering the House of Hearts: An Addition to Chapter 151 in the Book of the Dead of Qenna” OMRO 75 (1995).
https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl

J. van Dijk, “Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt” in J. Sasson (ed.), Civilizations of the Ancient Near East III (1995), 1705-1706.
https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl

J. van Dijk, “A Ramesside Naophorous Statue from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery” OMRO 64 (1983). https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl

J. van Dijk, “The Symbolism of the Memphite Djed-Pillar” ORMO 66 (1986). https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl

J. van der Vliet, “Raising the Djed: A Rite de Marge” BSAK 3 (1988).

R. van Walsen, The Coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh I (1997).

U. Verhoeven, “Ein historische 'Sitz im Leben' fur die Erzahlung Horus und Seth des Papyrus Chester Beatty I” in M. Schade-Busch (ed.), Wege offnen: Festschrift fur Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag (1996), 347-363.

V. Vikentiev, “Aspects symboliques du monument de Chephren compare a celui de Seti Ier a Abydos et a l'edifice de Saqqarah-Sud” BIE 39 (1964), 7-34.

A. von Bomhard, “Ciels d'Egypte. Le “ciel du sud' et le 'ciel du nord'”, ENIM 5 (2012), English Abstract.

A. von Bomhard, The Egyptian Calendar A Work For Eternity (1999). https://archive.org/details/egyptiancalendar0000bomh

A. von Lieven, “Bemerkungen zum Dekorationsprogramm des Osireion in Abydos” in B. Haring, A, Klug (eds.), 6. Agyptologlische Tempeltagung Funktion und Gebrauch altagyptischer Tempelraume (2007), 167-186.

A. von Lieven, “Book of the Dead, Book of the Living: BD Spells as Temple Texts” JEA 98 (2012).

A. von Lieven, The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch in M. Kohbach, R. Lohlker, S. Prochazka, G. Setz (eds.), Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes (2012).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. von Lieven, Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch (2007).

A. von Lieven, "Mysterien des Kosmos: Kosmographie und Priesterwissenschaft" in J. Assmann, M. Bommas (eds.) Agyptische Mysterien? (2002).

W. Waitkus, "Zur Deutung einiger apotropaischer Gotter in den Grabern im Tal der Koniginnen und im Grabe Ramses III" GM 99 (1987).

W. Waitkus, Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels (2008). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Waitkus kult

E. Walker, Aspects of the Primaeval Nature of Egyptian Kingship: Pharaoh as Atum (1991), unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Walker kingship

P. Wallin, Celestial Cycles Astronomical Concepts of Regeneration in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts (2002). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Wallin coffin texts

S. Watson, "Death and Cosmology in Ancient Egypt" Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages XVII (1991).

K. Weeks (ed.), Atlas of the Valley of the Kings (2000). https://thebanmappingproject.com

K. Weeks (ed.), Valley of the Kings (2001).

R. Wilkinson & K. Weeks (eds.) , The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings (2016). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Weeks Valley

J. Wegner, "A new temple: the mahat of Nebhepetre at Abydos" Egyptian Archaeology 46 (2015), 3-7. www.academia.edu/15394654/

J. Wegner, "The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos and Considerations on the Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb" in D. Silverman, W. Simpson, J. Wegner (eds.), Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2009), 103-169. www.academia.edu/894390/

M. Wegner, The Cult of Osiris at Abydos: An Archaeological Investigation of the Development of an Ancient Egyptian Sacred Center during the Eighteenth Dynasty (2002). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Wegner cult Osiris

E. Weisstein's World of Astronomy "Metonic Cycle at: https://scienceworld.wolfram.com

R. Wells, "Re and the Calendars" in A. Spalinger (ed.), Revolutions in Time: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Calendrics (1994). www.academia.edu/34626333/

R. Wells, "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: A Direst Connection" SAK 12 (1985).

R. Wells, "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: An Egyptian 'Stonehenge'" BSAK 4 (1980).

E. Wente, "Funerary beliefs of the ancient Egyptians. An interpretation of the burials and texts" Expedition Magazine 24:2 (1982).

E. Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?" JNES 41 (1982), 161-179.

D. Werning, Das Hohlenbuch I-II (2011). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Werning

D. Werning, "An Interpretation of the Stemmata of the Books of the Netherworld in the New Kingdom – Tomb Decoration and the Text Additions for Osiris NN" in J-C. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists II (2007). https://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/3857/

M. el-Weshahy, "Studying Representation of the 'Flame Lake' in the Egyptian Underworld" in J. Goyon, C. Cardin (eds.), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists (2007), 641-652.

J. West, The Travelers Key to Ancient Egypt (1985).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Westerman, "Exploring the Osireion – Underwater Archaeology in the Desert" (2011). Paper presented at the 62nd Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in Chicago.

J. Westerman, "The Fowling scene in the Temple of Sety I – Abydos" GM 103 (1988).

J. Westerman, The Osireion website http://jameswesterman.org

C. Wilcox, "Lesson 50 The Pythagoras Theorem" (2010).

R. Wilkinson, The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt (2003). https://archive.org/details/the-complete-gods-and-goddesses-of-ancient-egypt/mode/2up

R. Wilkinson, The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt (2000). https://archive.org/details/completetempleso0000wilk_d0s2/mode/2up

R. Wilkinson, "The Motif of the Path of the Sun in Ramesside Royal Tombs" JSSEA 25 (1995), 78-81.

R. Wilkinson, Symbol & Magic in Egyptian Art (1994). https://archive.org/details/symbolmagicinegy0000wilk_b7o2/mode/2up

R. Wilkinson, "Symbiotic Orientation and Alignment in New Kingdom Royal Tombs" in R. Wilkinson (ed) Valley of the Sun Kings (1995). www.academia.edu/8504669/

T. Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt (1999). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Toby Wilkinson

H. Willems, "Anubis as a Judge" in A. Schoars, H. Willems (eds.), Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years I (1998), 719-744. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Willems

H. Willems, Chests of Life (1988). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Willems

H. Willems, The Coffin of Heqata (1996). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Willems

H. Willems, "The Embalmer Embalmed, Remarks on the Meaning of the Decoration of Some Middle Kingdom Coffins" in J. van Dijk, Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde (1997), 361-372. https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Dijk

J. Wilson, "Egypt: The Nature of the Universe" in H. Frankfort, H. A. Frankfort, J. Wilson, T. Jacobsen, w. Irwin, The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man (1946, reprint 1977). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Intellectual Adventure

J. Wilson, "The Theban Tomb (No. 409) of Si-Mut, Called Kiki" JNES 29 (1970).

P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexikon A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu (1997). https://dreven-iztok.ucoz.com Forum search: Wilson

A. Winkler, "The Efflux That Issued From Osiris" GM 211 (2006).

H. Winlock, Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos (1921). https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll10/id/15082/rec/14

J. Winnerman, Rethinking the Royal Ka, (2018). https://knowledge.uchicago.edu/record/434?In=en

E. Winter, Untersuchungen zu den agyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-romischen Zeit (1968).

T. Worrel, "Our Ancient Friend and Brother, the Great Pythagorus" at: www.sricf-ca.org/paper1.htm

W. Wreszinski, Bericht ueber Photographische Expedition, 1927.

J. Young, "Moon Teachings for the Masses at the Umass Sunwheel" at: www.umass.edu/Sunwheel/pages/moonteaching.html

BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Yoyotte, “Une notice biographique du roi Osiris” BIFAO 77 (1977), 145-149. https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bifao/77/

J. Yoyotte (ed.), Tanis, l'or des pharaons (1987).

F. Yurco, Osireion Abydos EEF txt thread February 9, 2002.

L. Zabkar, “Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator” ZAS 108 (1981).

L. Zabkar, “Some Observations on T. G. Allen's Edition of the Book of the Dead” JNES 24 (1965), 75-87.

L. Zabkar, A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts (1968). https://oichicago.edu SAOC 34

L. Zabkar, “The Theocracy of Amarna and the Doctrine of the Ba” JNES 13 (1954).

S. Zakrzewski, Life Expectancy UEE (2015). https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee

J. Zandee, “The Book of Gates” in Liber Amicorum, Supplement to Numen XVII (1969).

J. Zandee, Death as an Enemy (1960). https://archive.org/details/isbn_0405095910/mode/2up

A. Zayed, “The Archives and Treasury of the Temple of Sety I at Abydos” ASAE 65 (1983).

C. Ziegler, “Les Osiris-lunes du Serapeum de Memphis” BSAK 3 (1988), 441-451, Plates 7- 9.

O. Zuhdi, “Apropos of the South Wing of Seti I's Temple at Abydos” KMT A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt 8:2 (1997).

GENERAL INDEX

A

Ahmose, *jʿḥms* 39, 61, 711, 713.

Aker 209-10, 227-9, 266, 294. 400. 426, 441, 443, 561-4, 651 n.40, 757.

akh, *ꜣḫ*, akhw, *ꜣḫw* 12, 90, 109-10, 116-7, 125, 131, 134, 137, 138 n.221, 142, 150, 152-3, 159, 180 n.374, 225, 233, 253 n.285, 263, 266, 329, 331, 346-7, 357, 367, 386, 435, 462, 498, 552, 559 n.704, 570, 592-3, 599-600, 620-4, 628-9, 633-5.

Akhenaten 12, 13, 17-36, 46 n.163, 50-3, 67, 80, 82 n.74, 96, 130, 133, 181-2, 247, 270, 281, 323, 354, 359, 394, 410, 445, 475, 478, 526, 627, 658, 682, 685, 720.

akhet, eastern 85-6, 171, 196, 203, 205, 207-9, 276, 295-6, 321-4, 329, 332, 336-7, 339, 351, 367-8, 385 n.823, 388, 412, 415, 418, 433, 457 n.287, 496, 545, 552, 566, 578 n.781, 582, 591-2, 600-1, 604-5, 608, 612, 615, 618, 625, 627-9, 633, 636, 715 n.3, 728, 758.

Almagest, see also Ptolemy 311, 602 n.858, 752.

Amarna 17-22, 27-5, 52, 133 n.209, 209, 296, 563 n.714, 699-700.

Amduat, see also Book of Amduat 18-9, 50, 71-3, 81-2, 88, 96, 101 n.69, 105, 111-2, 115,137, 142, 154-7, 160, 173, 203 n.74, 210, 229, 337,394-408, 415, 419, 426, 443, 450 n.260, 458, 469, 491, 496-503, 517-20, 542, 544-50, 554-5, 573, 651-2, 712,720-1, 728, 732, 757.

Amen/Amun, see also Amen-Re 18, 30,33-6, 44, 48, 55, 56 n.219, 60, 130, 555, 653, 660, 713.

Amenemhat I 23, 28, 42, 270.

Amenemhet (first Egyptian water clock) 108, 230, 266 n.30, 316.

Amenhirkhopshef (crown prince) 661, 664, 670, 672, 674-8.

Amenhotep I 261 n.330, 316.

Amenhotep II 17, 25, 37, 72-3, 140, 358, 363, 370, 372-3, 376, 378 n.787, 397, 407-8, 497, 502, 721, 731.

Amenhotep III 18, 29, 30-2, 32 n.90, 43, 47, 54, 300 n.436, 716 n.4.

Amen-Re 30, 34, 36, 39, 42, 47, 48 n.171, 51-3, 55, 60, 66, 69, 72, 194, 250, 489-90, 541-2, 553, 643, 655-7, 661-9, 678-9, 713.

INDEX

Anhai (papyrus of) 173, 503, 618 n.919.

Ani (papyrus of) 323, 325, 351 n.663, 365 n. 715, 425, 432 n.186, 434, 557 n.697, 583-5, 586-90, 616, 626, 629, 691.

ankh, *ꜥnḫ* 128, 162, 241, 351-5, 375, 422, 443, 452, 465, 478, 480-1, 485-6, 506. 510, 513, 525, 531, 535, 539, 556 n.696, 558, 586, 595, 598-9, 614-5, 617-8, 628, 656, 665-6, 694-5.

annihilation, place of 135, 137, 161,227,232,260, 262-5, 275, 289, 395, 406, 473, 564, 723-4.

anointing 473, 492.

anomalistic month 314-5.

Anubis, *inpw* 107, 125, 157-9, 180 n.374, 196, 235, 241-2, 245, 254, 257-60, 267, 273, 283-4, 366, 372, 419, 438, 476-8, 495 n.454, 534, 588-9, 618 n.918, 621-3, 712, 754.

Apep/Apophis 91-2, 102, 113-5, 135-6, 157, 160, 179, 248, 277-9, 289, 316 n.504, 318, 334, 338, 491, 500, 502, 520, 544-7, 583, 585, 607, 627, 638, 651 n.40, 659.

Apis 673-4.

Apollo 140, 140 n.227, 404, 644.

apotropaic 122 n.153, 158, 433, 473.

Aqen/Iqen 136, 158, 377, 422, 428-9, 431, 452.

ascension 114, 141, 143, 150, 528, 603.

asterism 97, 182, 523, 716.

astronomical ceiling 184, 218, 373, 450 n.260, 484, 495-7, 708, 723, 723 n.41, 732, 742.

astronomy/astronomical 16, 64, 99, 105, 124, 143, 159, 167, 176, 183, 190 n.14, 191, 192 n.20, 193 n. 27, 194, 218, 250 n.271, **251**, 298-320, 552, 603, 734-5, 752.

Aten, *jtn* 17-22, 32, 36, 50, 52, 221, 258, 305, 410. 496 n.457, 613, 625-6, 638, 699-700.

Atum, *tm* 19, 22, 40, 44, 53, 82, 85-9, 92-6, 100, 103-5, 109-10, 113-7, 120-121, 127-31, 149, 162-9, 177, 181, 186 n.397, 189, 193 n.29, 197, 200-3, 209, 210 n.104, 212-3, 222-3, 228, 233-9, 246 n.252, 248-58, 264, 268, 271-7, 281-2, 285-6, 292-4, 301, 303, 308, 312, 318, 320, 324-30, 342, 345-7. 350-5, 372, 390 n.852, 391-2, 401, 411, 421-6, 443, 445, 450, 460-1, 464-5, 471, 472 n.357, 476, 479-92, 502, 512 n.576, 513-4, 516, 519-22, 527, 531-5, 542-7, 550-1, 553, 555, 567-8, 571, 582, 604-18, 624, 626-34, 664-6, 675-7, 680-5, 690, 701, 711, 744, 749, 756-8.

Avaris 42.

INDEX

Awakening of Osiris 128, 199, 349, 403, 408, 457 n.287, 465, 468, 495 n.454, 502, 506, 508-9, 512-4, 519, 521-39, 546, 560-4, 568, 571, 577-8, 580, 586, 597, 711, 722, 724, 731, 733.

Ay/Aye 20,28-9. 31.

azimuth 42 n.149, 190, 194-5, 307 n.464, 707 n.244, 718, 751 n.48.

B

ɓa, ɓas, bɜ 20-1, 90-1, 99, 106, 110,136-7, 141, 143-5, 169, 196, 203. 210, 218, 221-2, 227. 229, 233, 239, 241, 244, 249-50, 256, 263-8, 271-2, 275-7, 280-1,286-7, 290-5, 303, 305-6, 318-21, 324, 326, 329, 331, 333-5, 337-8, 342, 364, 369, 375, 377-8, 385, 388-90, 410, 417, 436, 456, 464,468, 472, 475, 482-7, 489, 493, 516-21, 527, 534-6, 538-9, 541, 545-6, 564, 580, 583, 587, 591, 593-4, 600, 609-10, 625-8, 630, 633, 635, 637-40, 682, 749, 755, 758.

ɓa of Osiris 108, 172, 196, 203, 205, 212, 218, 222, 227, 241, 256, 263-8, 275-7, 280-1, 286-7, 292-5, 305-6. 318-21, 324, 326, 329, 331, 334-5, 364, 375, 377-8,385, 388-90, 410, 412, 417, 436, 456, 468, 482-7, 493, 535, 538-9, 583, 587, 591, 593-4, 600, 625, 627, 630, 633, 635, 637-40, 755, 758.

ɓas of the New Moon, see also CT 155 106, 292, 366-8, 372, 379, 432 n.188.

Baboon 157, 456, 586, 589, 598, 618, 622.

Babylonians 304, 314 n.493, 315-7, 750.

begetter and begotten 85-6, 95, 110, 169, 197, 214, 238-9, 368, 372, 386 n.827, 401, 410, 418, 424, 438, 486, 489, 515-6, 536, 587, 596, 606, 615, 626, 681 n.147, 690, 758.

Behdetite/Behedet, *bḥdt*, see also Horus of Behedet 239, 342, 360-3, 367-8, 384-5, 396, 400, 415, 422, 425, 476, 531-2, 535-6, 539, 560,577-9, 586, 657.

benben, *bnbn* 137-8, 519, 661, 666, 702.

benu-bird, *bnw*-bird 138, 458, 609-10, 614, 666.

bier 139, 152-3, 225, 307 n.464, 365, 367, 375, 378, 450 n.260, 459, 464, 468, 504, 506, 508-15, 534 n.612, 539, 551, 595, 724, 726, 728, 733, 751 n.48, 754.

Birth House of Isis 12-3, 70, 404, 409, 452, 458, 460, 464, 466, 470, 481, 494, 507, 512, 514-5, 520, 533, 539, 541, 547-51, 652, 681, 711, 712 n.265.

Birth of Re, *mswt rɜ* 93, 125, 164, 176-7, 193, 276, 286, 292, 475.

bkɜt, early night hours 2-4 458.

INDEX

Blacked-out Moon Day, *psḏntyw* (New Moon) 16, 87, 123, 156, 172, 185-6, 189, 193-4, 205 n.79, 231, 267, 281, 283, 287, 291, 296-7, 299, 305-7, 320, 326-7, 332, 337-8, 340, 344, 347, 351, 358-62, 365-6, 371,377, 381-2, 388-9, 394, 396, 400, 409, 411, 415, 417, 424, 427, 430-3, 436, 438, 441, 443, 445, 454, 459-60, 464-70, 480-3, 485, 489, 491, 493, 507, 512, 515-6, 518, 524, 526, 532-3, 538, 541-4, 551-2, 558, 560, 576, 579, 583, 592, 594, 600, 602, 612, 627, 630-1, 636, 657, 673, 691, 705, 718-9, 744, 746 n.33, 551, 754, 758-9.

Book of Amduat (Book of the Hidden Chamber) 157, 399, 491, 496-7, 526, 545 n.658, 547, 651 n.40.

Book of Caverns 36, 67 n.3, 72, 97,123, 162, 172, 175, 182-3, 193 n.29, 194, 199, **204-338**, 351, 361, 372, 390, 393, 396, 404, 409-11, 417, 423, 450 n.260, 456, 464 n.310, 468 n.337, 483, 488 n.425, 499, 525-6, 538, 561, 583, 631-2, 689, 716-18, 732, 733 n.79, 742, 744, 747-51, 758.

Book of Gates 26, 37, 67 n.3, 68 n.5, 80, 85, 90 n.32, 91-182, 187, 197, 199-200, 204-8, 212, 223, 225 n.177, 230, 235, 248, 250, 264, 284, 293 n.410, 303, 337-8, 348, 360-1, 370, 381, 390, 395-7, 399 n.41, 404, 410 411, 414 n.104, 419 n.130, 449 n.257, 491,499, 503, 510, 526, 544,545 n.658, 561, 570-1, 585, 589, 590, 607, 639-40, 716-19, 727, 749, 754-5, 758.

Book of Nut (The Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars), p.Carlsberg 8 36, 84 n.4, 93, 105, 123, 143, 159, 162, 164, 177 n.364, 183, 186 n.395, 191, 216 n.134, 287, 293 n.410, 457 n.287, 479, 495, 523, 561, 563, 571, 574 n.769, 576-7, 583, 597, 716, 722, 726, 731.

Book of Praising Re in the West and Praising the United One in the West (Litany of Re) 49-50, 55-6, 60, 65, 100, 111, 127, 129, 158, 160, 204, 279, 316, 338, 341, 346 n.638, 370, 372, 375, 385, 405, 407, 456, 465, 475, 495, 497, 499, 505-7, 515-20, 540, 546-7, 634,730-1.

Book of the Day 125 n.173, 170, 171 n.336, 175-86, 207, 210, 296 n.420, 336-7, 404, 457, 523, 564, 590-1, 639, 721-2, 728, 731.

Book of the Dead Chapters:

BD 1 323, 584, 591.

BD 15, BD 15 variants BD 15B3 and BD 15g 89 n.30, 90 n.33, 92, 93 n.45, 591.

BD 16 597.

BD 17 38, 65, 101 n.72, 122, 125, 243, 276 n.356, 279 n.365, 323-5, 366, 387 n.831, 422 n.152, 450, 458, 481, 485, 487, 534 n.612, 560, 583 n.796, 591-628, 666, 759.

BD 18 323-31, 336, 346, 591 n.822, 628-35, 675, 758.

BD 19 324-31.

INDEX

BD 30 590.

BD 42 100 n.67, 329-32, 335-7, 357-8, 370, 425, 594 n.831, 633-6, 639-40.

BD 71 155, 156 n.278, 589.

BD 99 419, 421, 423, 426-8, 431, 443, 452-3, 504. 544, 728, 755-9.

BD 100 124 n.170, 449, 456 n.277.

BD 110 686.

BD 124 455.

BD 125 156, 189, 324, 398, 444 n.233, 445, 452, 455, 716, 721.

BD 126 449.

BD 127 456 n.275.

BD 129 (= BD 100)

BD 133 171, 196, 322, 332-9, 389, 594 n.831, 636-40.

BD 135 316.

BD 138 483, 489 n.429,

BD 141-2 (Litany of Osiris) 299, 305 n.450, 323, 340-3, 344 n.624, 348 n.648, 356, 395, 554,666, 720, 746.

BD 144 425, 427, 432-3.

BD 145 and BD 145B 172, 179, 207, 321-2, 326, 339, 418, 433-5, 440-3, 504.

BD 146 207 n.89, 432, 433-5, 440-3.

BD 147 434-43, 448, 456 n.275, 504.

BD 148 50, 65, 348-9, 406, 491, 494, 505, 515, 544.

BD 151 477 n.379, 508 n.806, **622**

BD 155 489 n.429.

BD 156 469.

BD 168 See below Book of the Twelve Caverns

BD 173 325, **351-7**, 629.

INDEX

BD 175 104, 168 n.318, 390 n.852, 610, 615.

BD 180 336-7, **385-9,** 506, 594 n.831, 625, 640.

BD 181d 550, 591 n.823.

BD 182 505-6, 511.

BD 183 53 n.201, 75, 85, 130, 181, 240, 324, 392, **458-63**, 470, 475, 484 n.409, 504, 506, 513, 515, 520, 551, 628, 677.

BD Pleyte 168 585.

Book of the Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques 529, 533, 561, 563, 577.

Book of the Celestial Cow/The Destruction of Mankind 31, 565 n.722.

Book of the Earth/Books of the Earth 37, 92, 128, 174, 208-9, 243, 247, 251, 257, 263, 294, 400, 403, 422, 450 n.260, 538, 560 n.708, 561-4, 573, 652, 717, 723-5, 732, 755.

Book of the Mysterious Lady, see also Book of the Earth 243, 249.

Book of the Night 75 n.39, 132, 170, 177-8, 182, **199-212**, 250, 294, 336, 404, 407, 452, 457, 491, 521-2, 538, 545, 553, **563-71**, 574, 590, 601, 716, 721-2, 726-8.

Book of Nut/Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars 36, 84 n.4, 93, 105, 123, 143, 159, 162, 164, 177 n.364, 183, 191, 287, 457 n.287, 479, 495, 523, 561, 563, 571, 674 n.769, 576-7, 583, 597, 716, 722, 726, 731.

Book of the Solar-Osirian Unity 37 n.121, 561, 725.

Book of Traversing Eternity 270.

Book of the Twelve Caverns (BD 168) 37, 106 n.95, 115, 121, 197, 307 n.464, 338, 340-1, 356, **358-91**, 396, 404, 432-3, 456, 459, 466, 516, 539, 719, 751 n.48, 754, 758.

Book of the Two Ways/Book of Two Ways 322, 324, 332-3, **335-9,** 369 n.741, 370, 387, 389,394, 636-7.

Book of Wennefer (BD 148) 515.

bull, long-horned *ngꜣw* **671-5**.

Busiris, *ḏdw* 326, 358, 366-7, 448, 467-8, 587, 593-4, 630.

Butcher's Hall/Annex 338, 671, 673, 675 n.124, 691 n.182.

INDEX

C

cairns 659, 667 n.103.

Callippic Cycle (76 years) 302, 309-11, 748, 751-3.

Cavern of Sokar 71, 142, 397, 399, 402, 426, 458, 514 n.524, 518, 652.

civil calendar 72, 87, 115, 123-7, 170, 183, 205 n.82, 300-1, 307, 309-12, 344, 360, 370, 373-4, 404-5, 431, 500, 576, 603, 667, 689, 704-5, 742, 744, 747, 751-3.

clepsydra (water clock) 561.

Coffin Texts Spells:

CT 105 211.

CT 148 485.

CT 155 106, 366.

CT 261 102, 451.

CT 335 122, 450, 458, 485, 600 n.847, 606 n.873, 625-6.

CT 398 428.

CT 352 86.

CT 398 427, 428.

CT 407 156 n.278.

CT 531 211.

CT 575/CT VI 185d 85.

CT 656 359.

CT 691 156 n.278.

CT 837 484.

CT 985 211.

CT 987 211.

CT 1029 322.

CT 1069 369 n.741.

INDEX

CT 1079 322.

CT 1176 369 n.741.

Colonnade Hall (Luxor Temple) 42, 54, 60, 194, 450, 541, 654-5, 711, 715-6.

constellations:

Great Hippopotamus goddess/constellation, form of Isis, rrt, rrt-wrt 181, 186, 623-4.

Meskhetiu, *msḫtyw* 125 n.173,180 n.374, 181-2, 186, 623-4.

Orion, *sꜣḥ* 16, 97, 129, 131 n.202, 178 n.365, 181-2, 216-8, 286-8, 305-9, 313, 349-50, 373, 379, 396, 415-6, 484-6, 551, 704-8, 711-2, 715-6, **734-41**.

Sirius, Sothis, Sopdet, *spdt* 64, 84, 93,97, 164, 187, 209, 216-8, 287, 293 n.410, 296, 300 n. 436, 305-12, 373-4, 379, 479, 484-5, 488, 517, 526, 551-2, 573, 572-3, 576, 579, 581, 623-4, 704-8, 712, 715, 753-3..

southern decanal constellations, decans 75, 120, 126-7, 175, 177, 183-7, 190, 199, 201, 216-9, 301, 309, 312, 347-8, 354, 373-4, 379, 382, 414-7, 431, 485-6, 491, 504, 517,523-4, 531, 536, 544, 566, 568, 572-7, 597-8, 708, 720, 732, 742, 747.

coregency 484.

coronation, *ḫꜥw-nsw* 466, 470, 490, 542.

cosmic order, see maat

Creation of the Solar Disk 157, 564.

Crowns:

Atef, *ꜣtf* 188, 359, 657.

Blue, khepresh *ḫprš* 323, 398, 443, 470, 479-80, 540, 618. 664-5, 679, 719.

Red, *dšrt* 48-9, 56, 143, 145, 468, 481, 527, 535, 656, 664, 668, 678, 684, 686.

šwty (twin plums) 253, 611-4, 253.

White, *ḥdt* 48-9, 56, 129-30, 140, 143-5, 148, 158, 164, 19 3n.29, 211-2, 219, 239-40, 301, 307, 329, 359, 370-1, 411, 462, 472, 478, 481, 484, 501, 527, 535, 587, 633, 655, 659, 664, 668, 684, 686, 692 n.186, 747, 751.

wrrt 335, 437, 439, 587, 639.

crypt 69, 123, 644, 650, 658, 743.

cryptology/cryptographic 37, 128, 155-60, 174, 181, 251, 264, 377, 403, 431, 521, 526, 528, 532, 534, 561-3, 589, 717, 724n.45, 725, 729, 731, 733.

INDEX

cult statue 210, 343, 403, 466-7, 470, 473, 487 n.421, 490, 533, 540, 542-3.

cultic assemblage, see also Gallery of Lists and Kings List 48-51, 58, 60, 313, 667, 669.

Cycle of 76 57-9, 194, 302, 311, 418, 466-7, 470-1, 489, 654, 658n.69. 669, 673n.120, 711, 715, 748, 753.

cyclical time, Eternal Recurrence, *nḥḥ* 72, 84, 93, 167n.318, 168, 171, 187, 216-9, 330, 344-5, 347-8, 354, 360-1, 384-5, 414, 452, 460, 479, 618, 634.

D

Daily Ritual 69 n.10,80, 301, 317, 434, 473, 654, 665 n.94, 667 n.105.

damnatio memoriae 24, 28-9, 35, 51.

damned 112. 160, 202, 221, 242, 261, 564, 569-70, 730.

death, second 17, 21, 29-30, 96, 181, 724.

demons 92, 95, 221, 330, 432-4, 633.

Dendera (temple) 123, 292 n.405, 312, 388 n.842, 424 n.158, 433-36, 447, 467-9, 493, 505, 508-9, 515, 551, 702 n. 222, 743

Desert Pylon (of Seti's temple complex at Abydos) 643 n.9, 658 n.70, **709**.

Destruction of Mankind **31**, 565 n.722.

Destruction, see Place of.

Diodorus Siculus 298, 315, 317.

ḏd, djed-pillar/djed-column 58, 313, 324, 326, 349, 354-5, 410 n.91, 411, 456, 466, 468, 472-3, 477, 488-9, 495 n.454, 535, 543, **554-59**, 586, 626, 630, 660.

Djedher, sarcophagus of (CG 29305) 159

Djeme 402 n.57, 651 n.41.

Djer 11-2, 73, 83, 192, 402, 509, 560, 642, 652, 703-4, 710, 714.

dnjt, seventh day of the lunar month 301, 306, 350, 745.

INDEX

dracontic month 314.

Driving the Calves (ritual of) **656-60**.

ḏt-time, Eternal Sameness 72, 89, 93 n.45, 118, 120, 167 n.313, 185, 208-13, 216-7, 238-9, 270, 292-4, 302. 304, 318, 320, 345 n.634, 360, 385-7, 410, 412 n.98, 414, 450, 452-3, 458, 475, 491, 512, 515, 519, 532, 536, 541 n.643, 547, 551, 561, 565, 572, 596, 597, 604, 608, 610, 685, 723, 728, 748, 750.

Dual Year (Egyptian) **300-1**, 318 n.518, 382.

Duamutef, see also Sons/Children of Horus 621-2.

duat, lower 72, 116, 142, 183, 230, 289, 326, 395, 399, 412, 418, 441, 444, 488, 496, 530, 560, 586, 590-2, 594 n.831, 595.600, 720, 723-4, 728.

duat, upper 71-2.

E

ecliptic 68, 84, 108, 118-21, 161, 164-7, 175-80, 183 n.387,186, 191, 198-9, 201-2, 219, 251, 287, 293 n.410, 362, 382, 388, 390, 405, 421 n.146, 485, 496, 522-3, 529, 566-71, 617, 673, 734, 755.

Edfu/Edfou 239,312, 362, 368, 389, 396, 416, 484 n.411, 536, 621, 655, 658, 662, 666, 678 n.136.

Efficacy (of magic) 424, 451, 603.

Efflux of Osiris 19-21, 84, 93, 97, 164, 206, 216-8, 266, 273, 306, 436-7, 442, 445, 473, 576, 659, 705-8, 715.

Egypt Exploration Society/EES 10, 13, 65.

Elephantine 56 n.219, 64, 300-1, 382, 705 n.238.

Embalm, Place of Embalming 11, 125-6, 198, 241, 378-9, 403, 448, 473-4, 477-8, 491, 506, 530, 534, 544, 588, 595, 621, 651 n.40, 754.

embrace 27, 138, 168, 200, 235, 280, 291, 380, 437-8, 485-6, 557, 567 n.729, 578, 584, 588, 594, 625-6.

encircle 104-5, 168, 230, 234-5, 248, 277, 289, 318, 515, 537, 659, 728.

Enneads, two (Greater *psḏt ꜥꜣ* and Lesser *psḏt nḏst*) 113, 331-2, 445, 447, 559, 635-6, **685-91**.

epagomenal days (five) 108, 217, 300-3, 360, 364, 374, 413, 462, 510, 602, 707 n.244, 747.

equinox 176, 501, 530, 741.

INDEX

Esna 182, 389, 623.

Eye of Horus, left lunar eye, (the Udjat-eye, *wḏ3t*) 57, 72, 86, 106-7, 114, **122-127**, 132, 145, 155-7, 162-3, 189 n.9, 192, 193, 205, 231, 249, 282-3, 288, 308, 326-7, 330, 340-1, 349, 351, 356-7, 363, 388 n.842, 393-7, 414 n.104, 422, 427-8, 430-1, 454-5, 460, 466, 480, 484 n.410, 486-7, 516, 518, 524-5, 532, 535 n.615, 543, 548, 558, 589, 599-603, 614, 617-20, 624-6, 630-1, 634, 661, 663-7, 673, 689, 744, 746, 754, 756, 759.

Eye of Re 90, **122**, 158, 162-3, 238, 357 n.682, 366, 456, 602, 619-21, 664-5.

F

falcon 129, 144-5, 151, 164, 176, 239, 257-8, 272-4, 284, 286-8, 295, 350 n.661, 368, 556, 598-600, 605, 627, 658 n.69, 759.

false door 52, 323, 489, 541, 720.

fecundity figure(s) 616.

Feeble One, *bdšt* 605-6, 625, 627.

festivals:

I akhet 1, I *3ḫt* 1 (New Year's Day) 84 n.4, 93, 115, 123, 164, 183, 185, 187, 216-7, 287, 293, 307, 310-11, 382, 411, 414-6, 479, 485, 573, 576, 579, 581, 705 n.236, 707 n.244, 728, 752-3.

I akhet 19, I *3ḫt* 19 (festival/feast of Thoth) 87, 311-2, 603, 753.

I prt 1, I *prt* 1 (Annual Celebration of the Coronation of the King) see also coronation, *ḥ^{c}w-nsw* 16, 54-7, 59-60, 80, 132, 203, 205, 368, 394, 409-11, 415, 419, 424-7, 432, 436-8, 443, 448, 454, 460, 464, 466-70, 474, 481-2, 489-93, 503, 512, 515-8, 526, 532, 541-4, 582-3, 587, 600, 604-5, 611-2, 636, 654, 684, 711.

Khoiak Festival, Culmination on 30 Khoiak 11, 324, 326, 336, 409, 416 n.113, 417, 433, 447, 466-8, 489 n.429, 493, 505, 630,655, 688.

Sokar Festival 58 n.230, 350, 554, 556, 558-9 n.704, 655, 669, 678-9.

Sixth Day Festival (lunar) 123, 189 n.9, 347, 525, 558, 560, 601, 667, 689, 745-7.

New Moon Festival (Blacked-out moon, *psḏntyw*) 16, 87, 156, 172, 189, 196, 205, 231, 237, 267, 271, 281, 283, 296-9, 338, 455, 558-60.

fetish, Abydene emblem 466, 479-89, 492, 495, 535 n.615, 543.

INDEX

Field of Offerings/Field of Rest, *sḫt-ḥtp* 201, 362, 387, 568.

Field of Reeds/Rushes, *sḫt-jꜣrw* 18, 139, 179-81, 202 n.69, 362, 386-8, 421, 423, 425-8, 432, 569-70, 617, 756.

fifteenth day of the lunar month, *smdt* (full moon) 106-7, 123, 127, 145, 191-3, 196, 212, 217-8, 220, 246, 249, 271, 299, 301, 303, 308-9, 330, 347, 349-50, 354, 362, 388 n.842, 433, 484, 487, 598-9, 612, 614, 628, 631, 636, 657 673, 686-8, 734.

first occasion, zp tpy, *zp tpj* passim.

first sunrise (prime act of creation) 85, 105, 113, 115, 118, 124, 148 n.255, 164, 166-70, 173, 197, 235, 276, 279, 285, 293-4, 296, 328, 492, 496, 545, 583, 627, 632, 718.

flesh, *jwf* (of the gods) 109, 170, 210, 210 n.104, 220, 252, 271-2, 277, 284, 286, 352, **400-3**, 534 n.612, 535, 537-8, 564, 651 n.40, 652.

flood 30, 116, 156, 237, 442, 473, 610, 615, 619-20, 695, 705, 710.

Fortress of Menmaatre 16, 69, 83, 533, 642-3, 648, 653, 658 n.70, 679, 682, 684, **692-3**, 704-5.

Four Sons of Horus, see Sons/Children of Horus.

Fowling/netting scene(s) 661-3, 678.

Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars, p.Carlsberg 8, see Book of Nut.

G

Gallery of Lists (temple of Seti I at Abydos) 643, 654, 667, 677, 692 n.186, 703.

Geb passim, heir of Geb 169-70.

Giza 65, 407 n.85.

Gold 33-4, 47, 58, **180**, 209, 477, 489 n.429, 623, 697-8.

golden ratio 500-1.

Graeco-Roman Period 15, 447, 662.

Great Flood, the celestial cow, *mḫt-wrt* 619-20.

Gurna, see Seti I's Gurna temple 42, 51, 66, 140, 181 n.19, 193-4, 464, 496 n.457, 715-6.

INDEX

H

Hall of Barques (temple of Seti I at Abydos) 200 n.59, 363 n.705, 567 n.731, 674, 694 n.189, 695.

Hall of Two Truths 72, 132, 142, 368-9, 398, 425, **452-5**, 457-8, 585-7, 590, 680, 721.

Hapy, see also Sons/Children of Horus 125, 471 n.354, 495 n.454, 619, **621-4**.

Harakhti, see Horus, Re-Horus of Two Horizons

hartebeest 160-1.

Hathor 404 n.67, 433, 442, 468-9, 613, 651 n.40.

Hatshepsut 64, 194-5, 300, 474, 479, 651 n.40.

Hatti 31, 46.

heart 30, 41, 44, 63, 96, 130-1, 153, 155-7, 233-7, 242, 261, 268-9, 289, 333, 340, 384, 435, 450-5, 457, 461-3, 477-8, 540 n.637, 564, 584, 587-90, 595-6, 606, 622, 637, 672, 683-7, 701.

Heb Sed/Sed festival, *ḥb sd* 323, 324 n.538, 383, 476, 479, 580, 667 n.103, 719.

Heka, *ḥkꜣ* 27, **101-4**, 113, 133 n.209, 156, 168-9, 277, 286, 449-52, 469, 512 n.514, 546-7, 606, 608.

heliacal rising (of a star or the moon) 208-9, 218 n.141, 416 n.113, 523-4, 526, 576-7.

heliacal rising of Sothis 64, 84, 93, 97, 164, 187, 209, 216-8, 287, 293 n.410, 296, 300 n.436, 305-12, 374, 416 n.113, 479, 485, 517, 526, 576, 581, 704 n.231, **705-8**, 715, 754-5.

Heliopolis 34, 42, 47, 51, 61-2, 137-8, 250, 253 n,285, 326, 335, 347, 371, 438, 445, 448, 458-9, 593, 595, 609, 611, 614, 625, 627, 630, 639, 666, 748.

Heliopolitan creation process 55, 85-7, 140, 154, 166-9, 180-1, 197, 200 n.57, 238, 250-1, 320, 341, 345-7, 354, 362, 372, 401, 404, 409, 418, 424, 466, 475, 479, 486, 512, 514, 542-3, 547, 550-1, 567, 604, 608, 613, 616, 626, 663, 682, 690, 746.

Heliopolitan Ennead 22, 85-6, 130, 180-1, 197, 201, 229, 354, 401, 404, 409, 466, 479, 484, 514, 543, 547-8, 567, 690.

hell 110, 316 n.507.

henu-barque (of Sokar) 558-9, 670, 678-9, 681-2, 691.

heqa-scepter, *ḥḳꜣt* 158.

heqat (unit of measure specifically for grain) 122, 124, 205, 745.

Heqet (frog-headed goddess) 467-70, 493, 495 n.454, 505.

INDEX

Heracleopolis 329-30, 593, 617, 633-4.

Herakleopolis 255.

Herishef 255-7.

Hermopolis 40, 550, 605, 690, 696.

Hibis 169, 433.

Hierakonpolis 478, 660.

Horemheb 24-33, 37, 39, 46, 54-5, 73, 133 n.209, 159, 166 n.312, 470-1, 540.

Horus passim.

Horus, conception of 13, **198**, 281-2, 305-6, 393-6, 400, 424, **433 n.192**, 443, 454, 460, **466**, 480, **512-52**, 594, **657**, 681, **692 n.186**, 746.

Horus manifestations:

Horus as the living king 144, 154, 188, 201, 329, 383, 411, 525, 568, 582, 611, 632-3, 654, 657, 663, 757.

Horus of Behedet 239, 362, 368, 396, 416, 531 n.599, 535 n.615, 536 n.617.

Horus of the duat 144-5, 154, 281-2, 401.

Horus the Elder 91 n.34, 92-3, 125, 163, 213, 236-8, 242 n.239.

Horus as the fruition of the Heliopolitan creation process 341, 354, 372, 404, 409, 424, 682.

Horus of Letopolis 127, 372.

Horus-Moon 87, 192-3, 200, 238, 268, 281, 288, 297, 363, 367-8, 383, 396, 405, 424-5, 430-1, 436, 438, 440-1, 443, 454 n.270, 460, 484, 486-7, 516, 518, 527, 548-9, 567, 590, 594, 612, 640, 674, 757, 759, 761.

Horus, great star, *sbꜣ ꜥꜣ* as the morning star (Venus) 129, 164.

Horus Mekhentirty, with Two Eyes = Horus at the time of the full moon 90 n.32, 127, 163, 222 n.161, 236-8, 291, 294, 337, 371-2, 628, 640.

Horus Mekhentienirty, with No Eyes = Horus at the time of the new moon 125, 127, 222, 236, 242, 288, 371-2, 485 n.419, 624.

Horus Protector of His Father 125, 134, 143, 196, 198, 202, 227, 281-2, 288, 305, 326, 350-4, 389, 394, 410, 418, 425, 440, 448, 472-3, 475, 490, 516, 532-4, 540, 551 n.678, 552, 559, 569-70, 589, 593, 622, 625-6, 630, 656-7, 663, 676, 684, 759.

Horus son of Isis 281, 325, 327, 389, 629, 631.

INDEX

Horus son of Osiris (Harsiese) 56, 58, 93, 256, 281, 325, 327, 340, 352, 382, 389, 410-1, 480, 541, 629, 631.

Horus son of Re 56, 58, 100, 129, 213, 256, 340, 358, 382, 411, 435, 438-9, 480, 517, 541, 596, 619, 621, 683.

Horus as Re-Horus of the Two Horizons, *Rᶜ-ḥr-ɜḫtj* 70, 86-7, 92, 95-7, 107, 109, 127, 141-4, 154, 165, 210, 256, 276, 284, 292, 320, 337, 344, 346, 367, 402, 410, 443, 475, 480, 486, 492, 519, 525, 532, 535, 541, 588, 590, 603-5, 640, 651 n.40, 663 n.91, 690, 756.

Horus as vindication of Osiris 368, 388, 394, 436, 440, 443, 628.

Horus and Seth 157, 169, 427, 439, 579, 602, 619, 688, 748.

Hour vigil (Stundenwachen) 126, 367, 491, 504, 507 n.498, 530, 544, 595, 621.

Hour watchers, jmj-wnwt, astronomer priests 309

House of Books *pr-mḏɜt* 43, 681, 699.

House of Life, *pr-ᶜnḫ* 338, 365 n.712, 383, 533, 643, 684, 693, **699-702**, 712.

House of Osiris (in the Field of Reeds) 180, **362**, 366-7, 425, 432, 435, 593, 600-1, 650-1.

ḥtp, astronomical setting 167.

Hu, *hw*, 'annunciation' **103**, 169, 451.

hymns 14, 112, 152, **343**.

I

Iah, *jᶜḥ*, (moon) 196, 206, 305, 332, 363 n.705, 558. 674, 684, 691 n.183.

ibis, see also Thoth 124, 144, 346, 464, 684.

ichneumon (mongoose) 236.

Igeret, Land of Silence *jgrt* 206, 359, 58

Imhet, *jmḥt*, region of the duat at its very depths 395-6, 399.

imperishable stars, *jhmjw skjw* **118-21**, 125-6, 177 n.362, 178, 180 n.374, 429, 523.

Imseti/Imsety, see Sons/Children of Horus 125, 327, 530, 619, **621-4**, 631.

jmyt-pr, testament/written decree **40-1**, **130**, 512 n.515, 625, 627, 678.

INDEX

incense, offering of/burning of 97, 322-3, 326, 333, **340-1**, 346, 351, 414, 492, **515-6**, 532, **551**, 553, 629, 637, 679, 683, 718-9.

inertness/inert ones 109, 171, 187, 353, 361, 500, 536, 577, 580, 607.

Instructions for King Merikare 104.

inundation (of the Nile, see also efflux of Osiris) 19. 21, 55, 64, 206, 216-7, 288, 300 n.436, 437, 447, 564, 576, 616, 705.

inversion principle (in the Underworld) 119-20, 166, **178**, 184, 199-200, 225 n.177, 250, 287 n.388, 381, 544, 566-7, 574 n.769, **575-7**, 613.

Iqeh 378.

isfet, *jsft*, evil, chaos opposite of maat 149.

Isis passim.

Ithyphallic 215, 222, 228-9, 238, 244, 263-6, 269-71, 274, 276, 282, 286, 336, 459.

iteru, jtrw 20,000 royal cubits 82, **88**, 501.

J

jackal(s), jackal-headed 107, 216 n.135, 378, 419, 473, 478, 601, 622, 661, 663 n.91, 672, 756.

jubilee 324 n,538, 579-80, 659, 719.

Judgment Hall of Osiris 154-63, 303, 361, 395, 397, 572, 580, 588-90, 719, 751.

K

Ka passim.

Ka, royal 39, 54, 169, **471-5**, 478, 489, 540-1.

Kamutef 39, 54, 238-9, **269-71**, 276, 279, 286, 553.

Kanais, see Seti I's Kanais temple.

Karnak 25, 30, 42, 51, 194-5, 250 n.271.

Khasekhemwy 83, 192, 642-3, 692-3, 703-5.

INDEX

Khentamentui Foremost of the Westerners 58, 323, **344-6**, 350, 353, 421, 423, 426, 435, 556-7, 758-9.

Khentiamenti Foremost of the West 74, 114, 132, 157, 239, 290, 328, 388, 411, 480, 632, 686, 712.

Kheprer/Khepri 103-5, 143-5, 164-70, 203, 210 n.104, 253-8, 268, 276, 284-6, 292 n.408, 293, 295, 352, 385, 396, 401, 403, 496, 537-8, 564, 571, 584-5, 597, 712, 760.

Khepresh, see Crowns Blue

Khnum 681-2.

Khoiak, see festivals

Khonsu 195, 484 n.410, 643, 656-8, 663-4.

king's annals, *gnwt* 44, 479, 685, 697, 700.

Kings List, see also cultic assemblage 31, 133 n.209, 302, 313, 667, 750.

kingship passim.

Kom el-Sultan 11, 710.

KV Royal Tombs:

KV 1 Ramesses VII 97 n.59, 185.

KV 2 Ramesses IV 75, 716, 722.

KV 5 Sons of Ramesses II 73.

KV 6 Ramesses IX 450 n.261.

KV 9 Ramesses VI 13 n.20, 16, 97, 118 n.138, 174, 185, 199, 328, 446 n.245, 715-33, 747 n.27.

KV 12 owner unknown 728-9.

KV 16 Ramesses I 166 n.312.

KV 17 Seti I 60, 72, 100-1, 168 n.320, 393, 398, 494-5, 520 n.550, 708, 731.

KV 34 Thutmose III 49, 55 n.217, 60, 397, 403, 407-8, 497, 502, 520, 538 n.630, 651 n.40, 731.

KV 35 Amenhotep II 72-3, 397, 497.

KV 57 Horemheb 26, 166 n.312.

KV 62 Tutankhamen and artifacts 30, 31 n.88, 37, 58 n.229, 60, 221, 223, 291,.345 n.634, 380, 538 n.629, 563, 565, 591-2, 596, 725.

INDEX

L

Lake of Fire 112, 139, **399**, 405, 457.

lapis lazuli 695.

Lassoing (of the long-horned bull ritual) 476, 650, 672, 675-6.

legitimacy, royal 13, 16, 31, 35, **38-47,** 49, 55, 60, 62, 80, 96-8, 130, 238, 270, 476, 479, 516, 526, 528, 551, 573, 631, 650, 657, 669, 674, 678-9, 681 n.147.

libation 462, 490, 492, 542, 669, 683, 733 n.79.

limbs of Osiris (divine members and/or a pieces or phases of the moon) 107, 115, 121, 125, 272, 307 n.464, 353, 355, 363-7, 372, 380, 396, 423, 446-8, 510, 539, 625, 747, 753 n.48, 756, 758-60

lion, see Ruty.

Litany:

of Osiris 112 n.112, 137, 299, 305 n.450, 306, 325, 340, **343-50**, 354 n.673, 395, 414, 422, 460, 484, 521, 554, 620 n.927, 629, 748-9.

of Re 49, 55 n.217, 56 n.219, 60, 65, 110, 127, 129, 160, 279, 346 n.638, 370 n.744, 407, 456, 475, 494, 497, 499, **505-7**, **517-20**, 540 n.637, 546-7, 634, **730-1**.

of Sokar 395, 554-9, 670.

lord to the limit, *nb ḏr* 86, 605, **608**, 625, **627**.

Lords of the Netherworld (duat) 202, 570, **685**.

Lucky and Unlucky Days (hemerologies) 702 n.222.

Luxor 29, 39, 42, **53-60**, 70, 194, 302, 452 n.267, 470-2, 475, 489-90, 541-2, 654, 669, 711, 715-6, 750.

M

mꜣᶜ-ḫrw, true of voice, justified, vindicated passim. meaning of, 445.

maat, *mꜣᶜt* passim.

Maat/Maaty, the goddess 396-7, 415, 449, 456, 532.

INDEX

magic, *ḥkꜣ* (Heka) 27-8, 34-5, 44, **101-4**, 113, 156, 161, 168-9, 219-20, 226, 246, 262, 277, 282, 286, 327-8, 330-3, 365, 410, 419-26, 428-31, **449-52**, 469, 507, 512 n.514, 535, 546-7, 571, 582-4, 606, 608, 620, 622, 633, 662, 681-2, 743, 757-60.

Mahaf, *mꜣ-ḥꜣ.f* **427-8**, 431.

mahat (memorial chapel) 713-4.

mansion of millions of years 11-2, 42, 47, 50-4, 60, 67, 69, 97, 140, 193-4, 197, 200 n.59, 218, 323, 338, 393, 489, 553-6, 645, 680, 692.

Mariette, excavations 71, 401, 641, 645, 693-4.

Medinet Habu and its calendar 197, 324, 338, 402 n.57, 560, 686-91, 694-7.

Mehen 142, 170, 450 n.260, 726, 728, 733.

Memphis 42, 47-8, 51, 62, 459, 669.

Memphite theology 54-5, 550, 554, 606, 669-70.

Mendes 280-1, 459, 485 n.419, **624-6**, 628.

Menes 48, 192, 669, 692 n.186, **703-4**.

Meret-chests 659 n.74.

Meskhetiu, *msḫtyw*, foreleg of a bull 125, 180 n.374, 181-2, 186.

mesqet-region, *msḳt* 582, 597, 608, 726-7.

Metonic Cycle 16, 191, 194, 219, 304, **306-13**, 347, 354, 360, 387, 488, 688, **734-41**, **752-5.**

Middle Kingdom 11, 29, 61, 124, 187, 355, 402, 445, 482, 609, 652, 691, 712-3.

Milky Way 176.

Min 611, 658 n.69.

Mḫnt-boat ferryboat **419-23**, 426, 431, 441 n.217, 443, 757-9.

month, *ꜣbd*, also the second day of the lunar month, new/ first crescent day 106, **188**, 196, 200-1, 212, 268, 272, 281-2, 288, 297, 305, 329, 383, **388-90**, 394, 440, 487, **559**, **567-8**, 600, 611, 632, 656-7, 674, 691, 745-6, 757.

moon, *jʿḥ* 196, 206, 332 n.568, 363 n.705, 558, 635, 674, 684, 691 n.183.

mooring post, *mnjt* 181, 186, 559 n.704, 623-4.

Mountain of Anubis 712.

mspr sn-nw second arrival day, the sixteenth day of the lunar month 299, 412 n.98, 611.

Mut 195, 643, 655-7, 661-2, 664-5, 678-9.

Mutirdis 522-3.

Mysterious One (Lady), see also Book of the Mysterious Lady 243, 249, 269.

N

Naref 327, 630.

Naunet 373-4.

Nauri Decree (of Seti I) 47.

Nebwenenef 698.

Neferhotep I 697, 709.

Nefertem 68, 553-5, 558, 653, 660, 669-70, 674, 679.

negative confession, so-called 189, 398, 425, 444-5, 448, 504, 588, 663, 680, 721.

Nehebkau 55, 57, **59-60**, 205 n.81, 253, 409, 424 n.158, **467 n.328**, 704.

Neith 41, 291, 531, 664, 682.

Nekhbet, tutelary deity of the South 478, 481, 535, 657, 665.

nemes, *nms* **474-5**, 507.

Nephthys 96, 128, 165, 170, 172, 220, 234-5, 242, 274, 284, 290-1, 337, 347, 356-7, 376, 400-1, 403-4, 486, 509, 531-2, 559, 586-7, 598-9, **610-4**, 630, 639, 690, 699 n.212, 730.

Neshmet barque 108.

Netherworld passim.

New Moon Festival/Feast *psḏntỉw* see festivals.

New Year's Day/Festival, I akhet 1 see festivals.

INDEX

nḥḥ-time see Eternal Recurrence 19, 82 n.74, 171, 238-9, 283, 359 n.690, 384, 458, 475, 479, 485, 512, 519, 586-7, 609, 618, 712.

Njk 91-2, 277.

nmst-vessel 355.

northern extreme (lunar) 191-6, 200-1, 212, 219, 224-5, 231, 281, 288, 291, 307-8, 347, 357, 360, 381-2, 388, 390, 393, 488, 496 n.457, 567-8, 642, 689, 703-4, 753.

nṯr, nṯrw 43, 51, **111**, 157, 167, 251, 380, 557, 560, 564, 570, 605, 700.

numerical significance 15 n.29, 170, 364 n.707, 367, 423, 525, 758.

number symbolism see Section 4.4 and Appendix C.

number symbolism of:

three 48, 344-5, 352-5, **356-7**, **424**.

four 28, 105, 109, 117, 161, 227, 249, 252, **257-8**, **262**, 277-8, **290-1**, 302, 310, **313**, **327-9**, 348, 354, 370, 379, 423, 456, **478-9**, 490, 500, 549, **622**, 631-3, 656-9, 662-3, 700.

five **108**, **211**, 217, **223-4**, 239, 271, **291-2**, 300 n.436, 308, **345**, **374 (Plate 159)**, 426, **501**, 742, 757.

six **72**, 122-4, **135**, 155, 170, 183, **204-5**, 208, 214, 220, **223**, 246, 282, **308**, 326, 393, **417**, **422-3**, 431, 446, 454-5, 460, 466, **486-7**, 490-1, 524-5, 527, 593, 558, 589, **601**, 610-2, **619-20**, **660-8**, 673, 685-9, 691, 696, 744-50, 758.

seven 47-8, 52, 125-6, **156**, **161**, 180 n.374, 294-5, 309, **348-50**, 360, **424-5**, 432, **435-6**, 440-1, 445-6, 478, 488, 491-2, 593-4, 598, **621-5**, 745, **746-8**.

nine **87**, 154, **180-1**, 216 n.135, 219, **226-8**, 233, 257, **303**, 330, **354**, 367, 370, 375-8, 425, 428, 431, **466**, 494, **497**, **543**, 598, 602, 634, **689-90**, 751.

ten 86-7, 130, 140, 180-1, 197, 201, 250, 354, 378, 409. 461, **466-7**, 471-2, 479, 514, 543, 549 n.668, **551 n.678**..

twelve 19, 100-1, **108**, 115-8, 121-2, 125, 132-3, 139, 152, **162-3**, 177, **179**, **183**, 197, 205, 222, **225-6**, 244-5. 293, 303, 309, 334, 358-64, 370-1, 373-4, 384, 404-5, 461, 466, 488, 491, 500, 510, 523, 527, 543-4, 587, 598, 638, 744, 751, 755.

fourteen 107-8, **226**, 255, **266-7**, 272, 291, 295. 299. **307 n.464**, **326**, **346-50**, 356, 366, 371, 379, 381-2, 395, 415, 431, 441, 446, 556-8, 598-9, **620 n.927**, 630, 675, 689, 747-8, 756.

fifteen 161, 347, 366, 423-4, 429, 431, 446, 487, 490, 525, 542-3, 548, 599, 618, 625, 627-8, 746-7, 758, 761.

sixteen 144, **262**, 275, 289, 299, 309, 348, 353, 454 n. 270, 524, 537, 597-9, 689.

seventeen 76, 114, **126-7**, 180-1, 224, 246, 289, 296, 298-9, 301, 304, 309, 320, 344-5, 367, 373, 382, 407, 423, 427, 431-2, 441, **443**, 446 n.245, 454, 460, 478-80, 486-7, **505-6**, **510**, 524, **595**, 598-9, **625**, 663, 687-8, **747-9**.

INDEX

eighteen 331-3, 356, 360-1, 382, **383 n.813**, 443, **635**.

nineteen **60**, 87, **115**, 125-7, **148**, 161, 163, 180, 193-4, **201**, 212, **218-9**, 224-5, 231, 246, **250-1**, 281, 288, 299, **301-9**, 313-4, **319-20**, 331, 341, 345, 347, 350, 354, 357, **360-4**, 373, 378, 381-2, 388, 390, 394, **403-4**, 425-6, 446. 460-3, 466-8, 479, 481 n.397, 487-8, 543, 551 n.678, 568, 635, 703-4. 747, **749**.

twenty one 250, 360, 372, **423-5**, 431, 440, 446, 487, 549 n.668, 599, 617, 747, 757-8.

twenty four 110, 145, 183-6, 330 n.561, 364, 527, 562-3, 598, 618, 634 n.964, 701, 733.

twenty five 299, 303, 308, 370, 446 n.245, 460, 749.

twenty eight **290-2**, 379, 382, **395-6**, 432, 441, 446, 579, 747.

thirty 122, 125, 326, 363, 371, 446, 487, 599, 602, 630, 759.

thirty one 106, 114-5, 121, 125, 345, 353, 366-7, 396, **625**.

thirty two 290, 292, **599, 759-761.**

thirty six 126-7, 184, 199, 216-7, **301-2**, **312**, 320, 347-8, **354**, 373-4, 379, 382, 485, 517, 523-4, 531, 566, 576-7, 597-9, 612, 744, 750-1.

forty one 219, 374, 744.

forty two 132, 368, 370, 372, 398, 425, **444-9**, 452, **460-3**, 467 n.328, 663, 680, 684, 691, 697, 701, 721, 747-8.

forty seven 300-1, **318-9**, 374, 382.

forty eight 364.

fifty **344-5**, 354 n.673.

fifty one 112 n.112, 299, 318, 344, 554, 748-9.

seventy six 48-9, **55-60**, 194, 205 n.81, 301-2, **309-13**, 364, 405, 418, 467, 471, 489, 512, 517, 541, 546-7, 654, 668-9, 713, 749-50, 753-5.

136 313, 318, 738-9.

147 313, 318.

153 135 n.216, 340, 344, 748.

223 194, **313-4**, 317-8.

235 191 n.17, 304, 306-7, 310, 318, 488, 689, 737-9, 752-4.

239 **314-5**, 317-8.

INDEX

242 **314**, 317-8.

254 191, 194, 225, 302, 304, 306-7, 318, 488, 737, 750-5.

309 88, 140, 170-1, 225 n.177, 258, 299, 302, 318, 344, 370, 460, **500-2**, 602, 748-50.

354 87, 108, 162, 205 n.82, 301, 303, 360-1, 404-5, 735, 751.

365 32, 87-8, 162, 205 n.82, 219, 301, 303-4, 307 n.462, 310-2, 360-1, 364 n.707, 404-5, **500-1**, 705 n.236, 734, 751-5.

384 163, 360-1, 404-5, 501.

940 310-2, 753-5.

Nun 36, 53, 72, 82, 105, 110, 115-6, 119, 130, 135-7,140, 151, 165-9, 171, 183, 187, 208-9, 223, 229-30, 232, 237, 240, 252, 255, 261, 264, 289, 294, 296, 298, 330, 335, 337, 345, 353, 355, 370-1, 399, 406, 409-12, **439**, 444, 458, 473, 475, 481, 490, 500, **503**, 515, 520, 529-32, **536**, 542, 553-5, 560, 564, 571, 577, 597, **605-10**, **615-6**, 620, 634, 638-40, 659, 665-6, 706, 723-4.

Nut 67, 75, 86, 93, 119, 145, 152, **164-72**, 176-8, 199-201,212, 238, 243-4, 247-52, 269-71, **276**, 291, 293-6, 325, 334, 376, 384, 462, 491, 522-3, 565-71, 574, 584, 606, **615**.

O

offering passim.

Ogdoad 365, 550, 690.

Old Kingdom 65, 174, 218, 298, 316, 480,554 n.685, 558 n.704, 646 n.21, 669, 711, 713.

on (the) earth, *tpj tꜣ* 25, 27, 85, 87, 100, 111, 112 n.112, 279, 296, 338, **356-7**, 361-2, 365, 370,375, 379, 381,383 n.813, 418, 424, **454-5**, 458, 473, 480, 484, 512, 547, 578, 629, 654, **724-5**.

one god in two persons (divine kingship) 164, 189, 206, 239, 249, 305, 394, 474, 486, 540, 551 n.678, 579, 611-2, 616, 748.

Onomasticon of Amenope 305.

Opening of the Mouth Ritual 50, 125-6, 375.

Opet, *ỉp(ꜣ)t-rsyt* **54-5**, 271,489, 541-2, 654.

Opet Festival 25, 39, 42, **54-7**, 60, 194, 205 n.81, 271, 313, 470-1, 489, 541-2, 553, 654, 711, 715.

orientation 54, 67-8, 118, 165, 175, 178, 194-5, 287, 522, 524, 566, 574, 598, 654. 682, 703, 706-8, 712, 716, 718, 722.

Orion, *sꜣḥ* see constellations

INDEX

oryx 160, 553, 655, 671, 678.

Osiris, *Wsjr* passim.

Osiris, tomb of 10, 73, 418, 560, 709-10, 713-4.

Osiris Khentiamenti 12, **114-5**, 126, 150, 162, 714.

Osiris Lord of Abydos 340, 411, 480, 554, 655, 687, 705, 712.

Osiris-Moon 107-8, 123, 156, 193, 196, **205-8**, **212**, 222, 227-9, 233-6, 240, 242, 246, 251, 267, 271-2, 282, 289-92, 296, 299, 301-2, 307, 309, 312-3, 317, 319-20, 326, **332**, 341, **344-5**, 349-50, **353**, 359, 361, **363-7**, 375-8, **388**, **409**, 433, 438, 441, **446-7**, 460, 462, 479, 484, **500**, 516-8, 524, 534 n.612, 559 n.704, 575, 578, 590, **592,** 594, **599-600**, **610-2**, 614, **625-6**, 628, 630, **636**, 656, 675, 680, 691, **746-55**.

Osiris-Orion **217-8**, 286, 288, 306, 309, 416, 485, 704, 708, **711-2**,.

Osiris-Wennefer 34, 44, 50, 60, 202, 240, 325, 333, **347-8**, 351-2, 384-7, 444, 450, 463, 482, 491, 511, 513, 515, 521, 533-4, 544, 555-7, 569-70, 575, 586-7, 629, 637, 650, 677, **680**, 683-4, 713.

ostraka 642-3, 647-8, 684.

Ouroboros **104-5**, **108**, 230-1, 248.

P

Papyrus:

p.Anhai (p.BM 10472) 173, 503.

p.Ani (p.BM 10470) 323, 325, 351 n.663, 365 n.715, 425, 432 n.186, **434**, **583-90**, 616, 626, **629**, 691 n.180.

p.Berlin 3002 89 n.30.

p.BM 10208 346-7, 484 n.411, 687 n.169.

p.BM 10471 604 n.869,

p.BM 10478 359, 363, 365, 368, 371-2, **375 n.766**, 378 n.787, 379.

p.Bremner-Rhind (p.BM 10188) 15, 180, 298, 546-7.

p.Brooklyn 47.218.50 365 n.712, 383, 677, 748.

p.Cairo CG 24742 of Amenhotep II 37, 363, 373, 376, 378 n.787.

INDEX

p.Cairo CG 40006 of Pinudjem I 588.

p.Carlsberg 1 105, 119, 176 n.357, 544, 574, 576, 582 n.791, 583, 601.

p.Carlsberg 8 191, 572 n.752, 574 n.764.

p.Carlsberg 9 87, 300-1, 501, 602.

p.Chester Beatty I 169.

p.Gatseshen (JE 95838) 351, 435, 550.

p.Greenfield (p.BM 10554) 89, 344 n.624, 459.

p.Hor (p.BM 9912) 351 n.663.

p.Hunefer (p.BM.9901) 458, 464 n.310, 610, 618, 624 n.935.

p.Imouthes (p.MMA 35.9.21) 339, 598 n.845.

p.jrj-jrj 196.

p.Jumilhac 623, 671 n.117.

p.Leiden I 350 48 n.171.

p.Leiden T 32 (Book of Traversing Eternity) 270.

p.Louvre I 3079 687 n.169.

p.MMA 35.9.19 (Nineteenth Dynasty) 371, 384 n.815.

p.Nebseni (p.BM 9900) 172, 385 n.822, 434.

p.Neferrenpet 489 n.429.

p.Nu (p.BM 10477) 323, 443 n.227.

p.Oxyrhynchus 470 601.

p.Salt 825 (p.BM 10051) 338, 355, 482, 533 n.609, 700-2.

p.Turin Museo Egizi 1791 442.

Pe (Buto) and Dep 327.

Pedamenopet/Petamenophis (TT 33) 251, 282, 302 n.440, 407 n.85.

pars pro toto 166, **171**, 173, 335, 426, 443, 467, 477, 482 n.403, 596.

INDEX

Peker/Poker *pḳr* 61, 418.

penumbral eclipse (47 month cycle) 319.

perception (Sia) **101-3**, **168-9**, 570, 587, 618, 625, 627.

phoenix, *bnw* 138, 458, 609-10, 614, 666.

piety, Seti's 42.

Place of Annihilation/Destruction 72, 135, 137, 161, 183, 209, 213, 221, 227-30, 232, 242, 249, 252, 257 n.303, 262-3, 265, 275, 289-90, 318, 328, 403, 444, 465, 520-1, 530, 539, 560, 632, 724.

plague 31-3.

Plutarch 49, 238, 299 n.427, 305, 462 n.305, 509, 702 n.222, 748-9.

Portal Temple (of Ramesses II at Abydos) 28, 62, **709-10**.

pr-ḥḏ, Treasury 533, 643, 684, **693-702**.

prj, rising 673-4.

pr-ms(w)t birth house see also birth house of Isis 12.

pr-nsr per-Neser 474, 476, 478, 487, 488.

pr-wr per-Wer 474, 478, 487, 488, 540.

pr-Wsjr 179

prime numbers 148, 313, **344-5.**

primeval/primordial abyss 82, 85, 110, 115-6, 135, 166, 171, 183, 233, 252, 296, 330, 399, 409-10, 412, 439 n.210, 475, 510, 532, 634, 723.

primeval/primordial darkness 214, 229-30, 232, 234-7, 239-40, 263-4, 266, 274-5, 292-3.

primeval/primordial mound/hill 36, 53, 71, 115, 130, 162-3, 240, 481, 486. 502-3, 606-7, 616, 682, 710.

primeval/primordial waters 116, 166-8, 237, 390, 429, 475, 529, 607, 609-10, 615-6, 710.

processional routes/way 29, 61, 66, 679, **709-10**, 712-3.

provisioning 12, 20-1, 43, 50, 111, 131, 152, 155, 348, 356, 406. 473, 491, 505, 544, 584, 589, 594, 678, 682-3.

psḏntyw/psḏntw (Blacked-out Moon Day, first day of the lunar month/new moon) 107-8, 156. 188, 198, 200, 281, 298, 329, 366, 371, 383, 388, 396, 527 n.585, 558, 567, 633, 657, 757.

INDEX

Ptah 42, 48, 51, 59, 69 n.10, 195,339, 429 n.174, 442, 476 n.377, 503, 550, 553-4, 556, 622, 643, 655, 665 n.94, 672-4, 676, 678-9, 681-2, 696, 706.

Ptah-Sokar 59, 429 n.174, 511, 554-6, 558, 653, 660, 668-70, 674, 679, 704, 706.

Ptah-Tatenen 34, 47, 53, 130, 392, 461, 471, 503, 514, 550 n.671, 551, 554-6, 676-7.

Ptolemaic Period 15, 324-5, 351 n.663, 434, 446, 520, 628-9, 646 n.21, 658 n.69, 709.

Ptolemy, see also Almagest 64, 310-1, 373, 646, 754.

purification 45, 188, 207, 321, 333, **339-40**, **353**, 369, 388, 398, 425, 437, 442, **444-5**, **450-2**, 457, **474-8**, 492, **540**, 578, 588, 616-8, 621, 637, 680.

Pyramid Texts 169, 305, 424, 476, 484, 527, 535 n.615, 557, 597, 616, 672-3.

Pyramid Texts Spells:

PT 215 366.

PT 247 480 n.393.

PT 254 673-8.

PT 301 86.

PT 304 673.

PT 314 675.

PT 334 673.

PT 336 672.

PT 366 551.

PT 408 745.

PT 427 569.

PT 432 569.

PT 436 20.

PT 442 218, 484.

PT 454 615.

.

PT 458 745

PT 461 480 n. 393.

PT 465 480 n. 393, 615.

PT 483 107, 757.

PT 510 355.

PT 519 106.

PT 532 559 n.704.

PT 535 478.

PT 539 331, 635.

PT 580 675.

PT 593 551.

PT 600 666

PT 610 559 n.704.

PT 637 335 n.579, 639.

Pythagoras 345, 354 n.673.

Q

Qebehsenuef, see Sons/Children of Horus.

Qrrt 209.

quid pro quo 43, 388, 504, 518, 676.

R

Ramesses I 39-40, 43, 45, 58, 60-1, 166 n.312, 713.

INDEX

Ramesses II 22, 25, 42, 49-50, 56, 61-2, 73, 194, 352, 433, 470, 472 n.357, 494, 506, 508, 517-8, 521, 565, 643 n.10, 644, 648-55, 661, 664, 667, 669-78, 686, 694-8, 704, 710, 713, 731.

Ramesses III 36, 56 n.219, 101 n.68, 197, 241 n.234, 338, 560, 565, 686, 691 n.180, 697.

Ramesses IV 37, **188-9**, 205-6, 211 n.109, 212 n.115, 237, 241 n.233, 366, 455, **527 n.585**, 576, 716, 722.

Ramesses VI 13, 16, 96-7, 118 n.138, 125, 128, 157, 174-80, 183-7 199, 201, 209, 211, 245, 256, 283, 288, 292, 308 n.465, 320, 322-3, 336, 397, 406, 411, **449-52**, 455, 457, 495-7, 528, 532 n.601, 561-5, 567, 583, 632, **715-33**.

Ramesses VII 97 n.59, 185, 563, 725.

Ramesses IX 184, 211 n.109, 230, 269, 449, **450 n.260**, 457, 497, 522 n.559, 528, 562-3, 725, 727, 731-3.

Ramesside star tables/clocks, see star table(s)/clock Ramesside. **183-6**

ratio 14:12 108, 266, 272.

rḏw, efflux (of Osiris) **19-21**, 84, 93, 97, 164, **206**, **216-8**, 266, 273, 288, 306, 436-7, 442, 445, 467 n.328, 473, 576, 659, **705-8**, 715.

Re passim.

Re-Horakhti/Re-Horus of the Two Horizons 42, 47, 51, 69-70, 89, **94-5**, 109, **141-5**, 156, **162**, 165, 171-2, 177, 284, 292-5, 337, **344-6**, 402, 406, 411, 434, 475, 479-80, **486-7**, 494. 522, 532, 541-3, 587, 590, 603-5, 640, 651 n.40, 690, 717, 756.

Re-Osiris/Re Osiris 49, **54**, 58, 114, 221-2, 243, **255-7**, 260, **267-76**, 281, 285-6, 385, 401, 494, 546, 550, 560, 592, 596, 651 n.40, 718, 730.

rebirth 21, 41, 58, 68, 70, **100**, 104, 113, 125, **127**, 137, 143, **160**, 170, 192-3, 208, 212, 219, **221-4**, 228, 235-6, 242, **298-9**, 301, 304, 331, 341, 351, 356-7, 362-3, 374, 376, 381, **387**, 400, 460, 467-70, 473, 486-9, 550, 597, 600, 609-10, 614-6, 651 n.40, **657**, 674, 705, 722, 749-50.

rebus 360, 368, 384, 528, 556.

regalia 508. 524, 550, 612.

regeneration 11, **13**, 21,39, 54, 58, 100, 104, 113-4, 125, **137**, 140, 148, **163**, 165, 168, 196, 202, 205, 211-3, 219, 224, 233, 235 n.208, 241-3, 246, **251**, 257, 260, **270**, 301, 304, 308, 353, 357, 363, 371-9, 391, 424-5, 440, 460, **472-5**, 479-80, 487-9, 507-10, 516, 518, 535-6, 542, 558, 564-5, 580, 610, 614, 688, 729, 749-51.

rejuvenation 13, **27**, 50, **85**, 113, 125, **145**, **155**, 160-1, **181**, 221, 236, 241-2, **264**, 286, 290, 326, 352, **365**, 375, 416, 418, 462, 467-9, 481 n.397, 488-9, 516, 524, 542, **569**, 589, **615**, 630, 670, 747.

repetition 23, 28, 38, 94, 161, 170, 216, 242, **247**, 262, **278**, 304, 423 n.155, 426, 454, 596, 752, 759.

resurrection 50, **96**, 112, 125, 129, 198-200, **213**, 221, 283, 335 n.579, **389**, 400, 411, 433, 526, 529, 567, **603-4**, 612, 616, 658, 680-1, 724.

retrograde 184, 186, 207, 321, 329, 339-40, 358, 363, 372, 385, 415, 432, 436, **490-1**, 515, 562, 591, 633, 715 n.3.

Revivification 50, 72, 87, 96, **104**, **125**, 127, 140, 197, **200**, 202, **241**, **267-8**, 282, 294, 296, **308-9**, **313**, 321. 326, 341, 349, **352-9**, 367, **374-5**, **384-7**, 403, **410**, 417, 422, **426**, 439, **470**, 482, 490, 508, **514-6**, 530, 543, **548**, 567, 594-5, 630, 679, 726-7, 759.

rḫ, know 366, 440 n.214, 497-8, **617-8**.

Rhind Mathematical Papyrus 124.

Rigel (toe star of Onion) **97**, 178 n.365, 218, 287, 306, 416 n.113, **705-8**, **715**.

Rites for the New Moon passim.

Ritual of the Royal Ancestors 97 n.56, 654, 667 n.105, 703.

Rosetau **142**, 337, **394**, 419, **437-9**, 448, 457-8, 473, 548, **554-5,** 593, **595**, 617, 683, 691.

royal ancestors 29, **48-9**, 51, 56, **60**, 386, 388, 604, 654, 667, 669, 692 n.186, 703-4.

rwty, Ruty/twin lions **481-2**, 487, **604**, 609.

S

sacred number(s) 55, 112 n.112, 126-7, 148, 173, 180, 218, 319, 327-8, 345, 363, 382, 424-6, 431, 443, 446, 632, 747, 759.

sꜣḥ, Orion see constellations.

Sekhmet **31-2**, 643, 655, 669, **678-9**.

sarcophagus of Djedher (CG 29305) 159.

sarcophagus of Horus 236.

sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (BM EA 10) 550.

sarcophagus of Osiris 365.

sarcophagus of Ramesses VI 723.

sarcophagus of Seti 156, 159, 291 n.402, 607.

INDEX

sarcophagus of Tadikem (CG 29307) 730.

sarcophagus of Tadipakem (CG 29316) 160.

sarcophagus of Tutankhamun 291.

Saros/Saros cycle 194, 313-5.

Satet/Satet temple 64, 300-1, 319, 374, 382.

sbꜣ-gates 425, 435, 730.

sbḫt-gates 425, 435, 440.

scarab **103-5**, 170, 249, **275**, **285-6**, 292, 295-6, **399-400**, 496, 537, 651 n.40.

scepter **114**, 126, 148, 152, **257-9**, 351-2, 373, 375, **405**, **452**, 465, **473**, 506-8, 513, 531.

Schutzbild 729-30.

second death 17-19.

Second New Year's Day, I prt 1

seeing the god 369, 486, 490, **492**, 511, 532, 542.

Sefeg 269.

Selket/Selqet/Serqet, *srḳt* 369-70, 531, 660, 682.

Senenmut 448 n.252, 495.

Senet, *snt* 599-604.

Senwosret I/Sesostris I 270, 688.

Senwosret III/Sesostris III 573, 712.

Serapis 709.

Seshat 43, 86 n.10, 352, 436, 479, **533**, 664-5, **679-85**, 691, 697, 699-700, 706.

Seth 42, 82, 96, 113, 128, 141, 157-8, 169, **181-2**, 186, 196-7, 236, 253 n.285, 288, 316 n.504, 318, 325-7, **330**, **349**, 394, **427-8**, 439, **445**, **509**, **518**, 526, 534-5, 559 n.704, 579, **602**, **619**, 622-4, 629-31, 658-9, **663**, 671 n.117, **675**, 681 n.147, 688, 692 n.186, 746, 748.

Seti I passim

Seti I's Gurna temple 42, **51**, 66, 193-4, 464, 496 n.457, 715-6.

INDEX

Seti I's Kanais temple **33-5**, 47, 63.

Shentayet/Shentyt 56-8, 349, 364-5, 374, 375 n.766, 467-70, 483, 493, 505.

Shifting Waterway, *mr-nḫꜣj*, the ecliptic **179**, 199, 201, 405, 419, **421-3**, **425-8**, 432, 496, 566, 568, 583, 673, 728, 757-9.

Shu 41, 127, **169-70**, 281, 292 n.408, 326, **352-5**, 372, 424, 429, 453, 472, 478, **481-2**, **485 n.419**, **489**, 491, 505, **540-1**, 572, 604-6, 613-4, 626, 675, 690, 701, 746.

Shunet el Zebib 83, 192, **642-3**, 692.

Sia, *sjꜣ*, "perception" **101-3**, 168-9, **570**, 587, 618, 625, 627.

sidereal day/month **184**, **191**, 194, 225, 304, 306-7, 313, 488, 576, 597, **752-3**.

Sixth-Day Festival (lunar) see festivals

smdt see fifteenth day of the lunar month, Full Moon Day

Sobek 453, 621.

Sokar see also Ptah-Soker 68, 395, 397, 400-1, 429, 469, 511, **554-6**, **558-9**, 655, 669-70, 674, 679, 682.

Sokar, cavern of 71, 142, **160**, 209, 229, 394-5, 397, **399-403**, 246, 458, 469, 518, 554-5, **651-2**, 670.

Sokar, festival of see festivals

solar eye 122, 282.

solstice passim

Sons/Children of Horus 18, 114, **125**, 258, 348, 352, 469, 489 n.410, 490, 521, 530-2. 539, 542, **620-2**.

Sothis/Sirius, *spdt* see constellations

Sothic cycle (of 1461 Egyptian civil years) 307 n.464, 705 n.236, 753 n.48.

South Hill 708-13.

southern extreme (lunar) 219, 307, 381-2, 496 n.457, 689, **753**.

sphinx (double) 140-1, 143, 228-9, 294, 400, 562.

šsp, silvery light of the moon 440.

sšṯꜣ 215, 370, 549, 750.

sšd-fillet 106, **114**, 129, **131-2**, 140, 145-6, 150, **223**.

INDEX

Stairway Passage (temple of Seti I at Abydos) 202, 351-2, 520, 569, 580, 643, **653-7**, 667, 679-80, 683, 685, 691, 697, 699, 706.

star(s):

decanal **120**, 175, 177, 184, 187, 201, 216, 312, 348, **373-4**, 379, **382**, 414, **416-7**, 485-6, 517, **523-4**, **544**, 568, 572, 574, **577**, 597-8, 708, **744**.

hour, *wnnwt* 126, 576, 597.

imperishable, *jhmjw skjw*, circumpolar 118-21, 125-6, 177-8, 180-1, 186, 202, 293 n.410, 429, 523, 568-9, 623.

unwearying, *jhmjw wrḏw* 119-20, 178, **199**, 202, **523**, **566**, 569, 577.

pole star 707 n.245.

great star see Horus

spdt, Sothis/Sirius see constellations

star table/clock Ramesside 75, 163, 175, 177, **183-7**, 190 n.12, 201, 301, **413-9**, 426, 431, 436, 491, 496-7, 504, 507, **520**, 523, 544, **577**, 597, 720, 732, **749**.

Strabo 404, **644-5**, 647, **652**.

Stundenwachen 125, 367, 401, 530, 544, 595, 621.

sun/sun god passim.

Sunshade 660.

Sweet Breath of Life (north wind from Atum) 19, **89-91**, **121**, **164**, 197, 203, 234. 241, 351, 357, 368, 410, 417-8, 421-3, 426, **439**, 443, 460-1, 465, 477, **508**, **513-6**, 521, 534-5, **551 n.678**, 758-9.

šwty 253, 611-4.

synodic month 115, 123-4, 191 n.17, 194, 223, 304, 306-8, 311-4, 319, 393, 431, 488, 500-1, 524-7, 601, 620, 667, 689, Appendix B & C.

T

Taharqa 169.

Tanis 42.

INDEX

Tatenen sanctuary, *tꜣ-ṯnnt-pr* **269**, **278-9**, 399, 456, 469, 475, 490, 492, 512, 520-3, 532, 538-9, 542, 549-50, **554-5**, **560-1**, 565, 571-2, 574, 577, **580-1**, 597.

Tawosre 36.

Tayet 274.

Tefnut **270**, 281, 326, **352-5**, 372, **424**, 481-2, 485 n.419, 547, 587, **604**, 613-4, **625-6**, 630, 690, 701-2.

temenos wall 67, 73-4, 81, 190-3, 533, 642, 646 n.20, 649, 704.

Thebes 18, 21-2, 29-30, 32-3, 44, 47, 51-2, 61-2, 194, 205 n.81, 223, **250**, 313, 456, 541-2, 669, 707 n.244.

Theban Tombs:

TT 1 Sennedjem/solar eclipse scene 316.

TT 33 see Petamenophis/Padiamenopet .

TT 34 Mentuemhet 505.

TT 82 Amenemheb

TT 233 Saroy 323.

TT 360 604.

TT 409 Si-Mut called Kiki 324.

Thoth passim.

Thutmose III 29-30, 46-7, 49, 56 n.219, 59-61, 64, 140, 194-5, 397, 403, 407-8, 448, 474, 477 n.382, 497, 520, 651 n.40, 712, 731.

Thutmose IV 17.

Titulary 29, 47, 51, 479, 525, 556, 604-5, 655, 657, 667.

tjt-amulet 456, 469, 493 n.444.

Tjahorpta/Tjaiherpata 249.

transmission of royal power 55, 60, 115, 130-1, 154, 169-70, 188, 190, 197, 200, 212, 288, 302, 328, 403, 411, 425, 470-1, 482, 487, 490, 500, 507, 512, 514-5, 526, 542-3, 547, 551, 567, 632, 680, 682, 711, 742, 750.

tribunal/tribunal of Osiris 18, 34, 125, 157, 398, 425, 446, 448-9, 620-2.

INDEX

true of voice see *mɜᶜ-ḫrw*.

Tutankhamen/Tutankhamun **22-5**, 28, 29-31, 37, 46, 54, 221, 291, 345 n.634, 380, 538 n.629, 563, 565, 591-2, 596, 714 n.4, 725, 731.

Two Fledglings 276, 557 n.697, 625-6.

Two “Kites” (Falcons), *ḏrty* 400, 402, 611-2, 614, 651.

U

Udjat-eye, *wḏɜt*, the sound eye see Eye of Horus

Umm el-Qaab 11-2, 61, 73, 402, 509, 651, **709-14**.

Unas, pyramid of 174, 465.

underworld passim.

unio liturgica 111, 499.

union of the Two Lands 479, 529.

unique one 258, 287, **341**.

United Ba, *bɜ dmdm* **206-7**, 210 n.104, 264, 281, 286.

United One, *dbɜ-dmḏ* 49-50, 55, 58, 60, 330, 385, 465, 494, 512, 515-6, 518-21, 534, 546, 618, 634.

universe 81 n.62, 83, **85**, **94-5**, 160, 169, 223-4, 349, **390 n.852**, 481, **550**, 701-2, **740-1**.

unwearying ones/stars, *jhmjw wrḏw* see stars.

Uraeus, *jᶜrt* 53, 104, 127-8, 130, 132, **139-40**, 188, 241, 261, 263, 351, 461-2, 471, 473, **514**, **613**, 639, 689.

Useramun/Amenuser 49, 501.

V

vindication 115, 156-7, 161, 236, 324-5, 375, **388**, 392, **394**, 436, **440**, 443, 461, **507**, 514, 551 n.678, 567, 584-5, 587, **594**, **616**, 627-9, **681-2**.

void 116, 425, 439 n.210.

INDEX

W

wꜥb, pure see also purification 435 n.200, 617, 621, 664, 684.

Wadjet, tutelary deity of the North 476, 535, 664.

wandering year (civil year) 311, 501, 704 n.231, 754.

wꜣs-scepter **114**, 126, **129**, 148, 152, 164, 351-2, 373, 375, 452, 465, **481 n.397**, 506, 508, **531**, 534 n.612, 695.

wšꜣw deep night/hours 5-8 134, 211, **458**, 460, 464, 512, 515, **520**, 532, **546-8**, 552, **582**, 591.

water clock, see clepsydra.

Weary One(s) 44, 63, 201, 335, **374-5**, 384 n.815, 559, 593, 595, 686.

Wennefer 34, 44, 50, 60, 202, 240, 325, **333**, **347-8**, 351-2, **384-7**, 398, 444, 459, **463**, 482, 491, 511, 521, 533-4, 555-7, 569-70, **575**, 586-7, 629, 637, 650, 677, **680**, 683-4, 713.

Wennefer, book of 50, 348, 491, 515, 545.

Wepwawet 419 n.132, 448, 472-3, 476, 478, 505, 554, 663 n.91, **671-3**, 676-7, 714.

Wernes 88, 225 n.177.

west, *ỉmntt* passim.

Westcar Papyrus 170

white crown, *ḥdt*, see crowns.

wḫm mswt, repeating births 11-2, 22-4, 28-30, 35-6, 42, 44, 47-8, 51, 53-4, 80, 98, 130, 247, 270, 281, 318, 406-7, 414 n.104, 458 n.289, 464, 495, 497, 502, 512, 525, 562-5, 608, 615, 618, 627, 682, 685, 692 n.186, 699, 705 n.236, 753.

Winding Waterway/Ecliptic, see stars.

wordplay 14-5, 501, 666, 740-1.

X Y Z

zp tpj, first occasion passim.

zodiac 292 n.405, 702 n.222, 734.

LIST OF PLATES AND SOURCES

Plate:

1 The Aten's Rays Akhenaten Nefertiti Berlin photo by Andreas Praefcke
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:House_Altar_Akhenaten_Nefertiti_Berlin.jpg

2 Abydene Landscape
(O'Connor 2009, 25)

3 Abydos Map Umm el-Qaab and North Cemetery Location of the Early Dynastic Royal Enclosures (Bestock 2009, Fig. 2)

4 Abydos Map Osireion Axial Alignment to the Royal Enclosures
(after Bestock 2009, Fig. 2)

5 Processional Routes in the Greater Abydene Landscape
(Eaton 2007, plate 8)

6-7 Abydos Map of Key Processional Routes and South Hill
(Effland 2014, Pl. 6 Drawing: U. Effland)

8 Mahat Chapel of Mentuhotep II Dyn. 11
(Wegner 2015, 3)

9 South Abydos Reconstruction of Ahmose's Pyramid Complex
(O'Connor 2009, 127)

10 The Great Wadi Entrance to the Underworld photo by Markh
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Umm_el-Qaab.jpg

11 Mountain of Anubis pdmclerran@yahoo.com
http://www.flickr.com/photos/43026161@N07/33946409903/

12 South Hill covered with fragmented offering pots
(Effland 2010, Abb. 6)

PLATES AND SOURCES

13 Tomb Of Djer Osiris Umm el Qaab Dr. Margaret Maitland
https://mobile.twitter.com/eloquentpeasant/status/619077054756220928

14 Tomb of Djer Plan Umm el Qaab
(Bestock 2009, Fig. 11)

15 Tomb of Djer Burial Chamber Umm el Qaab
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4721095143/

16 Shunet el Zebib Khasekhemwy's Enclosure by Institute for the Study of the Ancient World
http://www.flickr.com/photos/34561917@N04/7257222800/

17 Shunet el Zebib Khasekhemwy's Enclosure Plan
(Mariette 1880, plate 68)

18 Seti I Temple Complex Satellite Image
(Clint Mansell/AlastoAlastor) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rO9opdf73nc

19 Map of the Temple Complex of Seti I
(O'Connor 2009, 47)

20 Main Temple Plan of King Sethos I at Abydos
(Calverley & Gardiner 1933, pl. Ia) https://oi.uchicago.edu

21 Plan of the Reception Hall and Magazine Complex
(Ghazouli 1964)

22 Reconstruction eastern Area Temple of Seti I
(Drawing by Jean-Claude Golvin) https://jeanclaudegolvin.com/abydos/

23 Temple Plan Skewed Notional West Temenous Wall with Sacred Precinct added
modified from Cl.Traunecker https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Abydos-Plan-du-temple-commemoratif-de-Sethi-I-er-avec-les-parties-souterraines-de_fig3_331950934

24 Schematic Ia Plan of the Osireion
(Frankfort 1933, plate 1) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

25 Schematic Ib Sacred Precinct Proposed Reconstruction
(after Frankfort 1933, plate 1) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

26 Schematic Ic Sacred Precinct Complex
(after O'Connor 2009, 47)

27 Schematic Id New Moon Ritual Alignment of Connected Scenes in Antechamber, Second Transverse Hall and Hypostyle Hall
(after O'Connor 2009, 47)

28 Schematic II First Ritual Cycle
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

29 Schematic III Second Ritual Cycle First Night
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

30 Schematic IV Antechamber and Annex Decoration Program Ending Point of the Second and Third Ritual Cycles
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

31 Schematic Va Third Ritual Cycle Night of I Prt 1
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

32 Schematic Vb Third Ritual Cycle Ceiling Decoration
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

33 Table I The Cycle of 76: The Annual Renewal of Kingship
(author)

34 Table II Comparison of the Tomb of Ramesses VI to the Osireion
(author)

35 Table III Hourly Ritual Sequence for the Night of I Prt 1 Annual Celebration of the King's Coronation
(author)

36 Table IV Lunar Number Symbolism
(author)

37 Table V Heliopolitan Ennead
(Troy 1994, 5)

PLATES AND SOURCES

38 Entranceway of the Sacred Precinct Complex from the East Wing Temple of Seti I
(Baines 1990, 67)

39 East Wing Plan of Treasury and Archive Complex Temple of Seti I
(after Zayed 1983, 20)

40 Osireion Scale Drawing
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0144)

41 Sectional Plan of the Osireion
(Frankfort 1933, plate 3) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

42 Sloping Passage Scale Drawing of the Osireion detail
(after Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0144)

43 Central Hall Plan
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0145)

44 Osireion Central Hall
https://www.pinterest.com/pin/498281146243824409/ from
https://objectiveart01.tripod.com/Egypt_03.jpg

45 Entrance Archway in Notional Western Temenos Wall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 13) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

46 Entrance Archway to the Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4745658747/in/album-72157624260294383/

47 Entrance Shaft and Entrance Arch
(Frankfort 1933, plate 12) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

48 Entrance Passage today view from entrance – vaulted undecorated mud brick walls
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4745660199/in/album-72157624260294383/

49 Entrance Passage Looking North (Notional West)
(Frankfort 1933, plate 11) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

50 Entrance Passage Abrupt Beginning of Decorated Limestone Walls
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0077)

51 Sloping Passage viewed from the Antechamber
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779812842/in/photostream/

52 Entrance Passage Graffiti
(Frankfort 1933, plate 88) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

53 Entrance Passage Graffiti and Ostraca
(Frankfort 1933, plate 90) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

54 Entrance Passage Limestone Ostraka
(Frankfort 1933, plate 92) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

55 Tomb of Amenhotep II
(Walton Chan 2000, Theban Mapping Project KV 35) https://thebanmappingproject.com

56 Tomb of Ramesses II
(Walton Chan 2000, Theban Mapping Project KV 7) https://thebanmappingproject.com

57 Tomb of Seti I
(Walton Chan 2000, Theban Mapping Project KV 17) https://thebanmappingproject.com

58 Tomb of Ramesses VI
(Walton Chan 2000, Theban Mapping Project KV 9) https://thebanmappingproject.com

59 Tomb of Ramesses VI Axial Orientation to Orion
(Belmonte 2009, 300)

60 Tomb of the Sons of Ramesses II
(Walton Chan 2003, Theban Mapping Project KV 5) https://thebanmappingproject.com

61 First Ritual Cycle Opening Scene Invocation of Atum
(Frankfort 1933, plate 50) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

62 First Ritual Cycle Opening Scene BD 15 text columns numbered
(after Frankfort 1933, plate 50) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

63 Invocation of Atum by the King
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779764540/in/album-72157624260294383/

PLATES AND SOURCES

64 King Offering Maat to Re-Horakhti and Osiris
(Frankfort 1933, plate 51) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

65 Re-Horakhti detail with Graffiti
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779766010/in/album-72157624260294383/

66 Opening Scenes of the King before Re-Horakhti and Osiris KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Abitz 1989, 60)

67 Book of the Gates First Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 17)

68 Book of Gates First Hour second and third registers Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779132707/in/album-72157624260294383/

69 Book of Gates First Hour lower register Osireion
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0337)

70 Monthly Lunar Cycle Moon Phases
(Googolhedron Systems 2000)

71 Book of Gates Solar Barque Sixth Hour scene 37 KV 17 Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 210)

72 Book of Gates King in the Solar Barque Sixth Hour scene 37 Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779140033/in/album-72157624269294383/

73 Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Solar Barque with the King Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6815934443/in/album-72157624260294383/

74 Book of Gates Second Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 27-28)

75 Book of Gates Second Hour Atum and the Inert Ones scene 8 Kv 17 Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 49)

76 Book of the Gates Third Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 56-57)

77 Book of Gates Third Hour middle and lower registers Tomb of Ramesses I
(Hornung 2014, 58-59)

78 Book of Gates Third Hour Barque of the Earth detail Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6829992769/in/album-72157624260294383/

79 Book of Gates Third Hour Lake of Fire detail scene 10 KV 17 Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 69)

80 Book of Gates Fourth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 96-97)

81 Book of Gates Fourth Hour scene 20 Hour Goddesses Tomb of Ramesses I
(Hornung 2014, 121)

82 Book of Gates Fourth Hour middle register scene 20, lower register scene 22 Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779135197/in/album-72157624260294383/

83 Book of Gates Fourth Hour middle register scene 19 detail Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6829981857/in/album-72157624260294383/

84 Book of Gates Fourth Hour scene 21 Osiris detail Tomb of Ramesses I
(Hornung 2014, 127)

85 Book of Gates Fifth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 144-145)

86 Book of Gates Fifth Hour scene 30 detail KV 17 Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 169)

87 Book of Gates Fifth Hour scene 27 and 31 detail Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779138017/in/album-72157624260294383/

88 Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 Osireion
(Frankfort 1933, plate 55) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

89 Book of Gates Hall of Osiris KV 57 Horemheb
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_tombe_de_Horemheb_(KV.57)_(Vallee_des_Rois_Thebes_ouest)_-6d.jpg Jean-Pierre Dalb'era, JMCCI, CC BY 2.0 via Wikimedia Commons

PLATES AND SOURCES

90 Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 KV 57 Horemheb
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

91 Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Bonomi & Sharp 1864, plate 5)

92 Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 183)

93 Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 detail of Sethian Pig Osireion
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0082)

94 Book of Gates Sixth Hour Schema
(Hornung 2014, 194-195)

95 Book of Gates Sixth Hour detail leading out of the Hall of Osiris Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779138241/in/album-72157624260294383/

96 Book of Gates Sixth Hour panoramic view Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779775622/in/album-72157624260294383/

97 Book of Gates Sixth Hour top register scene 36 detail Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779776758/in/album-72157624260294383/

98 Book of Gates Sixth Hour top register scene 35 and middle register scene 39 Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779140517/in/album-72157624260294383/

99 Book of Gates Sixth Hour scene 36 detail KV 17 Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 207)

100 Book of Gates Sixth Hour scene 41 Lake of Fire KV 57 Horemheb
(Hornung 2014, 225)

101 Book of Gates Seventh Hour Schema
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 36)

102 Book of Gates Eighth Hour Schema
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 37)

103 Book of Gates Eighth and Ninth Hours detail Solar Barques KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 54)

104 Book of Gates Ninth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 304-305)

105 Book of Gates Ninth Hour scene 59 and 60 KV 14 Tausert
(Hornung 2014, 326)

106 Book of Gates Tenth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 334-335)

107 Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 61 top register two headed Horus-Seth detail Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779783862/in/album-72157624260294383/

108 Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 61 KV 14 Tausert
(Hornung 2014, 337)

109 Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 68 detail KV 14 Tausert
(Hornung 2014, 361)

110 Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 68 detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 56)

111 Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 368-369)

112 Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Line Drawing
(Piankoff 1954, 204)

113 Book of Gates Eleventh Hour scene 80 KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Hornung 2014, 370)

114 Book of Gates Eleventh Hour end Osireion
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0164)

115 Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779786044/in/album-72157624260294383/

PLATES AND SOURCES

116 Book of Gates Eleventh Hour detail Osireion
(Hornung 2014, 386)

117 Book of Gates Eleventh Gate detail Osireion
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0484)

118 Book of Gates Eleventh and Twelfth Hours name of Ramesses VI before the Gate KV 9
(Piankoff 1954, plate 59)

119 Book of Gates Twelfth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 408-409)

120 Book of Gates Twelfth Gate Atum and Khepri Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779793502/in/album-72157624260294383/

121 Book of Gates Final Scene Osireion
(Murray 1904, plate XIII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

122 Book of Gates Final Scene Sarcophagus of Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 452)

123 Book of Gates Final Scene Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779159201/in/photostream/

124 Book of Gates Final Scene detail of the Solar Barque Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779159707/in/album-72157624260294383/

125 Papyrus of Anhai BM 10472 Vignette of Osireion scenes
(Budge 1899, plate 8) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/budge1899

126 Papyrus of Anhai BM 10472 Representation of the Central Hall with Eight Columns
(Budge 1899, plate 8) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/budge1899

127 Unas Pyramid Sarcophagus Chamber
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Burial_chamber_in_Unas%27_pyramid.jpg

128 Entrance Passage showing pitched roof
(Photo courtsey of Robert Hoke)

129 Second Transverse Hall and Entrance
(Frankfort 1933, plate 19) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

130 Nut as the Milky Way
(Wells 1994, Figures 1-2)

131 Nut as the Milky Way
(Wells 1994, figures 3-4)

132 Book of the Day KV 9 Ramesses VI
Posted by Gemma Ellen Smith Sep 4, 2012 https://egyptianaemporium.wordpress.com
(ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15073 and 15068, F. Dzikowski,1999)

133 Book of the Day detail Sunrise KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15072, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

134 Book of the Day First Hour Birth of the Sun God Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 149)

135 Book of the Day Sunset KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15068, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

136 Book of the Day detail Sunset KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 10993, F. Dzikowski 3/1998)

137 Book of the Day Field of Reeds KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15068, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

138 Book of the Day Field of Reeds detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, Fig. 133)

139 Book of the Day Field of Reeds detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 190)

140 Book of the Day detail Falcon-headed Sun God in his Barque KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo Weeks 2001, 264)

141 Book of the Day Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo Hawass 2006, 280-281)

PLATES AND SOURCES

142 Book of the Day and Night Ceiling Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo Diego Delso CC-BY-SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

143 Books of the Day and the Night detail Ceiling Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Hawass 2006, 280-281)

144 Books of the Day and the Night Sun God Entering the Body of Nut Corridor C KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 159)

145 Book of the Night Second Hour Unwearying Stars Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 76) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

146 Astronomical Ceiling Decanal List KV 17 Seti I (Lepsius 1849 III, B1.137)
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Seti1-Lepsius-III-137-b.jpg

147 Astronomical Ceiling Orion Decan, Northern Constellations, Ramesside Star Tables Hall E KV 9
(Piankoff 1954, plate 164)

148 Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations and Ramesside Star Tables Hall E Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 165)

149 Northern Constellations with King arms raised in praise Corridor A KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 143)

150 Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations Bull as Foreleg Corridor B KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 147)

151 Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations detail KV 17 Seti I
(Photo by Jean-Pierre Dalb'era, CC BY 2.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

152 Ramesside Star Table detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo www.thenewtimesholler.com/archive.html 1998 Amir Bey, The Ancient Egyptian Foundations of Western Astrology)

PLATES AND SOURCES

153 Ramesside Star Table I detail Akhet 1 Ramesses IX KV 6
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lepsius-228-III-rams%C3%A8sIX-b.jpg

154 Astronomical Ceiling Lunar Months, Decans, Ramesside Star Tables Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 170)

155 Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations Bull as Foreleg, Ramesside Star Clock Hall E KV 9
(Piankoff 1954, plate 168)

156 Astronomical Ceiling Sothis, Orion and the Decans KV 17 Seti I
(www.sanityquestpublishing.com/time/2k-1k/Egypt/NK/html Photo by Jean-Pierre Dalb'era, CC BY 2.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

157 Astronomical Ceiling detail Sothis and Orion KV 17 Seti I
(Photo Hawass 2006, 287)

158 Astronomical Ceiling detail Striding Orion Facing Standing Sothis
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/19400/19400-h/19400-h.htm#linklinkBimage-0018

159 Astronomical Ceiling Pronaos Temple of Isis Philae
(Benedite 1893, plate 50)

160 Astronomical Alignments Gurna Mansion of Millions of Years Seti I
(Furlong 2007, plan 5) www.davidfurlong.co.uk/pdf/egyptian_temple_orientation.pdf

161 Astronomical Alignments Karnak Temple Complex
(Furlong 2007, plan 1) www.davidfurlong.co.uk/pdf/egyptian_temple_orientation.pdf

162 Astronomical Alignments Stonehenge Bluestone Horseshoe Lunar Eclipse Cycle
(Drawing https://www.angelfire.com/ab6/gem1506k/eclipses.htm)

163 Solar Eclipse scene Tomb of Sennedjem TT 1
(Shedid 1994, 104)

164 Eclipse Prediction in Mesopotamia
(Steele 2000, 425)

PLATES AND SOURCES

165 Parker's Lunar Month Names
(Wells 1990, 111)

166 Ramesses II performing the New Moon Rites First Court Medinet Habu
(Nelson 1934, Fig. 8)

167 Osiris-Moon Statue
(Image Louvre N 5109 Ziegler 1988, plate 9)

168 Full Moon above Orion's Head Nearest the Winter Solstice:
Start and End of the 19 Year Metonic Cycle see Appendix B
https://www.mythicalireland.com/blogs/astronomy/metonic-cycle-the-19-year-cycle-of-the-moon/

169 Moon above Orion's Head again at the 11 Year Interval of the 19 Year Metonic Cycle
https://www.mythicalireland.com/blogs/astronomy/metonic-cycle-the-19-year-cycle-of-the-moon/

170 United Re-Osiris Second Shrine of Tutankhamun
(Photo www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/tut-scans/taa_i_3_25_32.jpg)

171 Pentagonal Symmetry Use in Ancient Egyptian Designs
(Schneider 1994, 137)

172 Sarcophagus of Tutankhamun
https://twitter.com/ceninvoncatlien/status/1297834796094296065?lang=fr 08/24/2020

173 Entrance Passage Opening Scene Rites for the New Moon
(Frankfort 1933, plate 22) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

174 Book of Caverns Opening Scene
(Frankfort 1933, plate 23) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

175 Book of Caverns First Division detail Osiris-King greeting Atum-Re
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779163105/in/album-72157624260294383/

176 Book of Caverns First Division Drawing
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 47)

177 Book of Caverns Second Division Drawing
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 48)

178 Book of Caverns Second Division Line Drawing Tomb of Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1944, plate 10)

179 Book of Caverns Second Division
(Frankfort 1933, plate 25) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

180 Book of Caverns Second Division bottom register Enemies
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779167787/in/album-72157624260294383/

181 Book of Caverns Second Division third register detail Chest of Osiris
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779800038/in/album-72157624260294383/

182 Book of Caverns Third Division Line Drawing
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 49)

183 Book of Caverns Third Division
(Frankfort 1933, plate 31) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

184 Osiris Sprouting New Life Coffin Fitzwilliam Museum
(Hornung 1990, 119)

185 Book of Caverns Third Division
(Frankfort 1933, plate 32) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

186 Book of Caverns Third Division detail end
(Frankfort 1933, plate 33) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

187 Book of Caverns Third Division middle register detail
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779170529/in/album-72157624260294383/

188 Book of Caverns Third Division middle register end
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779804006/in/album-72157624260294383/

189 Book of Caverns Fourth Division Drawing
(Shedid in Hornung 1990, Fig. 50)

PLATES AND SOURCES

190 Book of Caverns Fourth Division
(Frankfort 1933, plate 35) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

191 Book of Caverns Fourth Division top register Two Radiant Eyes and Heart of Horus the Elder
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6815935817/in/album-72157624260294383/

192 Book of Caverns Fourth Division detail
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779174623/in/album-72157624260294383/

193 Book of Caverns Fourth Division third register second scene Destructive One, a Cat God
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779807660/in/album-72157624260294383/

194 Book of Caverns Fifth Division Drawing
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 51)

195 Book of Caverns Fifth Division KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15153, F. Dzikowski 12/1999)

196 Book of Caverns Fifth Division Mysterious Lady Nut
(Frankfort 1933, plate 37) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

197 Book of Caverns Fifth Division detail Mysterious Lady KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15083, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

198 Book of Caverns Fifth Division Ithyphallic Osiris Kamutef
(Frankfort 1933, plate 38) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

199 Book of Caverns Fifth Division detail Ba of Osiris
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0530)

200 Mysterious Lady and Kamutef KV 6 Ramesses IX
(Guilmant 1907, plate 89)

201 Book of Caverns Fifth Division detail end
(Frankfort 1933, plate 39) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

202 Book of Caverns Fifth Division lower register final scene
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779796418/in/photostream /

203 Book of Caverns Sixth Division Drawing
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 52)

204 Book of Caverns Sixth Division and Final Scene Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1945, plate 121)

205 Book of Caverns Sixth Division detail Orion KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1945, plate 121)

206 Book of Caverns Sixth Division
(Frankfort 1933, plate 45) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

207 Book of Caverns Sixth Division 2
(Frankfort 1933, plate 46) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

208 Book of Caverns Sixth Division end
(Frankfort 1933, plate 47) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

209 Book of Caverns Final Scene
(Frankfort 1933, plate 49) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

210 Book of Caverns Final Scene p.BM 10490
(Photo www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10490-3)

211 Book of Caverns Final Scene detail Ba of Osiris KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 33)

212 Book of Caverns Final Scene Solar Barque KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 33)

213 Book of Caverns Final Scene Mound of My Corpse
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779176293/in/photostream/

214 Book of Caverns Text before Final Scene
(Frankfort 1933, plate 48) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

PLATES AND SOURCES

215 Antechamber Entrance BD 145B Gates 1 and 2
(Murray 1904, plate XI) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

216 Antechamber BD 141
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779181123/in/photostream/

217 Antechamber BD 141
(Murray 1904, plate X) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

218 Antechamber BD 141 detail Text Columns 1-15
(Murray 1904, plate X) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

219 Antechamber view of the Litany of Osiris, King Offering and BD 145B at Entrance
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

220 Antechamber BD 142 Litany of Osiris
(Murray 1904, plate IX) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

221 Antechamber BD 142 Litany of Osiris detail top register
(Murray 1904, plate IX) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

222 Antechamber Tatenen in the Litany of Osiris BD 142 detail middle and lower registers
(Murray 1904, plate IX) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

223 Antechamber Litany of Osiris and BD 173
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Osireion_at_Abydos_(V).jpg

224 Antechamber Revivifying Osiris scene and the Litany of Osiris BD 142
https://www.flickr.com/photos/dslewis/5438731529/

225 Antechamber BD 173 and the Revivification of Osiris
(Murray 1904, plate VIII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

226 Antechamber BD 173 Text detail
(Murray 1904, plate VIII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

PLATES AND SOURCES

227 Antechamber Equivalent Rear Wall Hall E Leading Down to Corridor F KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 63)

228 Antechamber Equivalent Osiris Double Shrine Rear Wall Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 35)

229 Antechamber Equivalent King Offering to Enshrined Osiris detail Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, frontispiece)

230 False Door Chapel of Horus Temple of Sethos I
(Calverley & Gardiner 1933, plate 29) https://oi.uchicago.edu

231 Gate Opening to BD 18 detail Papyrus Ani
(Faulkner 1994, plate 23)

232 Antechamber BD 42 detail
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

233 Antechamber Entrance to the Annex BD 42, BD 180, BD 133
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

234 Antechamber Reviving Osiris and Entrance to Annex
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779811662/in/photostream/

235 Antechamber BD 133 Lintel Above Annex Entrance detail
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

236 BD 133 Vignette Papyrus Ani
(Faulkner 1994, plate 22)

237 Antechamber BD 180 detail
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

238 BD 180 Union of Re and Osiris Tomb of Nefertari Photo by Morio60
https://www.flickr.com/photos/78775886@N06/51414843063/ license cc-by-sa-2.0

PLATES AND SOURCES

239 Antechamber BD 180 and Revivification of Osiris
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779179925/in/photostream/

240 Annex rear and right walls
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779812394/in/photostream/

241 Annex View of Interior Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 10 rear wall
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807192385/in/album-72157624260294383/

242 Annex Entrance Texts notional west wall
(Murray 1904, plate VI) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

243 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Hours 1-8
(Murray 1904, plate V) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

244 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Ninth Hour
(Murray 1904, plate IV) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

245 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Tenth Hour
(Murray 1904, plate III) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

246 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Hours 11-12
(Murray 1904, plate II) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

247 BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail Door of Shrine
(Piankoff 1974, plate 19)

248 BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail Rear Door of Shrine
(Piankoff 1974, plate 32)

249 BD 168 p.BM 10478 Enthroned Osiris
(Piankoff 1974, plate 18)

250 BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail Udjat-eye
(Piankoff 1974, plate 26)

251 BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail 14 Manifestations of Osiris
(Piankoff 1974, plate 21)

252 BD 168 p.Cairo 24742 Amenhotep II detail 14 Manifestations of Osiris
(Piankoff 1974, plate 11)

253 BD 168 p.Cairo 24742 Amenhotep II detail Horus with Two Eyes
(Piankoff 1974, plate 12)

254 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 1-7
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807162845/in/photostream/

255 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 12 end
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807193877/in/photostream/

256 Annex qrrt 12 end and Closing Text on the notional west wall by the door leading out of the Annex
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807189051/in/photostream/

257 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 8 top two registers
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807163637/in/photostream/

258 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 9
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807172961/in/photostream/

259 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 9 top two registers
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807168563/in/photostream/

260 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 9 corner top two registers showing Anubis and the retrograde writing of sSpyw 'Brilliant Ones'
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807170333/in/photosream/

261 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 11 top two registers
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807178191/in/photostream/

262 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 11
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807177449/in/album-72157624260294383/

263 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 11 bottom two registers
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807183149/in/album-72157624260294383

PLATES AND SOURCES

264 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 12 top
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807200543/in/album-72157624260294383/

265 Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt lower register
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807184841/in/photostream/

266 Sloping Passage Lintel in situ Decanal Star Table
(Murray 1904, plate 12) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

267 Sloping Passage Star Table
(Symons 2007, table 21)

268 Antechamber Doorway Leading Down the Sloping Passage
(Frankfort 1933, plate 13) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

269 Sloping Passage Vignettes BD 99, BD 147, BD 146, BD 145, and BD 125 at the end
(Frankfort 1933, plate 70) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

270 Sloping Passage Vignettes and Text BD 147 detail
(Naville EES Archaeological Report 1911-1912 plate III figure 7)

271 Sloping Passage Opening to the Hall of Two Truths Vignette detail
(Frankfort 1933, plate 70) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

272 Sloping Passage Text 1
(Frankfort 1933, plate 63) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

273 Sloping Passage Text 2
(Frankfort 1933, plate 64) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

274 Sloping Passage Text 3
(Frankfort 1933, plate 65) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

275 Sloping Passage Text 4
(Frankfort 1933, plate 66) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

276 Sloping Passage Text 5
(Frankfort 1933, plate 67) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

277 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes 1
(Frankfort 1933, plate 69) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

278 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes 2
(Frankfort 1933, plate 68) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

279 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette Senet
(Photo Egypt Exploration Society 1925, 6)

280 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette Ruty
(Photo Naville EES Archaeological Report 1911-1912, plate III figure 8)

281 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes detail Benu-bird bottom
(Photo Egypt Exploration Society 1925, 6)

282 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes detail
(Photo Egypt Exploration Society 1925, 9)

283 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette detail Udjat-eye
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6796618255/in/album-72157624260294383/

284 Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette of the Twin Bas detail Papyrus Ani
(Faulkner 1994, plate 10)

285 Hall of Two Truths King Invoking Heka Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 104)

286 Hall of Two Truths King Praising Maat Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 106)

287 Hall of Two Truths Maat and the Twin Lakes of Fire Hall H KV 9Ramesses VI
(Diego Delso, delso.photo License CC-BY-SA via Wikimedia Commons)

288 Hall of Two Truths King before Twin Lakes of Fire Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 105)

289 Hall of Two Truths Hall H End KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 107)

PLATES AND SOURCES

290 Hall of Two Truths Scenes King Praising Khons-Neferhotep-Shu KV 6 Ramesses IX
(Abitz 1992, Fig. 28)

291 Central Hall Broad View
(Photo courtsey of Robert Hoke)

292 Central Hall Staircase and Cutouts Looking West (notional south)
(Frankfort 1933, plate 16) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

293 Central Hall of the Osireion Reconstruction Looking Back at the Entrance
(Richard Smith) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JXvNo6S3eWo

294 Central Hall Staircase Looking East (notional north)
(Frankfort 1933, plate 15) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

295 Central Hall Staircase and Square Cutout on the Island
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0137)

296 Scene of Osiris on and Sokar in His Mound Drawing
(www.andrewcollins.com/page/articles/Beneath%20Breakdown%20240709.htm)

297 BD 182 Vignette p.BM 10010, 3 Muthetepti
(Photo www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10010- 3)

298 Central Hall East (notional north) Rear Wall
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0075)

299 Central Hall East (notional north) Rear Wall
(Line drawing Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

300 Central Hall East (notional north) Rear Wall as a Chapel
(Line drawing after Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

301 Central Hall Rear Wall detail top register
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

302 Central Hall Rear Wall detail middle registers 14 scenes enclosed by the Royal Ka
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

303 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Six Cult Statues of Osiris
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

304 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Left (notional west) Half
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

305 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Dual Shrines at Entrance to the Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

306 Central Hall Rear Wall detail 10 Scenes Around the 6 Cult Statues of Osiris
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

307 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Center Column above Entrance to the Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

308 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Entrance to the Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

309 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Transfer of Royal Power
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

310 Central Hall Rear Wall detail King and the Goddesses
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

311 Osiris Complex Inner Osiris Hall Shentayet and Heqet with Min-Horus, Son of Isis, in between
(Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 14) https://oi.uchicago.edu

312 Osiris Conception of Horus in the presence of Heqet
Temple of Dendera Third Western Osiris Chapel
(Cauville 1997, plate 253)

313 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Ram-headed Re-Horakhti
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0082)

314 Central Halll Rear Wall detail Anubis Leading the King before Osiris
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

PLATES AND SOURCES

315 Central Hall Rear Wall detail Abydene Emblem
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0079)

316 Abydene Emblem Vignette BD 138
(Naville 1886, plate 152)

317 Central Hall Architraves Vignette BD 148
(Frankfort 1933, plate 71) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

318 Central Hall Architraves Litany of Re
(Frankfort 1933, plate 72) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

319 Central Hall Architraves Litany of Re
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6760307833/in/album-72157624260294383/

320 Central Hall Architraves Litany of Re detail Tatenen
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0041)

321 Litany of Re Opening Scene Temple of Ramesses II Room G
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sameh Iskander)

322 Litany of Re Opening Sequence Temple of Ramesses II Room G
(after Marriette 1880, plates 14, 16) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

323 Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G
(Mariette 1880, plate 14) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

324 Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G
(Mariette 1880, plate 15) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

325 Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G
(Mariette 1880, plate 16) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

326 Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G
(Mariette 1880, plate 17) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

327 Litany of Re detail Udjat-eye
(Piankoff 1964, plate 14)

PLATES AND SOURCES

328 Litany of Re First Half
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15622, F. Dzikowski 5/2000)

329 Amduat Hours 1-5 Arrangement in Corridors F and G Tomb of Ramesses VI
(Abitz 1989, 104)

330 Amduat Fourth Hour
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

331 Amduat Fourth Hour detail Udjat-eye middle register
(Hornung & Abt 2007, 126)

332 Amduat Fourth Hour detail bottom register
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 55)

333 Amduat Fourth Hour detail end of register KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 83)

334 Amduat detail Chamber between Fourth and Fifth Hours KV 35 Amenhotep II
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 12166, F. Dzikowski 1996)

335 Amduat Fourth Hour at the Entrance of Sarcophagus Chamber KV 34 Thutmose III
(Photo www.factum-arte.com)

336 Amduat Fifth and Sixth Hours with Related Chambers KV 34 Thutmose III
(Richter 2008, Fig. 9) www.academia.edu/4749187/

337 Amduat Fifth Hour
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

338 Amduat Fifth and Sixth Hours KV 34
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image #23015, 23028-26, F. Dzikowski, 2005)

339 Amduat Fifth Hour
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 64-65)

340 Amduat Fifth Hour KV 35 Amenhotep II
(Richter 2008, Fig. 17) www.academia.edu/4749187/

PLATES AND SOURCES

341 Amduat Fifth Hour Mound of Isis KV 35 Amenhotep II
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 14673, F. Dzikowski 4/1999)

342 Amduat Fifth Hour detail Body of Isis with Egg of Sokar KV 34
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flickr__Gaspa__Valle_dei_Re,_tomba_di_Thutmosi_III_(7).jpg

343 Amduat Fifth Hour Schema (Deities 354, 365, 384 highlighted)
(after Abt & Hornung 2003, 66-67)

344 Amduat Sixth Hour
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

345 Amduat Sixth Hour detail Khepri Awakening above Chamber KV 34 Thutmose III
(Richter 2008, Fig. 8) www.academia.edu/4749187/

346 Amduat Sixth Hour detail Khepri Awakening
(Photo https://egiptologia.org/?page_id=1021)

347 Amduat Seventh Hour
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

348 Amduat Seventh Hour detail Horus Who Sets the Stars Upright
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 86)

349 Amduat Eighth Hour
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

350 Amduat Eighth Hour Schema
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 100-101)

351 Amduat Eighth Hour detail top register Osiris, Isis, Horus in the Central Cavern
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 98)

352 Amduat Eighth Hour detail middle register Four Rams of Tatenen
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 99)

353 Amduat Twelfth Hour
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

PLATES AND SOURCES

354 Amduat Twelfth Hour and Adjacent Doorway KV34
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image #12120, F. Dzikowski 1996)

355 Ramesside “akhet-style” Burial Chamber
(Roberson 2012, 57 Fig. 2.25 www.academia.edu/1044995/)

356 Tomb of Ramesses VI rough cut unfinished floor in the Burial Chamber KV9
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16284, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

357 Osireion Second Transverse Hall Roof
(after drawing Paolo Reiner Progetto Abydos www.studiorenierpaolo.it/paolorenier.html)

358 Second Transverse Hall crude quarried entrance
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6796511217/in/album-72157624260294383 /

359 Second Transverse Hall Traces of the Book(s) of the Earth
(Frankfort 1933, plate 87) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

360 Book of the Earth Text Divisions Osireion
(Roberson 2007, 97)

361 Book of the Earth Part A KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 117)

362 Book of the Earth Part D KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16282, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

363 Book of the Earth detail Birth Scenes 13 and 14 KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 130)

364 Book of the earth detail Birth of Horus (scene 14) KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16283, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

365 Book of the Earth Aker Scene
(Roberson 2012, 146 Fig. 5.5 www.academia.edu/1044995/)

366 Book of the Earth detail Descent into the Nun KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15074, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

PLATES AND SOURCES

367 Book of the Earth detail Descent into the Nun KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 117)

368 Book of the Earth Part A detail Solar Barque Emerging from the Nun KV 9 Ramesses VI
(ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com 15077, Public domain, Wikimedia Commons)

369 Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 74) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

370 Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques Drawing
(Roberson 2013, Fig. 1 corrected)

371 Awakening of Osiris detail Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 74) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

372 Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques Ceiling Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 183)

373 Transit of the Solar Barques detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16287, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

374 Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques KV 6 Ramesses IX
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15597, F. Dzikowski 5/2000)

375 Awakening of Osiris Tomb of Mutirdis TT410
(Assmann 1977, Ab. 41)

376 Awakening of Osiris Scene in the Temple of Dendera
(Cauville 1997, plate 237)

377 Osiris Awakening Statue
(Photo https://www.instagram.com/instakemet/?hl=en)

378 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Decoration
(Photos Paolo Reiner Progetto Abydos www.studiorenierpaolo.it/paolorenier.html)

379 Book of the Night Opening Scene with the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques
(Frankfort 1933, plate 75) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

380 Book of the Night Opening and Second Hour
(Hornung 1999, Fig. 72)

381 Book of the Night Second and Third Hours
(Hornung 1999, 126)

382 Book of the Night detail Unwearying Stars Second Transverse Hall
(Photos Paolo Reiner Progetto Abydos www.studiorenierpaolo.it/paolorenier.html)

383 Book of the Night Hours 5-10 KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo www.crystalinks.com/dynasty20.html of ARCE TMP image # 15071)

384 Book of the Night Fifth-Sixth Hours Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 78) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

385 Book of the Night Eighth Hour detail Horus and Osiris KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, Fig. 133)

386 Book of the Night Traces of Hours 8-9 Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 80) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

387 Book of the Night Hours 9-12 KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15073, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

388 Books of the Night and Day KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Copyright Kenneth Garrett KLG10178p250.tif) https://kennethgarrett.photoshelter.com

389 Book of the Night Sixth-Seventh Hours Second Transverse Hall
(Frankfort 1933, plate 79) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

390 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars
(Emery drawing EES Negative, posted on www.ees.ac.uk)

PLATES AND SOURCES

391 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette Text T2 Above Shu
(Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

392 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette Crescent Moon and the Eastern Horizon
(Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

393 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette Sunset western Horizon
(Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

394 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette detail Central Section Decanal Lists
(Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

395 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Dramatic Text I
(Frankfort 1933, plate 84) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

396 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Dramatic Text II
(Frankfort 1933, plate 85) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

397 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Shadow Clock Text I
(Frankfort 1933, plate 82) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

398 Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Shadow Clock Text II
(Frankfort 1933, plate 83) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

399 Astronomical Ceiling Corridor G KV 9 Showing Alterations for the Breach
(Piankoff 1954, plate 101)

400 Astronomical Ceilings Corridors G and F detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Egypt Tailor Made Tours - Goddess Isis Program – Valley of the Kings Photo 19)

401 Astronomical Ceilings Corridors G and F detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

402 Astronomical Ceiling Solar Cycle Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 179)

403 Astronomical Ceiling Solar Composition Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Diego Delso delso.photo CC-BY-SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

PLATES AND SOURCES

404 Ceiling at the Breach “Schutzbild” Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16291, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

405 Solar Barques Composition Ceiling Corridor F KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo Diego Delso, CC_BY_SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

406 Solar Barques Composition Ceiling Corridor F detail KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15147, F. Dzikowski 12/1999)

407 Solar Barques Composition detail Mehen and the Solar Barques Corridor F KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Weeks 2001, 254)

408 Solar Barques Composition detail second half KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Weeks 2001, 254)

409 Solar Barques Composition Flow of Figures' Movements KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Weeks 2001, 254)

410 Solar Barques Composition detail the Naked and the Mummies KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo www.jlcarroll.net no longer posted)

411 Solar Barques Composition detail Double Lion-headed Biers KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Photo www.jlcarroll.net no longer posted)

412 Astronomical Ceiling Lunar Cycle Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 181)

413 Astroomical Ceiling Sarcophagus Chamber KV 17 Seti I
(Weeks 2001, 207)

414 Astronomical Ceiling detail KV 17 Seti I
(Photo www.crystalinks.com/Seti_I.html)

415 Astronomical Ceiling Senenmut TT 353
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544566

PLATES AND SOURCES

416 Orion's Movements Across the Night Sky
(Diagram author)

417 First Transverse Hall Hymn to Re Papyrus Ani
(Photo www.egyptologica.be)

418 Hymn to Re Papyrus Ani detail
(Faulkner 1994, plate 2)

419 Sunrise BD 16 Papyrus Ani
(Faulkner 1994, plate 2)

420 Hymn to Osiris Papyrus Ani
(Faulkner 1994, plate 2)

421 Weighing Scene Papyrus Hunefer British Museum EA 9901
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BD_Hunefer.jpg

422 Weighing Scene (royal) p.Cairo CG 40006 (Dynasty 21)
(Seeber 1976)

423 Enshrined Osiris Papyrus Ani
(Faulkner 1994, plate 4)

424 Osiris Complex Inner Osiris Hall Raising the Djet-pillar Temple of Seti I
(Photo Jon Bodsworth) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abydos_seti_16.jpg

425 Osiris Complex Inner Osiris Hall Scene of the Abydene Emblem Temple of Seti I
(Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 6) https://oi.uchicago.edu

426 Osiris Complex Room 11 Conception Scenes Temple of Seti I
(Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 62) https://oi.uchicago.edu

427 Osiris Complex Room 11 Conception Scene Temple of Seti I
(Photo Timothy Lavelle) http://www.flickr.com/photos/travellingwebguy/6784108010/
CC BY-NC-ND 4.0_Flickr

428 Osiris Complex Room 11 Awakening Scene Temple of Seti I
(Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 62) https://oi.uchicago.edu

429 Osiris Complex Room 11 Awakening and Conception Scenes (Lines added)
(after Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 62) https://oi.uchicago.edu

430 Osiris Conception Scene Chapel of Sokar Temple of Seti I by kairoinfo4u
https://www.flickr.com/photos/manna4u/1508346149/

431 Osiris Conception Scene Chapel of Sokar detail Temple of Seti I
(Photo www.danfurst.com)

432 Osiris Awakening Chapel of Sokar Temple of Seti I
(Photo Olaf Tausch)
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abydos_Tempelrelief_Sethos_I._37.JPG

433 Conception Scene King Kneeling Offering Incense Temple of Dendera
(Cauville 1997, plate 257)

434 Osiris Conception of Horus Scene Temple of Dendera
(Photo 2009 Csorfoly Daniel, Public domain, via Wikimedia Comons)

435 Osiris Bed
(Cairo Museum Photo 788)

436 Osiris Bed Tomb of Djer Umm el Qaab
(Amelineau 1899, plate III)

437 Second Hypostyle Hall Plan Temple of Seti I
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 2) https://oi.uchicago.edu

438 Second Hypostyle Hall 'August Djed in Abydos' Pilaster North (notional west) Wall
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 8) https://oi.uchicago.edu

439 Second Hypostyle Hall North (notional west) Wall Litany of Osiris 14 Invocations
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 7) https://oi.uchicago.edu

440 Second Hypostyle Hall Litany to Sokar (top right)
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 42) https://oi.uchicago.edu

441 Second Hypostyle Hall Entrance to the Nefertem-Sokar Complex
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 37) https://oi.uchicago.edu

PLATES AND SOURCES

442 Second Hypostyle Hall Barque of Sokar
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 38) https://oi.uchicago.edu

443 Second Hypostyle Hall South (notional east) Wall Pilaster Osiris-Tatenen Djed-pillar
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 39) https://oi.uchicago.edu

444 Nefertem-Sokar Complex Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Tatenen Djet-pillar (center)
(Mariette 1869, plate 16) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

445 Nefertem Chapel Enthroned Tatenen
(Mariette 1869, plate 40) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

446 Second Court Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II Columns 50-59
(Spallinger 2009, 131)

447 Gallery of Lists Royal Ancestor Assemblage and Door Jamb to Corridor by kairoinfo4u
https://www.flickr.com/photos/manna4u/8610787203/

448 Gallery of Lists Cultic Assemblage of Royal Ancestors
(Line drawing www.nonabrooklyn.com)

449 Corridor east wall Driving the Calves, Running with Hs-vases
(Photo Claude Voyage) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

450 Corridor east wall Driving the Calves detail
(Photo www.belovedegypt.com)

451 Corridor east wall King Running with Hs-vases by Mutnedjmet
https://www.flickr.com/photos/26330013@N08/3736140407/

452 Corridor east wall Netting Scene
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

453 Corridor east wall Netting Scene end
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

454 Corridor east wall Netting Scene
(Photo Timothy Lavelle) http://www.flickr.com/photos/travellingwebguy/6784111434/

455 Corridor east wall Netting Scene detail
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

456 Corridor east wall Netting and Offering Scenes detail
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

457 Corridor east wall King and Crown Prince Offering Six Birds to Amen-re and Mut
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

458 Corridor east wall detail King's Crown in the Offering of Birds Scene
(Richard White) www.flickr.com/photos/gauiscaerilios/3334890515/

459 Hypostyle Hall Karnak Ramesses II Offering Birds to Amen-Re, Mut and Khonsu
(Nelson 1981, plate 43) https://oi.uchicago.edu

460 Hypostyle Hall Karnak Netting Scene
(Nelson 1981, plate 44) https://oi.uchicago.edu

461 Corridor west wall Lassoing the Bull before Wepwawet
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

462 Corridor west wall Lassoing Scene
(Photo Roland Unger) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AbydosBullRelief-236.jpg

463 Corridor west wall Ritual of Lassoing the Bull
(Mariette 1869, plate 53) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

464 Butcher's Hall Bull Scenes Temple of Seti I
(Mariette 1869, plate 48) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

465 Butcher's Hall west wall lower register Scenes of Bringing the Head and the Foreleg Detail (Photo 2008 J. C. Monher)

466 Corridor west wall Dragging the Henu-barque to Thoth
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

PLATES AND SOURCES

467 Corridor west wall King Dragging the Henu-barque detail
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

468 Offerings to Ptah and Sekhmet
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

469 Stairway Passage Doorway out to Sacred Precinct
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

470 Stairway Passage Jambs of the Door leading out to Sacred Precinct
(El-Sawy 2003, Fig. 1)

471 Stairway Passage Speech of Seshat
(Mariette 1869, plate 51) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

472 Stairway Passage Speech of Seshat and the Two Enneads
(Mariette 1869, plate 50) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

473 Stairway Passage Speech of Thoth
(Mariette 1869, plate 52) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

474 Sesostris I the Greater and Lesser Enneads Uniting the Two Lands
(Kuhlmann 1977, Abb. 30)

475 Stairway Passage Lintel Scene of the King Rowing the Barque
(The Epigraphic Survey 1963, plate 469 top register) https://oi.uchicago.edu

476 Vignette of BD 110 Medinet Habu Room 26
(The Epigraphic Survey 1963, plate 469) https://oi.uchicago.edu

477 The Two Enneads Vignette of BD 110 Papyrus Ani
(Faulkner 1994, plate 34)

478 Exterior Rear Wall Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years View of Remaining Decoration
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

479 Exterior Rear Wall Entrance to Stairway Passage
(Photo www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html)

PLATES AND SOURCES

480 Exterior Rear Wall first group detail Wepwawet and Ramesses II
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

481 Exterior Rear Wall third group detail Goddess
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

482 Exterior Rear Wall fourth group Entrance to Treasury and Archive Chambers
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

483 Exterior Rear Wall Reconstructed Concealed Door to the Treasury and Archive Chambers
(Zayed 1983, Fig. 2)

484 Exterior Rear Wall fifth group detail Goddess
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

485 Treasury and Archives detail rear wall Merenptah before Osiris
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

486 Treasury and Archives rear wall scenes
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

487 Treasury Weighing Scene Medinet Habu
(The Epigraphic Survey 1957, plate 320) https://oi.uchicago.edu

488 Treasury and Archives Room D detail Harps and Vases
(Caulfeild 1902, pl. 20) https://archive.org/details/templekingsatab00petrgoog/mode/2up

489 Treasury Offering Scene of Harp and Vases Medinet Habu
(The Epigraphic Survey 1957, plate 322) https://oi.uchicago.edu

490 Magazine Complex Reception Hall Doorway Reconstructed
(Ghazouli 1964, plate IX)

491 Magazine Complex reception Hall Inscriptions
(Ghazouli 1964, Fig. 45)

PLATES AND SOURCES

492 House of Life Vignette p.Salt 825 BM EA 19951,5
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-5

493 House of Life p.Salt 825
(Drawing www.neferhotep.over-blog.com/article-le-papyrus-de-salt-825-71739387.html)
posted April 14, 2011

494 Desert Pylon Foundation Blocks Graffiti
(Caulfeild 1902, pl. 20) https://archive.org/details/templekingsatab00petrgoog/mode/2up

495 Possible Traces of the Mound over the Central Hall Excavation Photo 1925
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0126)

496 Astronimical Alignments Satet Temple Room F Deities
(Wells 1990, Abb. 3)

497 Book of Gates First Hour King with Khepri in the Solar Barque
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0338)

Cover Illustration Transmission of Royal Power
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73 detail) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Dedication page Adrienne Rourke
(Photo C. Herzer)

STUDY OF THE OSIREION AT ABYDOS

CODE BOOK AND SOURCE DOCUMENT FOR THE BIRTH HOUSE OF ISIS

CHARLES HENRY HERZER JR

PLATE VOLUME

DESIGNED BY ISIDA PROJECT

Plate 1. The Aten's Rays Akhenaten Nefertiti Berlin photo by Andreas Praefcke.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:House_Altar_Akhenaten_Nefertiti_Berlin.jpg

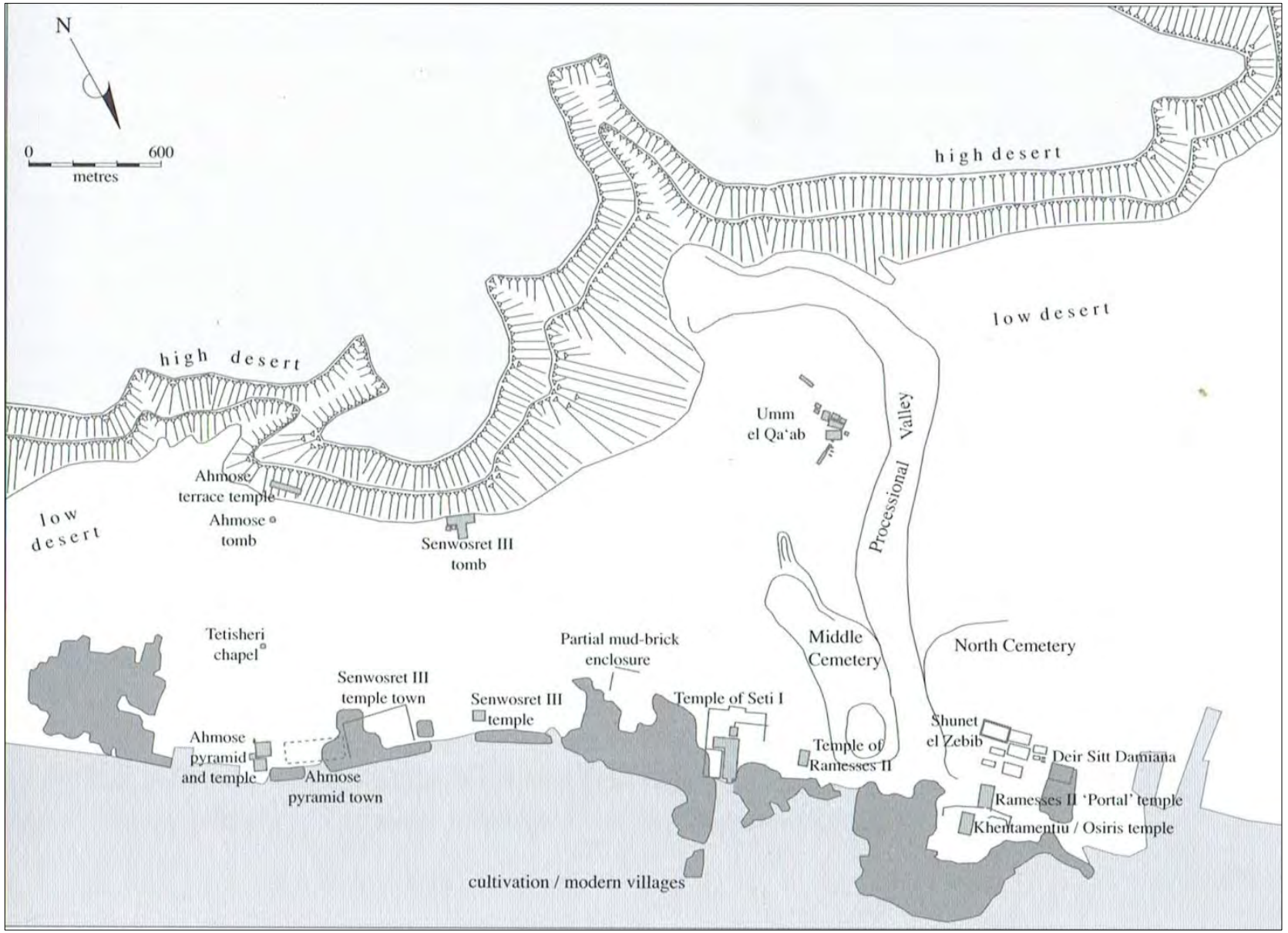


Plate 2. Abydene Landscape.
(O'Connor 2009, 25)

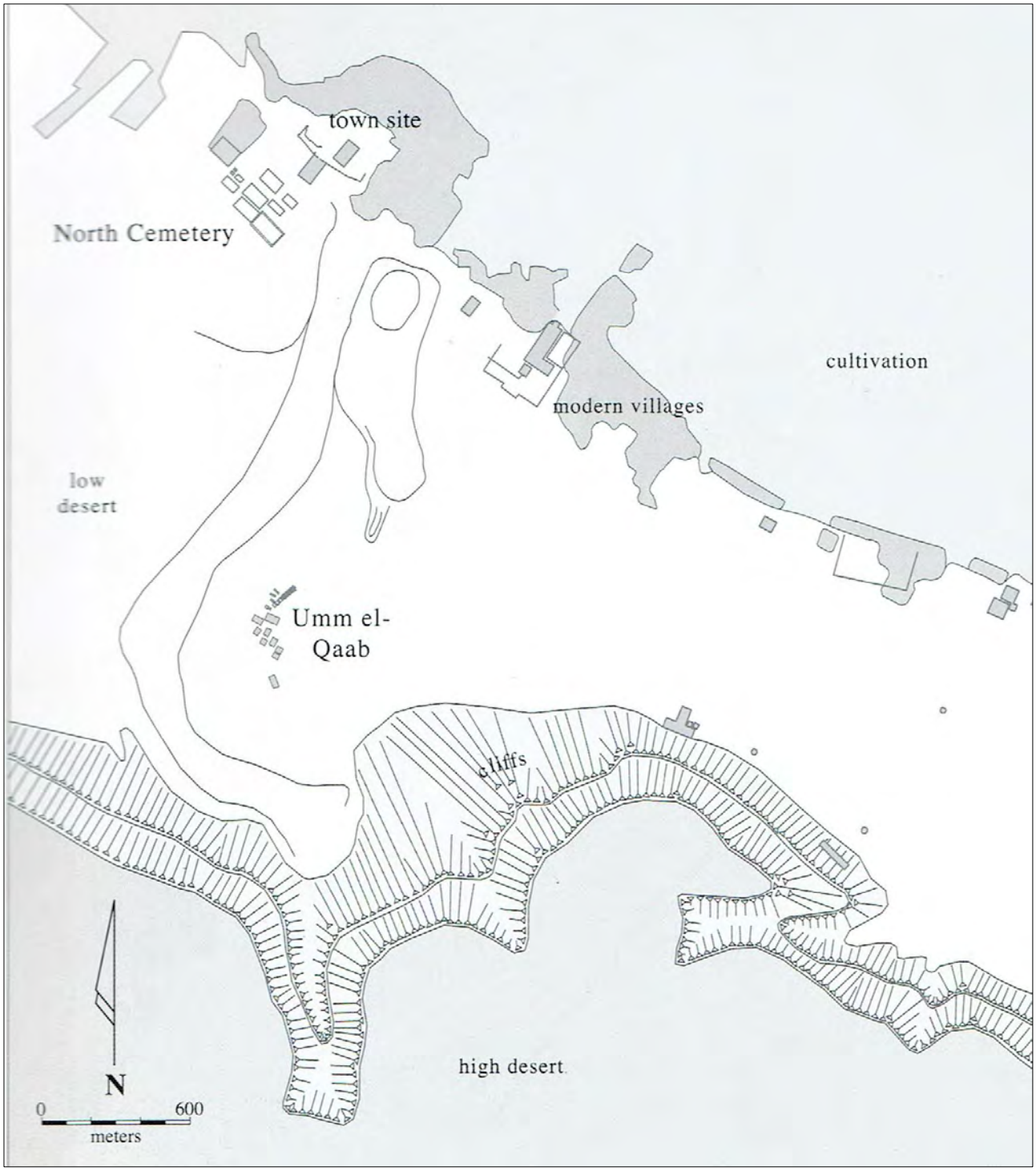


Plate 3. Abydos Map Umm el-Qaab and North Cemetery.
Location of the Early Dynastic Royal Enclosures.
(Bestock 2009, Fig. 2)

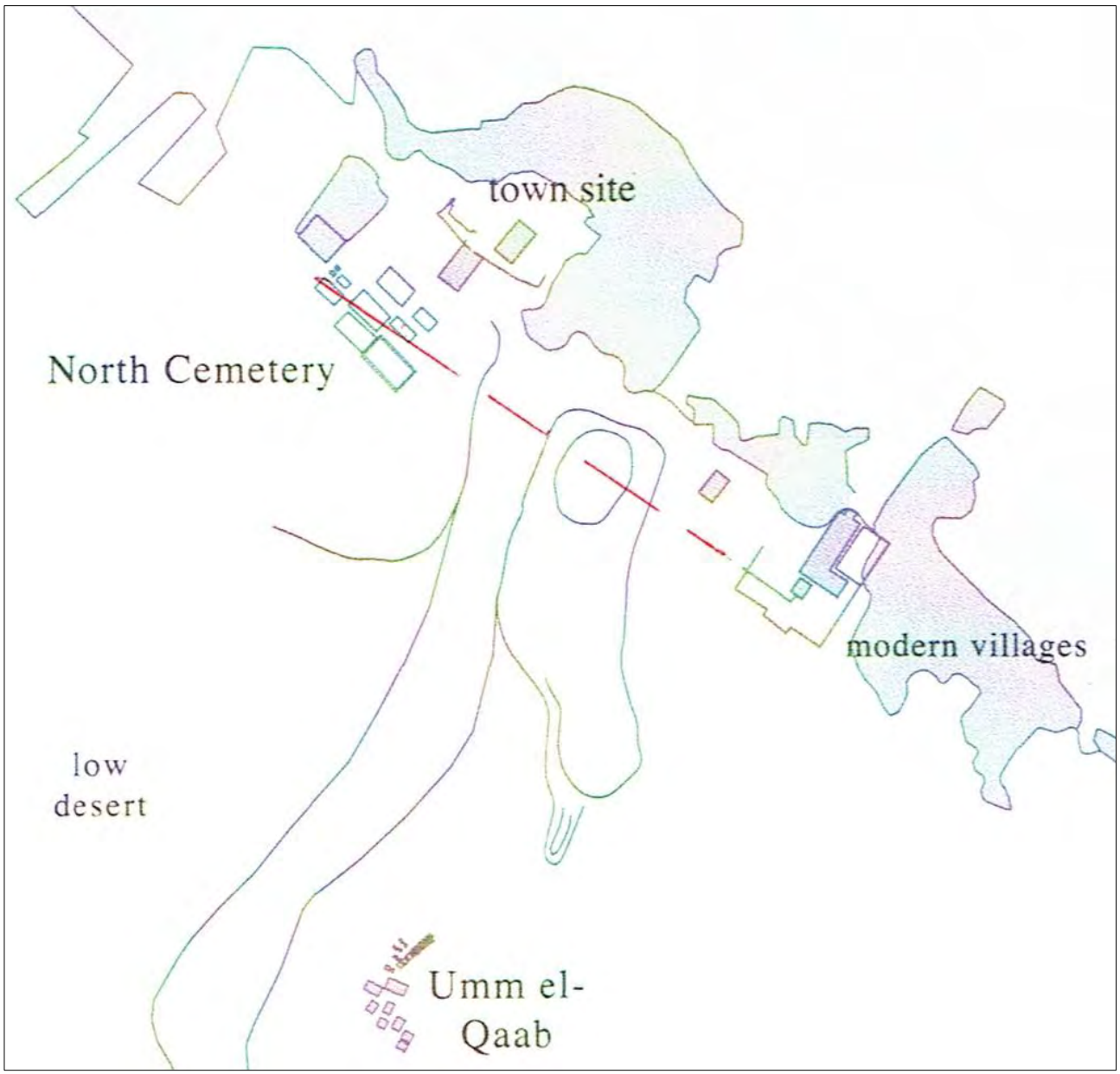


Plate 4. Abydos Map Osireion Axial Alignment to the Royal Enclosures.
(after Bestock 2009, Fig. 2)

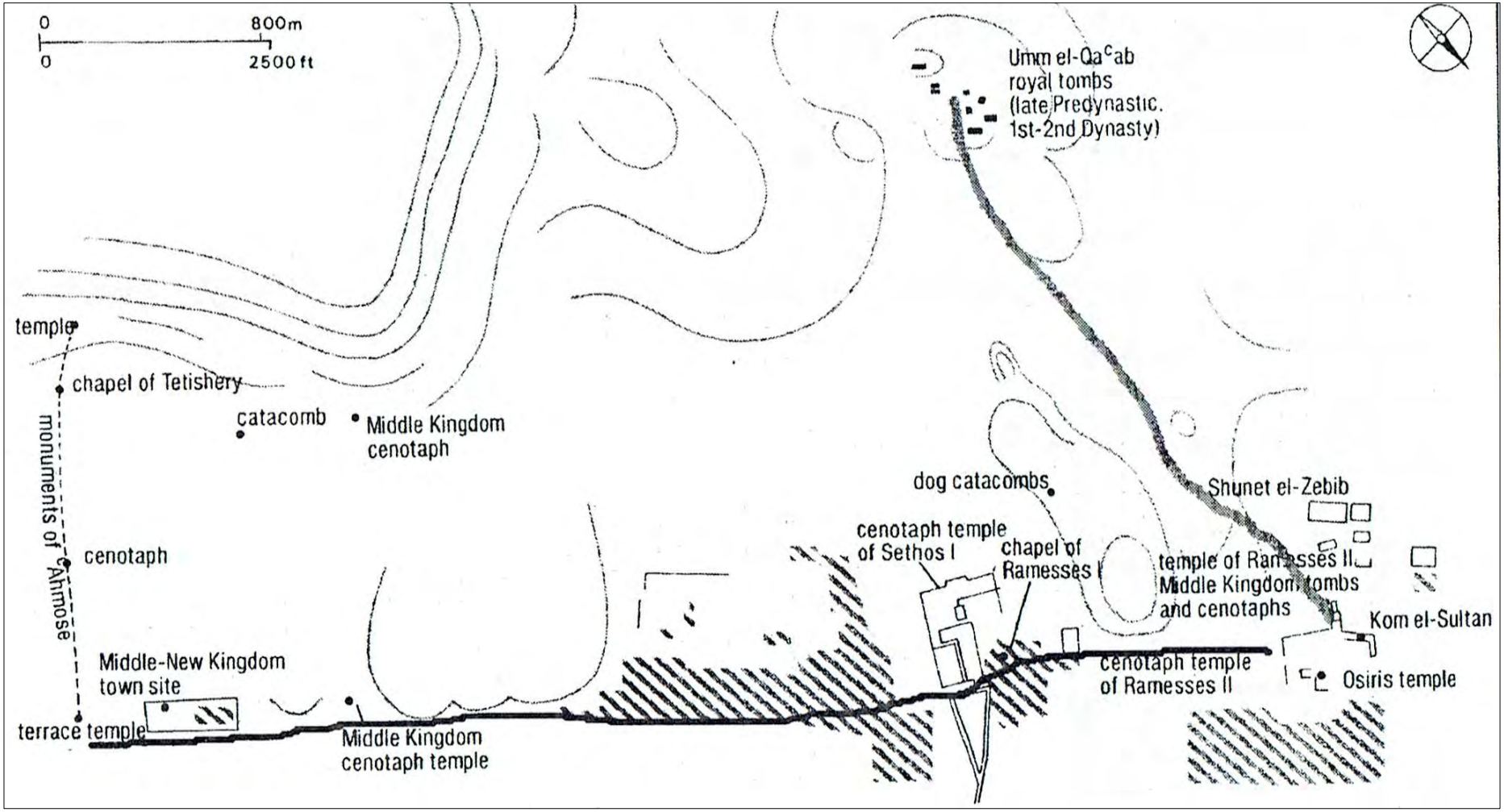


Plate 5. Processional Routes in the Greater Abydene Landscape.
(Eaton 2007, plate 8)

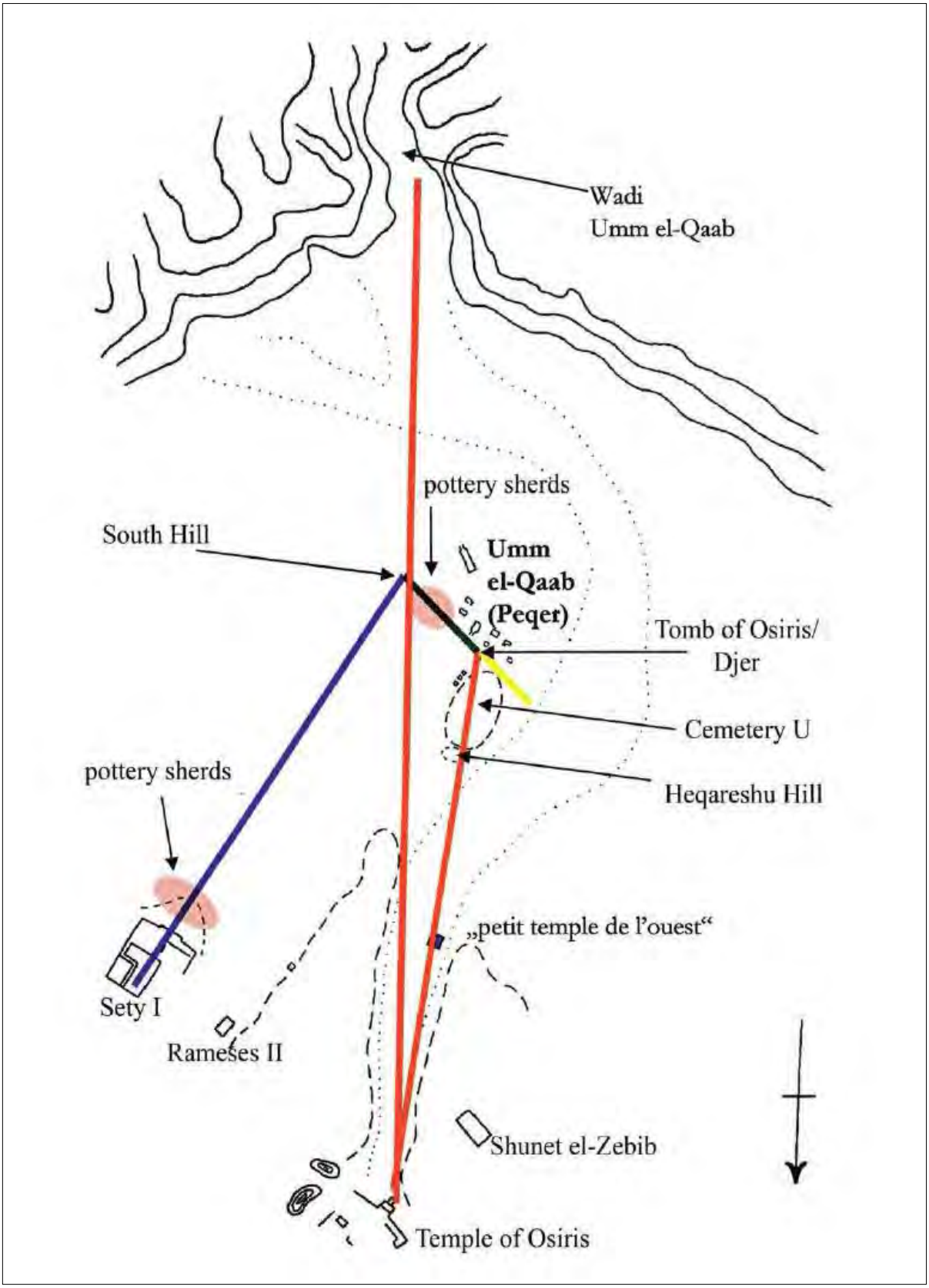
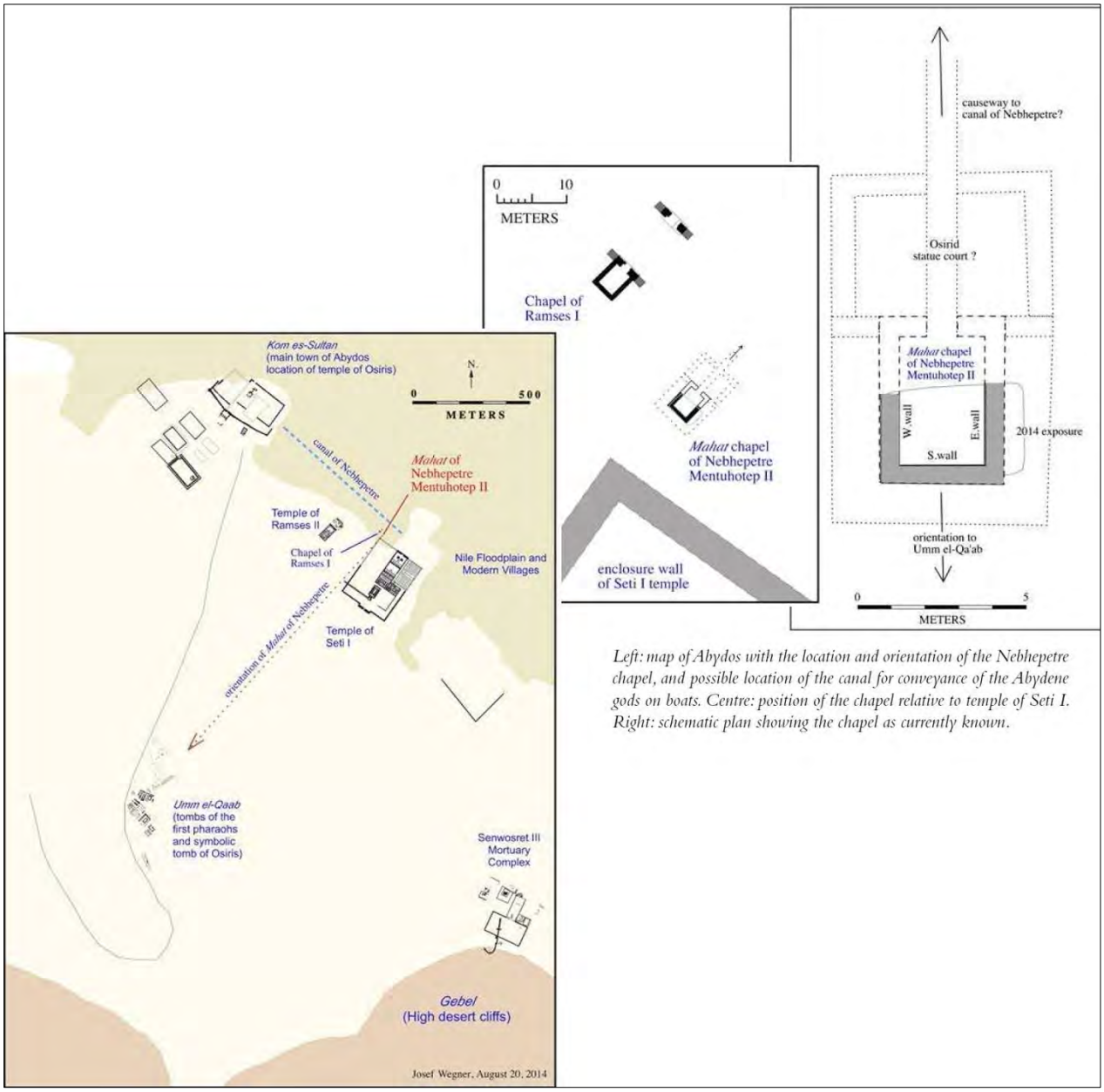


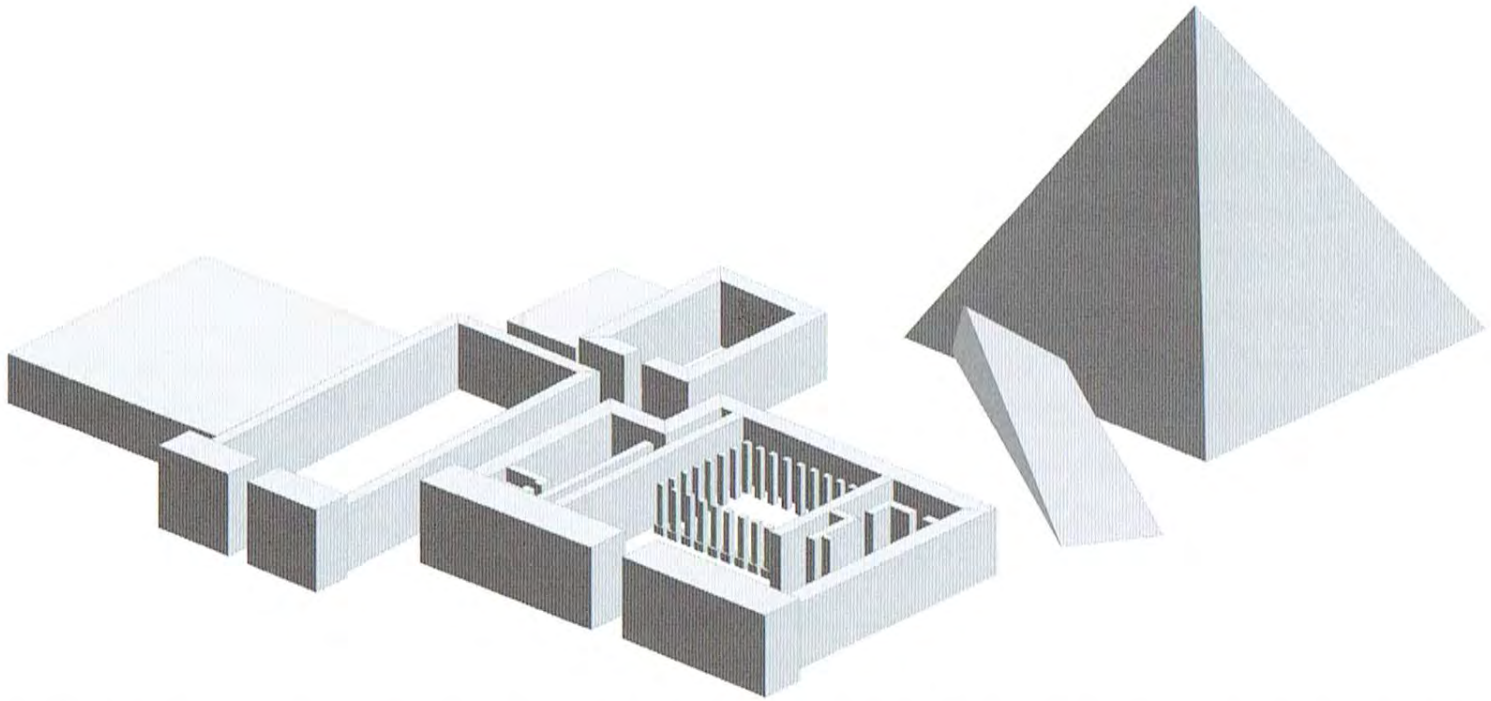
Plate 6-7. Abydos Map of Key Processional Routes and South Hill.

(Effland 2014, Pl. 6 Drawing: U. Effland)



Left: map of Abydos with the location and orientation of the Nebhepetre chapel, and possible location of the canal for conveyance of the Abydene gods on boats. Centre: position of the chapel relative to temple of Seti I. Right: schematic plan showing the chapel as currently known.

Plate 8. Mahat Chapel of Mentuhotep II Dyn. 11.
(Wegner 2015, 3)



56 *A reconstruction of King Ahmose's pyramid, the temple in front of it, and the structure dedicated to his queen Ahmose-Nefertari and additional temples nearby. The remains of a brick ramp leading to the pyramid apparently relate to its construction. This reconstruction is based on the discoveries of the British excavations and those of Stephen Harvey. At the moment, some key features are necessarily conjectural.*

Plate 9. South Abydos Reconstruction of Ahmose's Pyramid Complex.
(O'Connor 2009, 127)

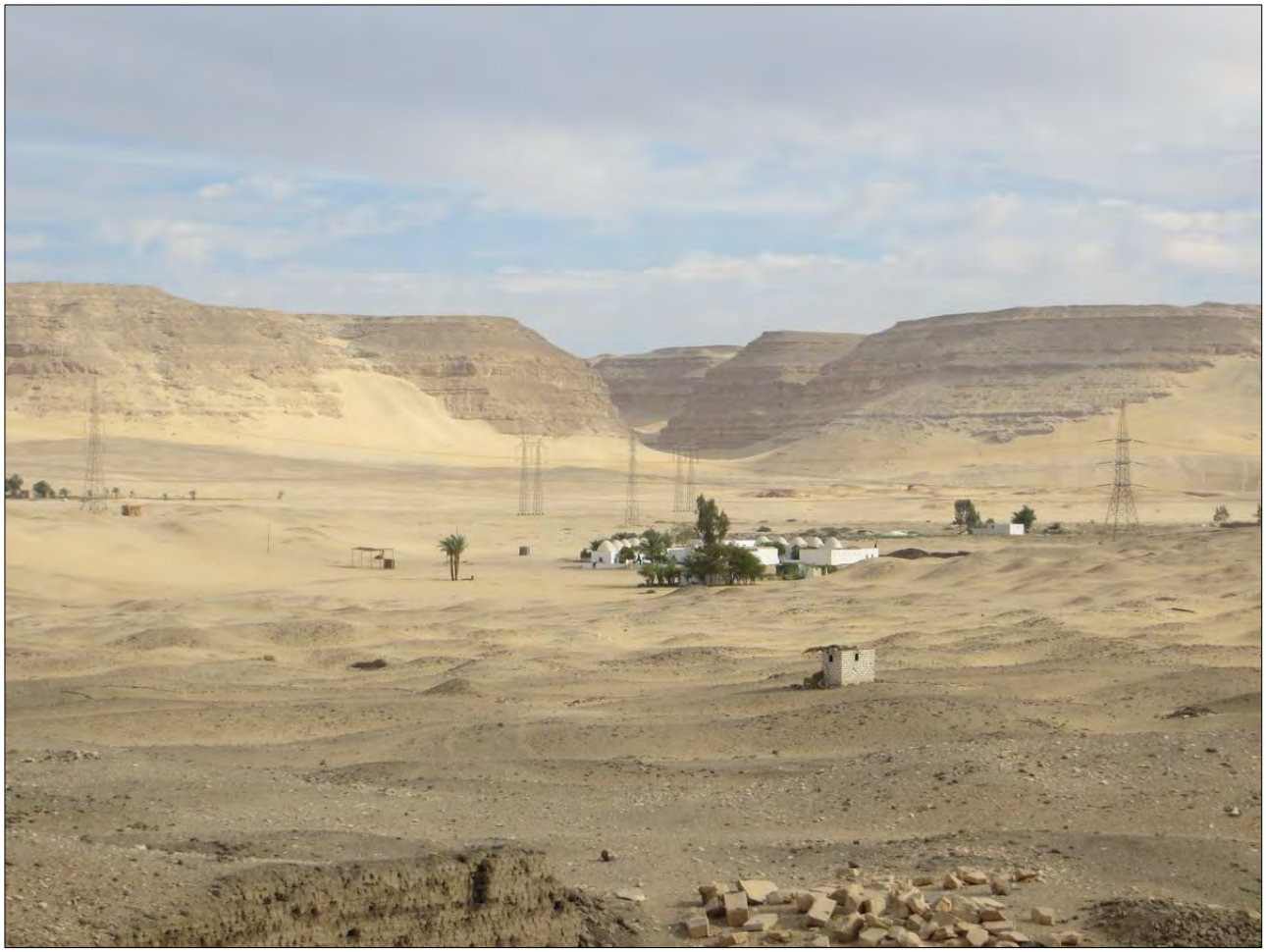


Plate 10. The Great Wadi Entrance to the Underworld photo by Markh.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Umm_el-Qaab.jpg

The subterranean tomb of Senwosret III is located at the base of the *Mountain-of-Anubis*.

Plate 11. Mountain of Anubis
pdmclerran@yahoo.com
http://www.flickr.com/photos/43026161@N07/33946409903/

Plate 12. South Hill covered with fragmented offering pots.
(Effland 2010, Abb. 6)

Plate 13. Tomb Of Djer Osiris Umm el Qaab Dr. Margaret Maitland.
https://mobile.twitter.com/eloquentpeasant/status/619077054756220928

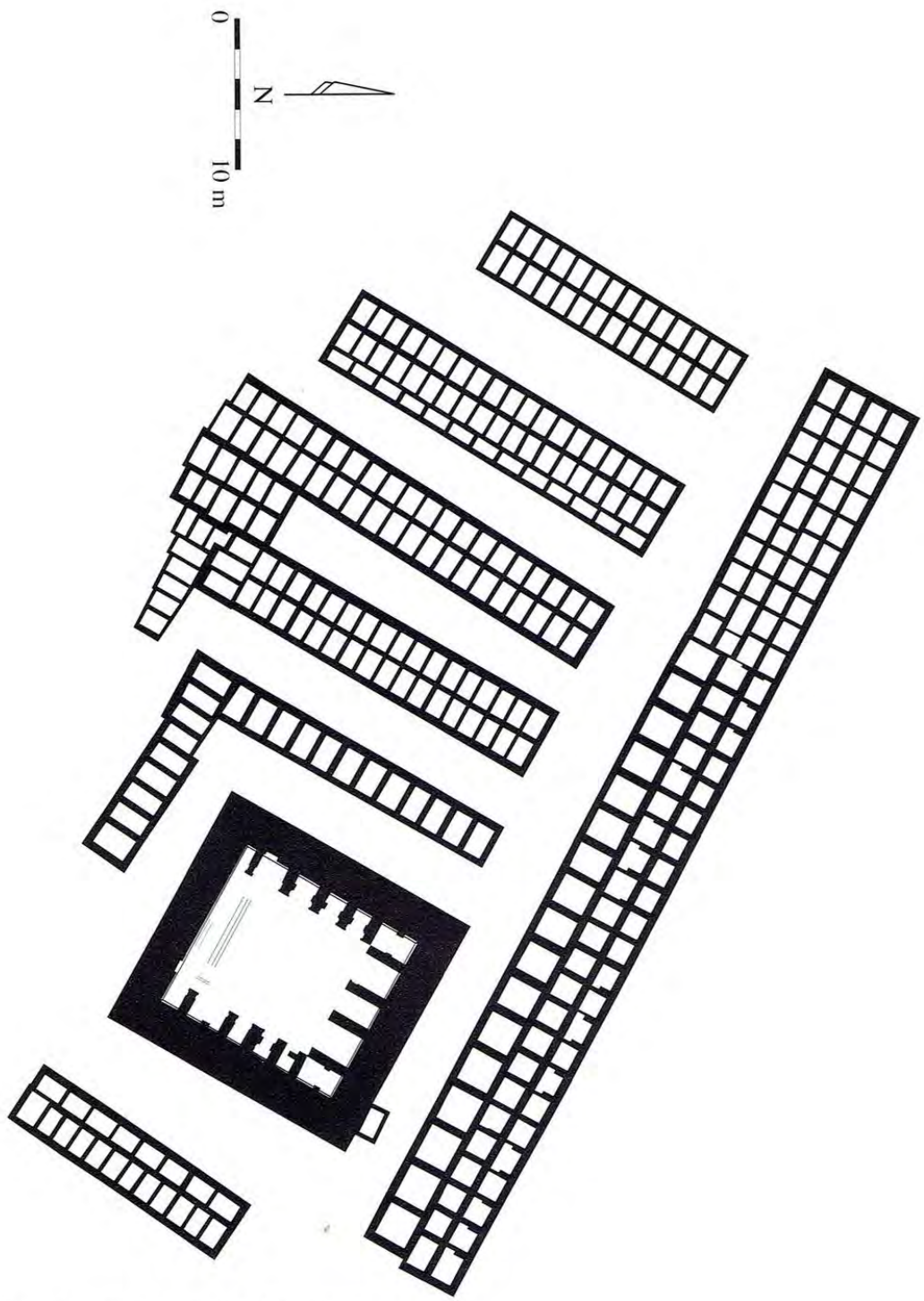
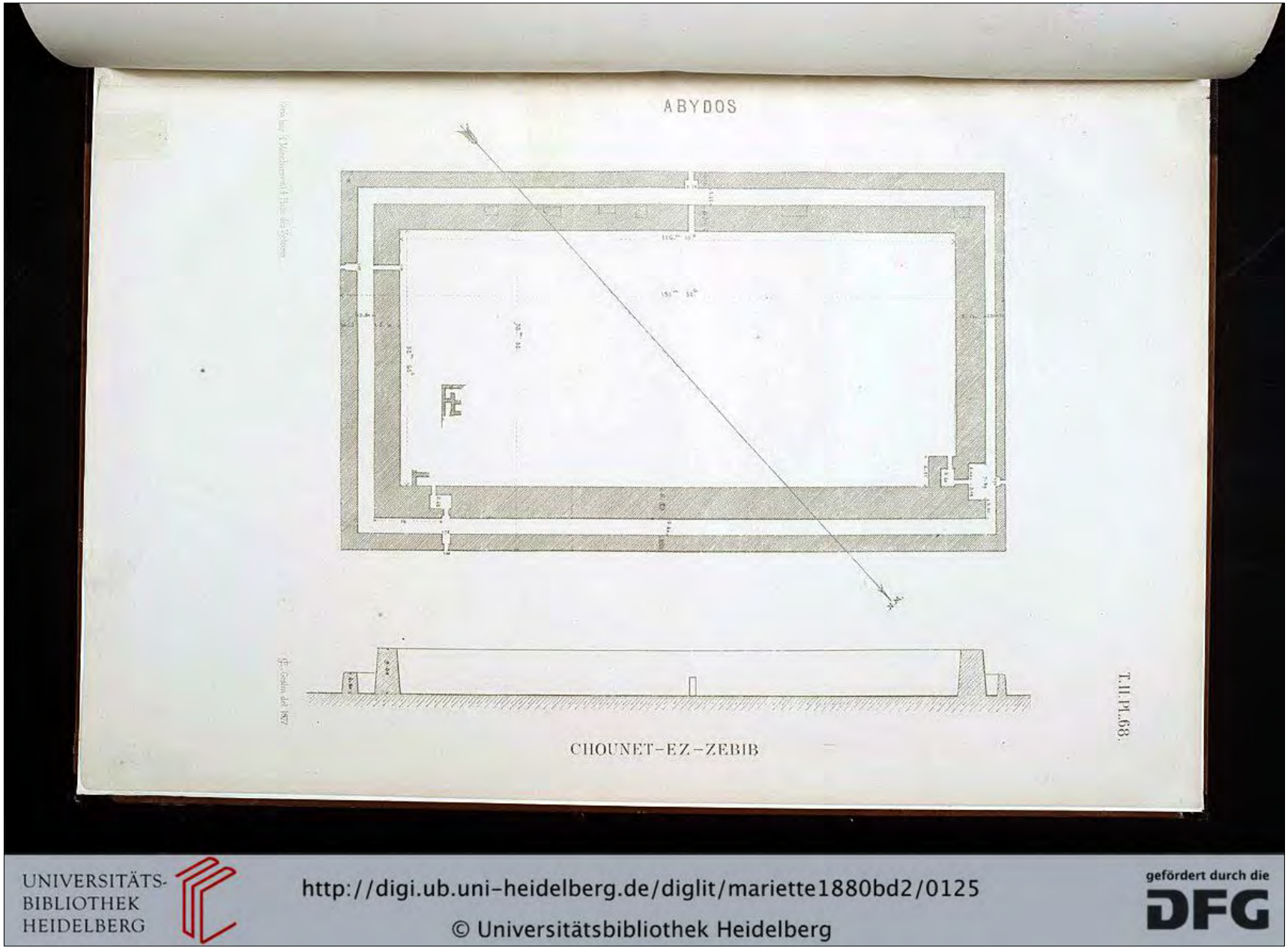


Figure 11: Tomb complex of Djer plan

Plate 14. Tomb of Djer Plan Umm el Qaab.
(Bestock 2009, Fig. 11)

Plate 15. Tomb of Djer Burial Chamber Umm el Qaab.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4721095143/

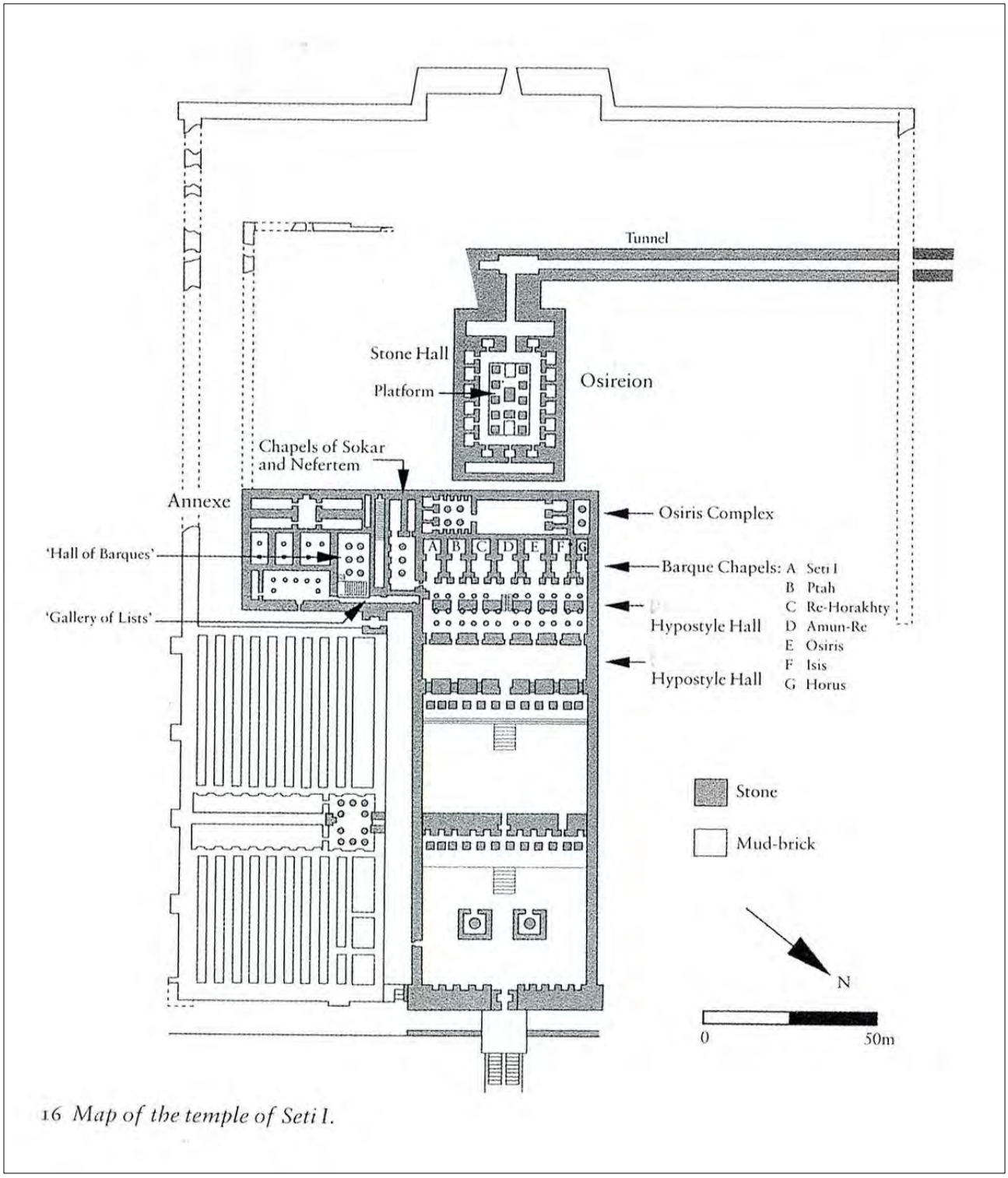
Plate 16. Shunet el Zebib Khasekhemwy's Enclosure by Institute for the Study of the Ancient World.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/34561917@N04/7257222800/



UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK
HEIDELBERG
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880bd2/0125
© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
gefördert durch die
DFG

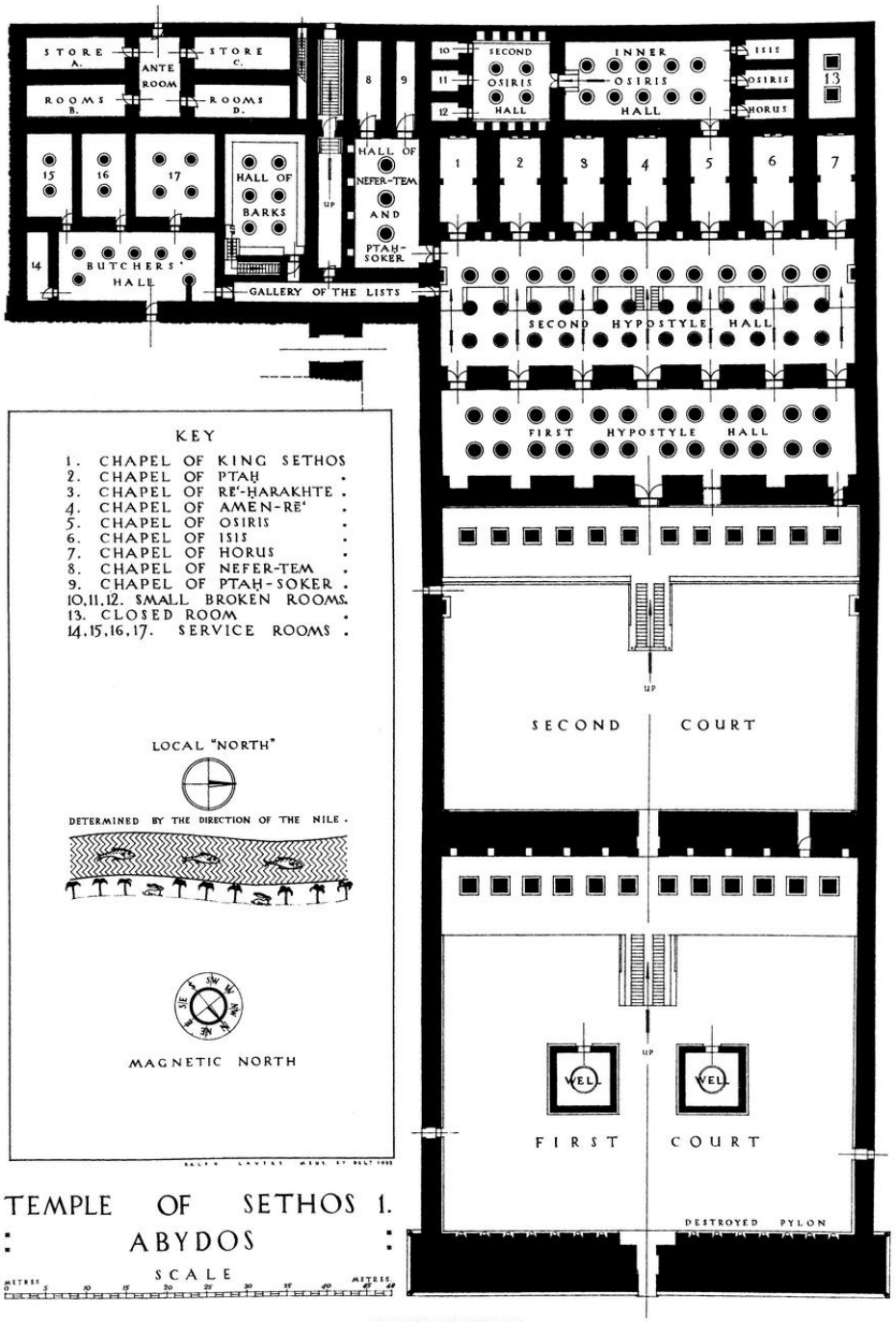
Plate 17. Shunet el Zebib Khasekhemwy's Enclosure Plan.
(Mariette 1880, plate 68)

Plate 18. Seti I Temple Complex Satellite Image.
(Clint Mansell/AlastoAlastor)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rO9opdf73nc



16 *Map of the temple of Seti I.*

Plate 19. Map of the Temple Complex of Seti I.
(O'Connor 2009, 47)



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE

The shaded section indicates the area included in this volume

Plate 20. Main Temple Plan of King Sethos I at Abydos.
(Calverley & Gardiner 1933, pl. Ia)
https://oi.uchicago.edu

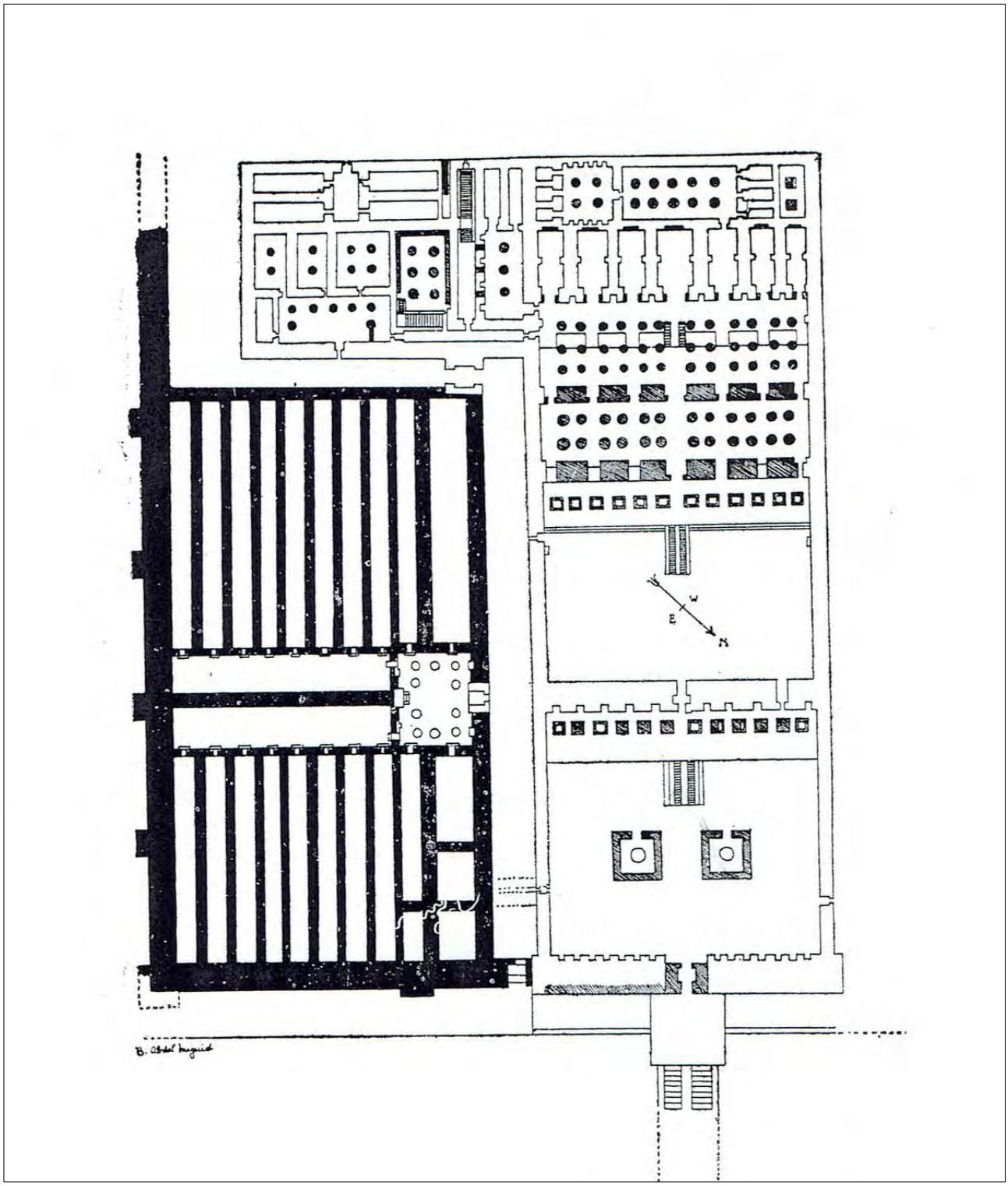


Plate 21. Plan of the Reception Hall and Magazine Complex.
(Ghazouli 1964)

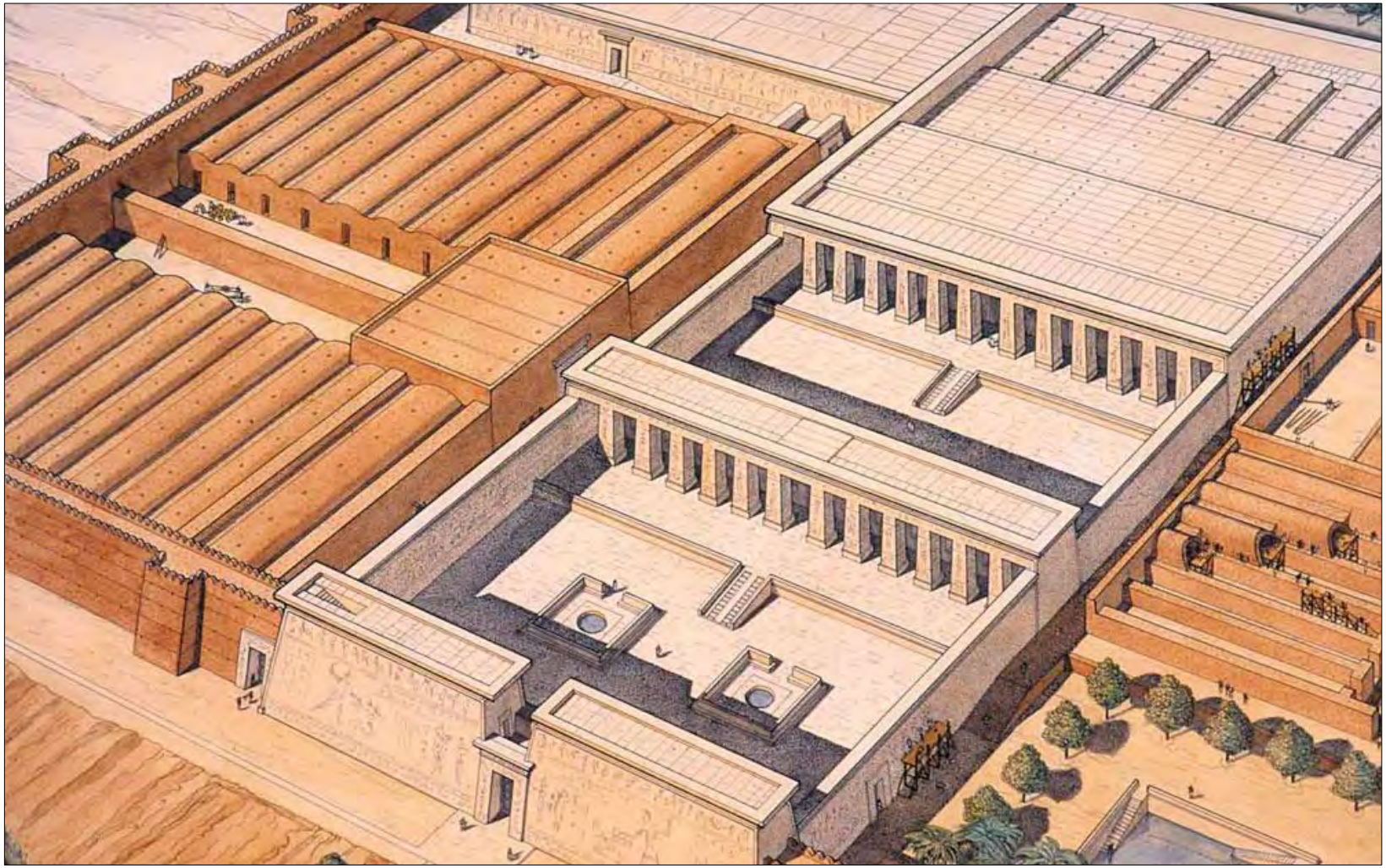


Plate 22. Reconstruction eastern Area Temple of Seti I.
(Drawing by Jean-Claude Golvin)
https://jeanclaudegolvin.com/abydos/

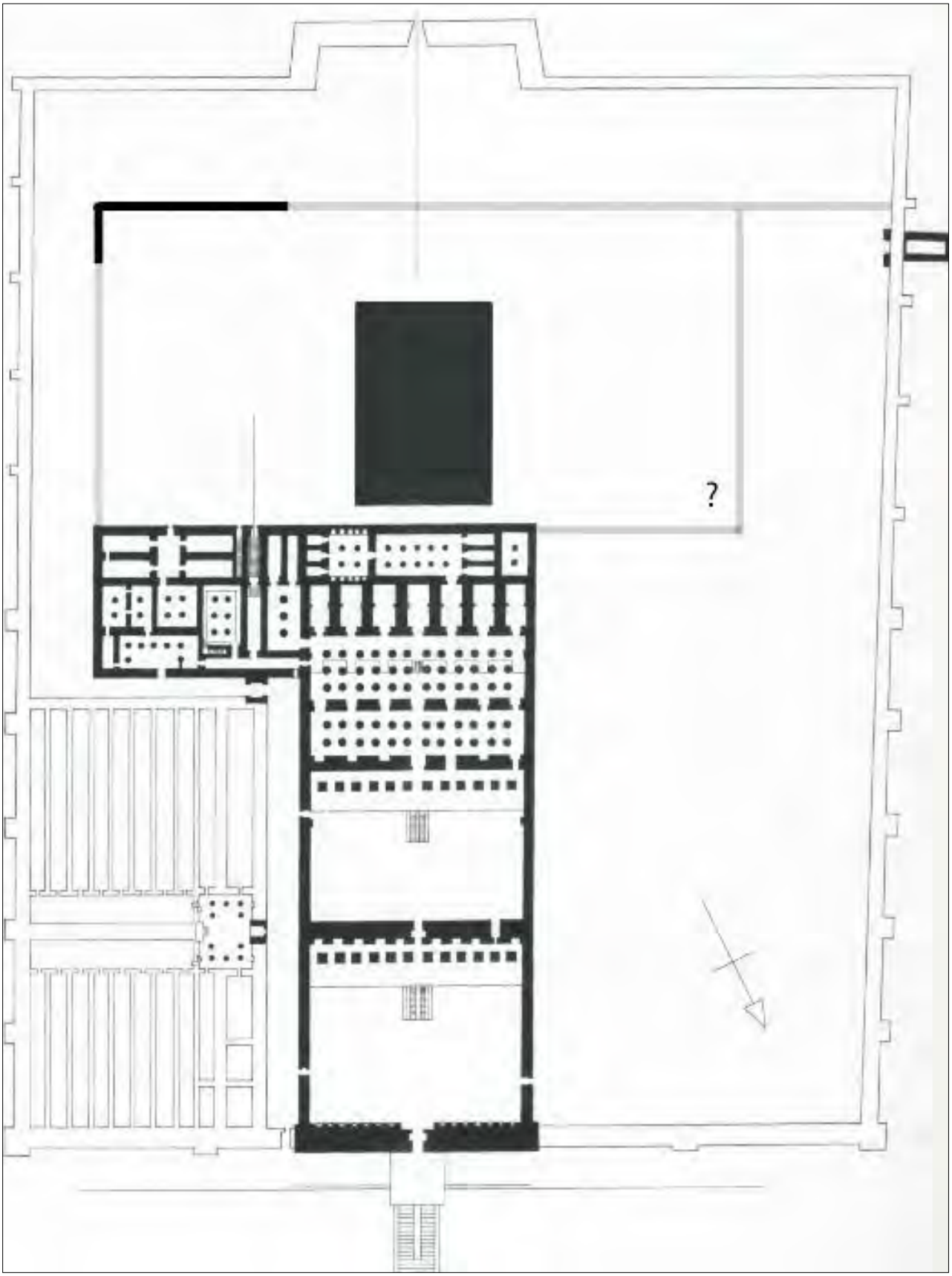


Plate 23. Temple Plan Skewed Notional West Temenous Wall with Sacred Precinct added modified from Cl.Traunecker.
https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Abydos-Plan-dutemple-commemoratif-de-Sethi-I-er-avec-les-parties-souterraines-de_fig3_331950934

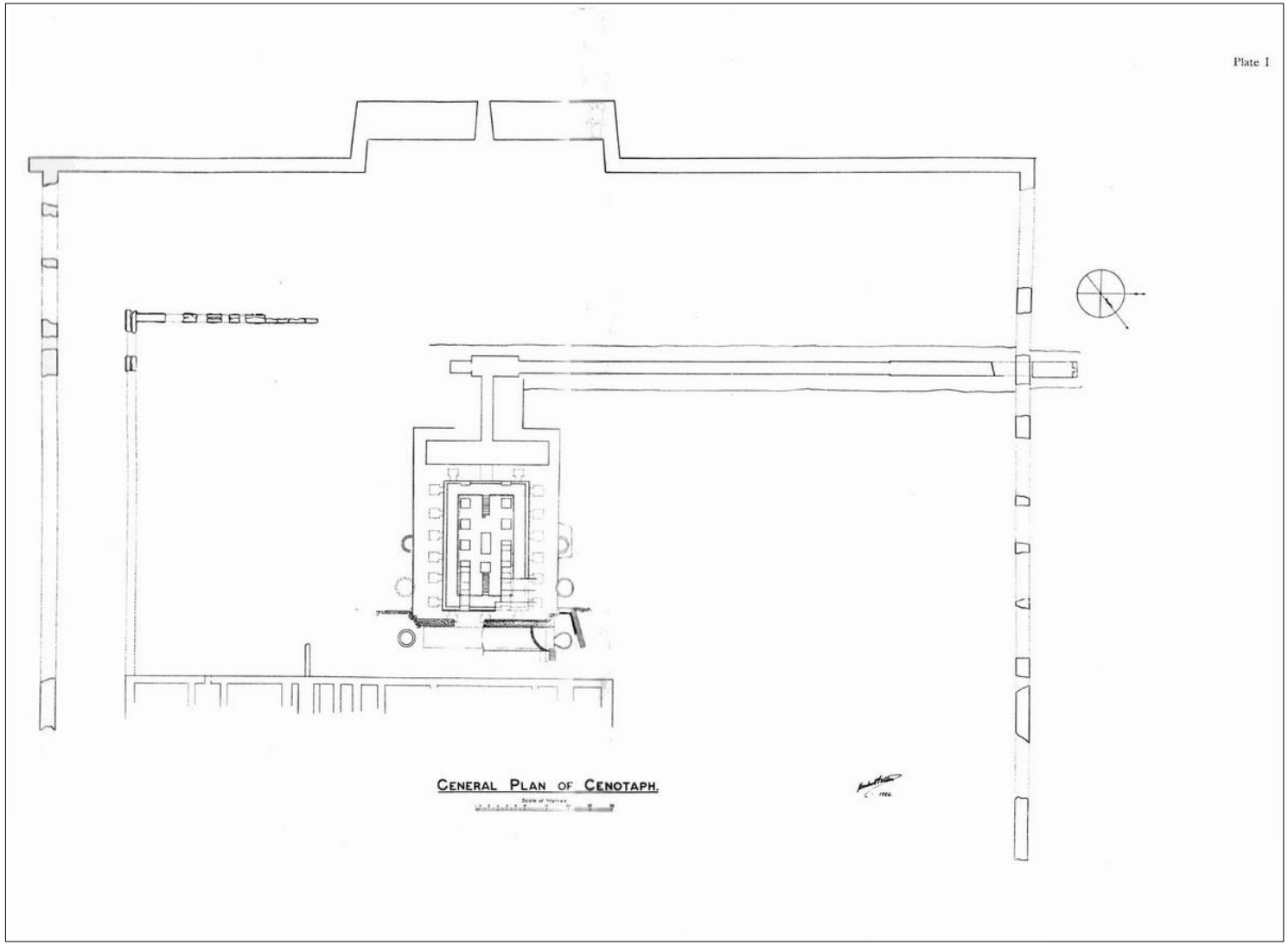


Plate 24. Schematic Ia Plan of the Osireion
(Frankfort 1933, plate 1)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

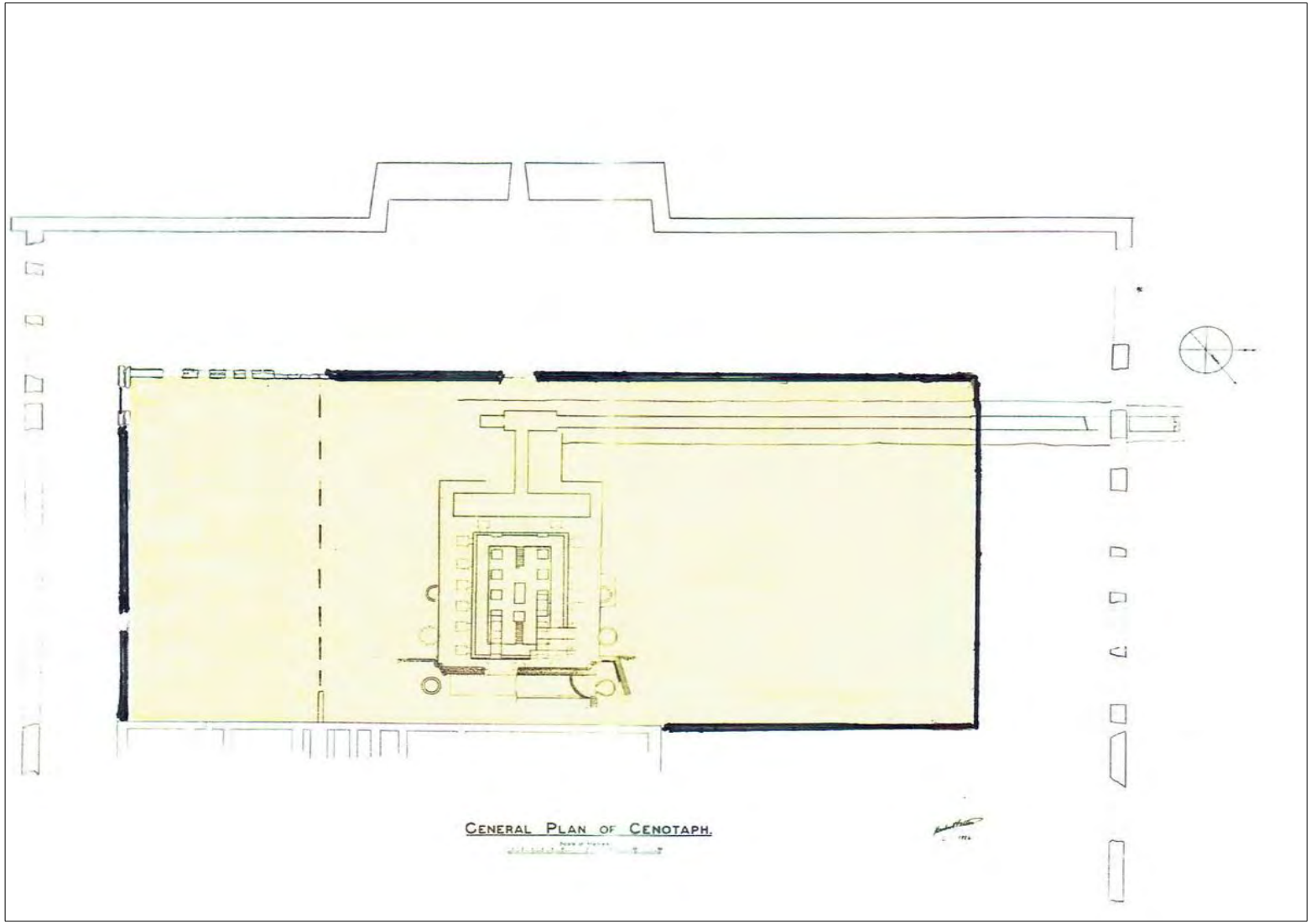


Plate 25. Schematic Ib Sacred Precinct Proposed Reconstruction
(after Frankfort 1933, plate 1)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

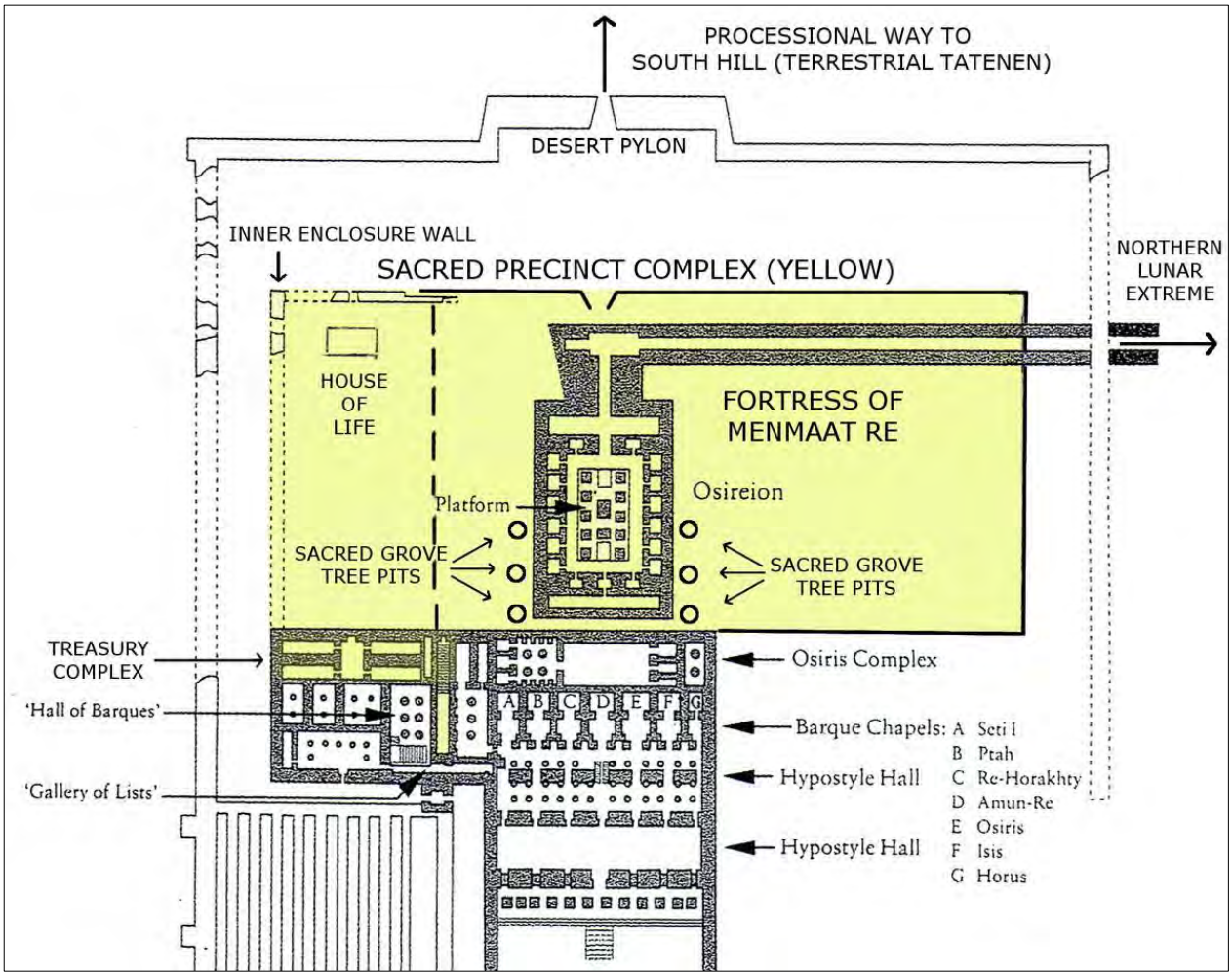


Plate 26. Schematic Ic Sacred Precinct Complex.
(after O'Connor 2009, 47)

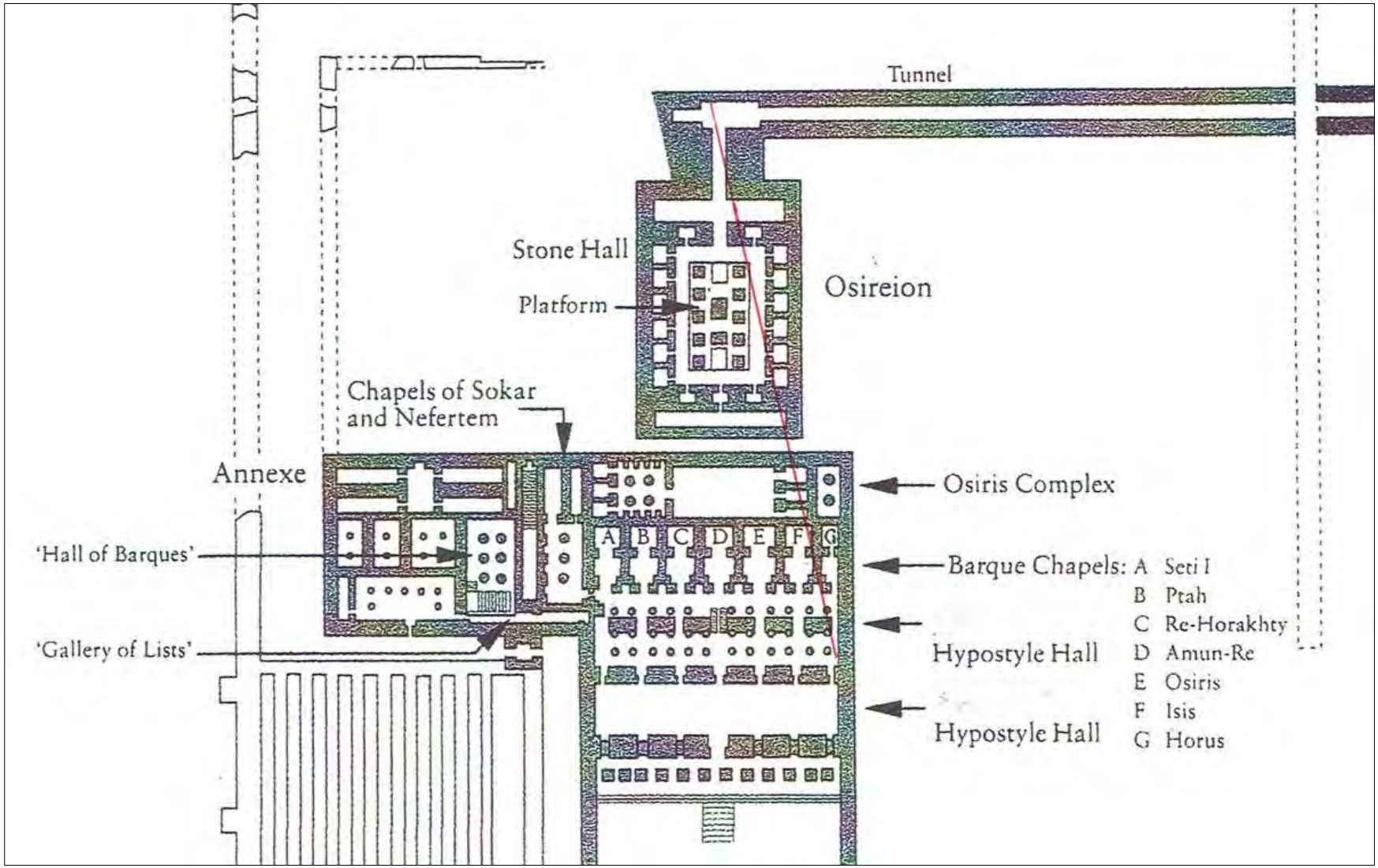


Plate 27. Schematic Id New Moon Ritual Alignment of Connected Scenes in Antechamber, Second Transverse Hall and Hypostyle Hall.
(after O'Connor 2009, 47)

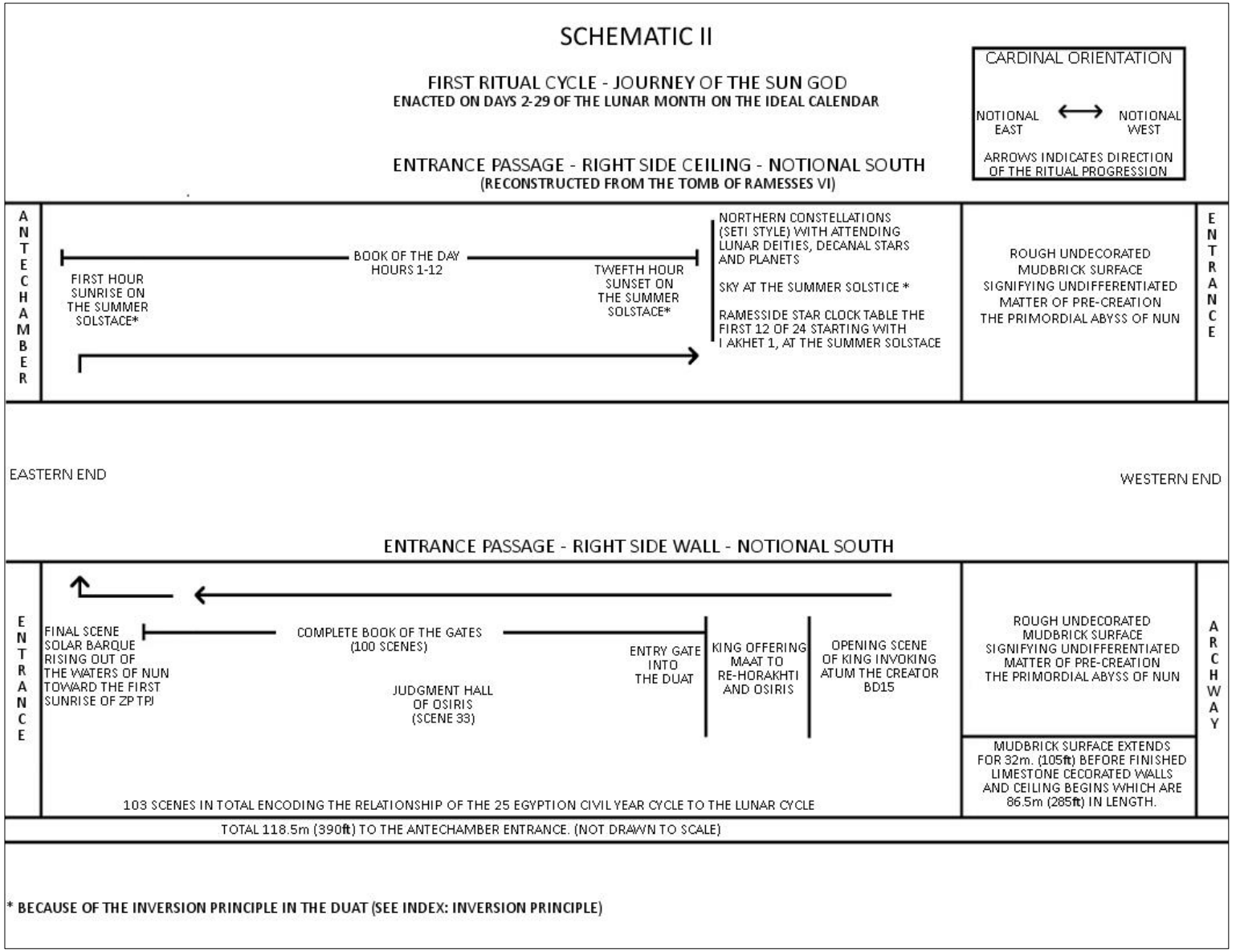

SCHEMATIC II
FIRST RITUAL CYCLE - JOURNEY OF THE SUN GOD
ENACTED ON DAYS 2-29 OF THE LUNAR MONTH ON THE IDEAL CALENDAR
CARDINAL ORIENTATION
NOTIONAL EAST
NOTIONAL WEST
ARROWS INDICATES DIRECTION OF THE RITUAL PROGRESSION
ENTRANCE PASSAGE - RIGHT SIDE CEILING - NOTIONAL SOUTH
(RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI)
ANTECHAMBER
BOOK OF THE DAY
HOURS 1-12
FIRST HOUR SUNRISE ON THE SUMMER SOLSTACE*
TWEFTH HOUR SUNSET ON THE SUMMER SOLSTACE*
NORTHERN CONSTELLATIONS (SETI STYLE) WITH ATTENDING LUNAR DEITIES, DECANAL STARS AND PLANETS
SKY AT THE SUMMER SOLSTICE *
RAMESSIDE STAR CLOCK TABLE THE FIRST 12 OF 24 STARTING WITH I AKHET 1, AT THE SUMMER SOLSTACE
ROUGH UNDECORATED MUDBRICK SURFACE SIGNIFYING UNDIFFERENTIATED MATTER OF PRE-CREATION THE PRIMORDIAL ABYSS OF NUN
ENTRANCE
EASTERN END
WESTERN END
ENTRANCE PASSAGE - RIGHT SIDE WALL - NOTIONAL SOUTH
ENTRANCE
FINAL SCENE SOLAR BARQUE RISING OUT OF THE WATERS OF NUN TOWARD THE FIRST SUNRISE OF ZP TPJ
COMPLETE BOOK OF THE GATES (100 SCENES)
JUDGMENT HALL OF OSIRIS (SCENE 33)
ENTRY GATE INTO THE DUAT
KING OFFERING MAAT TO RE-HORAKHTI AND OSIRIS
OPENING SCENE OF KING INVOKING ATUM THE CREATOR BD15
ROUGH UNDECORATED MUDBRICK SURFACE SIGNIFYING UNDIFFERENTIATED MATTER OF PRE-CREATION THE PRIMORDIAL ABYSS OF NUN
MUDBRICK SURFACE EXTENDS FOR 32m. (105ft) BEFORE FINISHED LIMESTONE CECORATED WALLS AND CEILING BEGINS WHICH ARE 86.5m (285ft) IN LENGTH.
ARCHWAY
103 SCENES IN TOTAL ENCODING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE 25 EGYPTION CIVIL YEAR CYCLE TO THE LUNAR CYCLE
TOTAL 118.5m (390ft) TO THE ANTECHAMBER ENTRANCE. (NOT DRAWN TO SCALE)
* BECAUSE OF THE INVERSION PRINCIPLE IN THE DUAT (SEE INDEX: INVERSION PRINCIPLE)

Plate 28. Schematic II First Ritual Cycle.
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

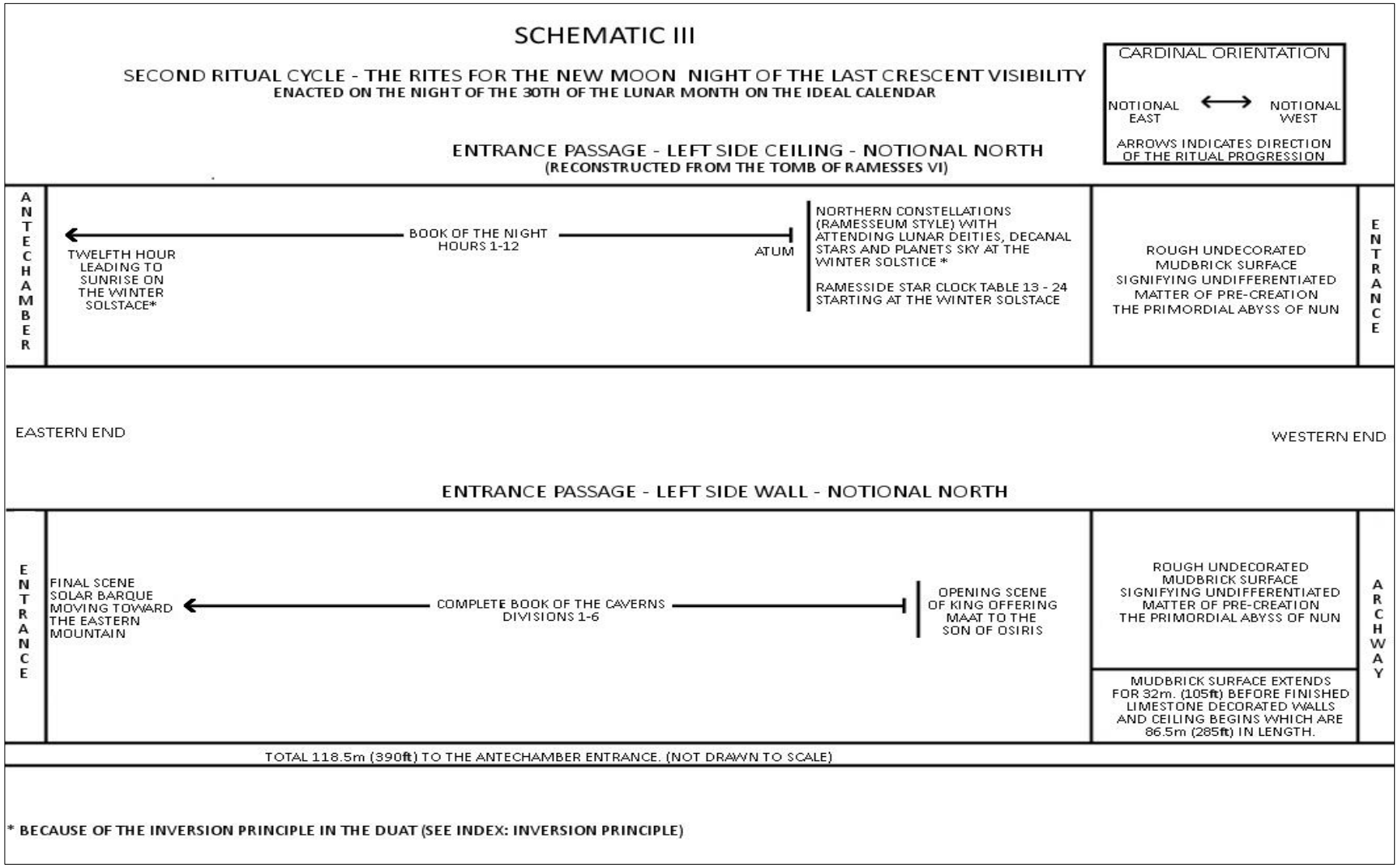

SCHEMATIC III
SECOND RITUAL CYCLE - THE RITES FOR THE NEW MOON NIGHT OF THE LAST CRESCENT VISIBILITY
ENACTED ON THE NIGHT OF THE 30TH OF THE LUNAR MONTH ON THE IDEAL CALENDAR
CARDINAL ORIENTATION
NOTIONAL EAST
NOTIONAL WEST
ARROWS INDICATES DIRECTION OF THE RITUAL PROGRESSION
ENTRANCE PASSAGE - LEFT SIDE CEILING - NOTIONAL NORTH
(RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI)
ANTECHAMBER
TWELFTH HOUR LEADING TO SUNRISE ON THE WINTER SOLSTACE*
BOOK OF THE NIGHT HOURS 1-12
ATUM
NORTHERN CONSTELLATIONS (RAMESSEUM STYLE) WITH ATTENDING LUNAR DEITIES, DECANAL STARS AND PLANETS SKY AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE *
RAMESSIDE STAR CLOCK TABLE 13 - 24 STARTING AT THE WINTER SOLSTACE
ROUGH UNDECORATED MUDBRICK SURFACE SIGNIFYING UNDIFFERENTIATED MATTER OF PRE-CREATION THE PRIMORDIAL ABYSS OF NUN
ENTRANCE
EASTERN END
WESTERN END
ENTRANCE PASSAGE - LEFT SIDE WALL - NOTIONAL NORTH
ENTRANCE
FINAL SCENE SOLAR BARQUE MOVING TOWARD THE EASTERN MOUNTAIN
COMPLETE BOOK OF THE CAVERNS DIVISIONS 1-6
OPENING SCENE OF KING OFFERING MAAT TO THE SON OF OSIRIS
ROUGH UNDECORATED MUDBRICK SURFACE SIGNIFYING UNDIFFERENTIATED MATTER OF PRE-CREATION THE PRIMORDIAL ABYSS OF NUN
MUDBRICK SURFACE EXTENDS FOR 32m. (105ft) BEFORE FINISHED LIMESTONE DECORATED WALLS AND CEILING BEGINS WHICH ARE 86.5m (285ft) IN LENGTH.
ARCHWAY
TOTAL 118.5m (390ft) TO THE ANTECHAMBER ENTRANCE. (NOT DRAWN TO SCALE)
* BECAUSE OF THE INVERSION PRINCIPLE IN THE DUAT (SEE INDEX: INVERSION PRINCIPLE)

Plate 29. Schematic III Second Ritual Cycle First Night.
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

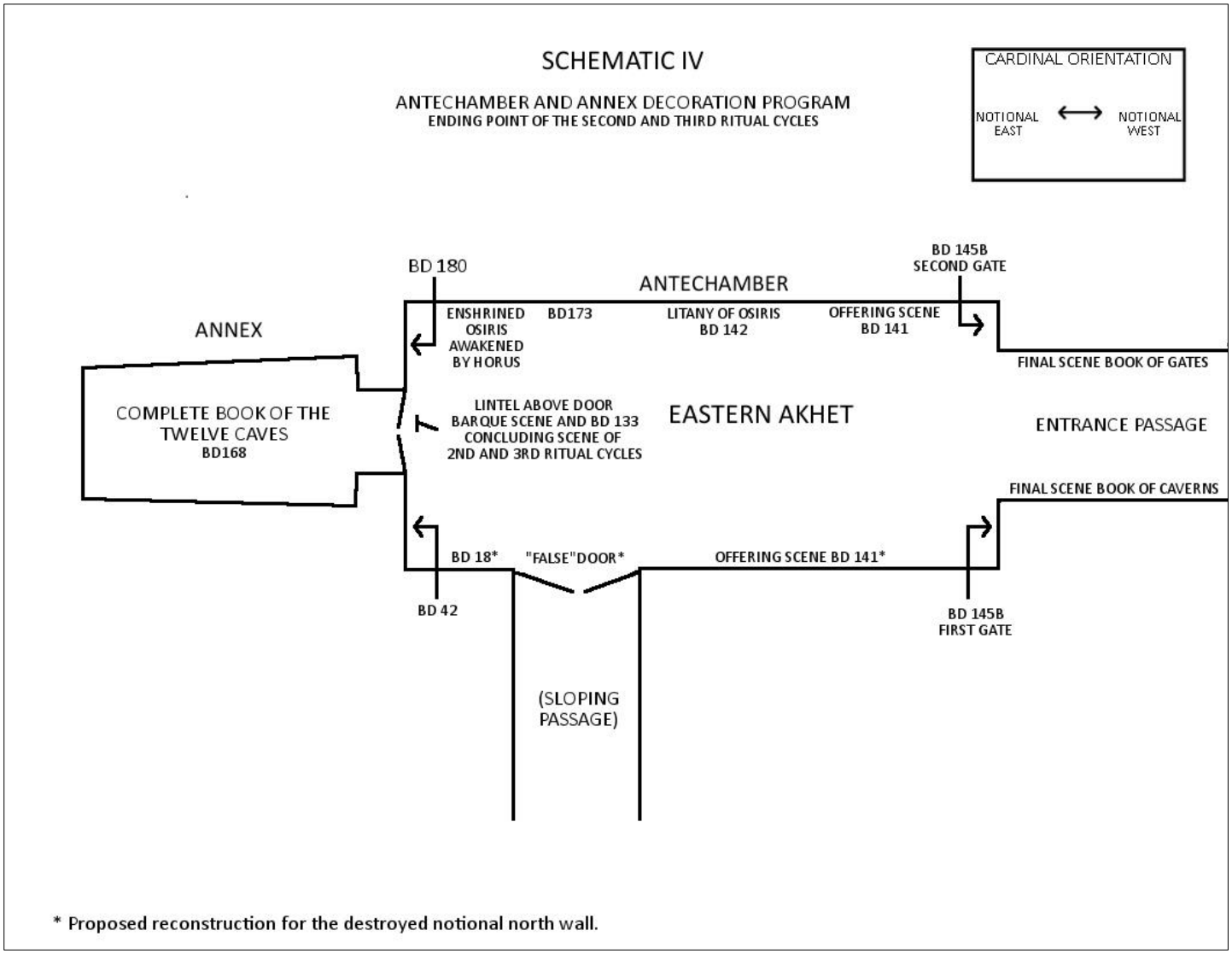


Plate 30. Schematic IV Antechamber and Annex Decoration Program Ending Point of the Second and Third Ritual Cycles.
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

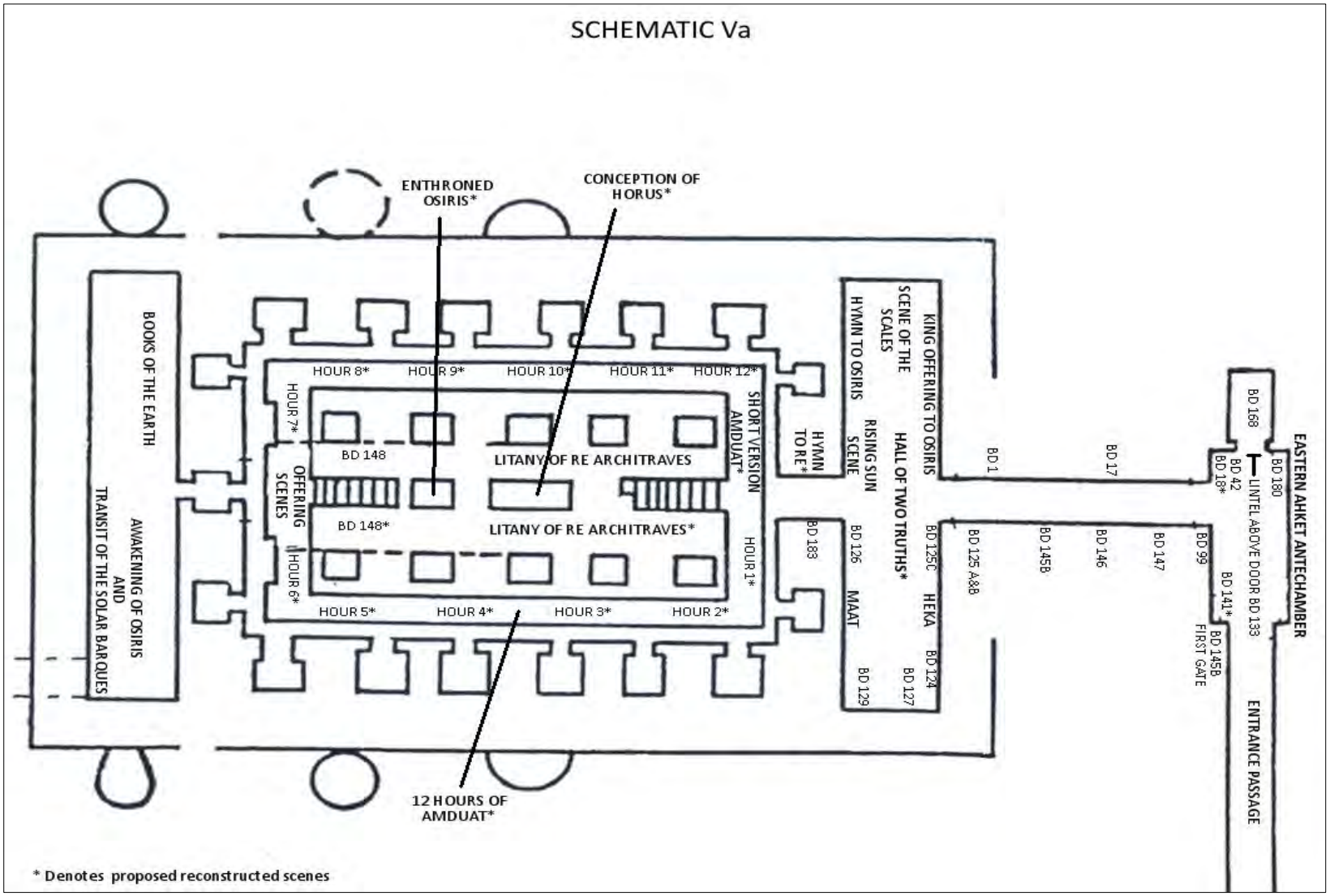


Plate 31. Schematic Va Third Ritual Cycle Night of I Prt 1.
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

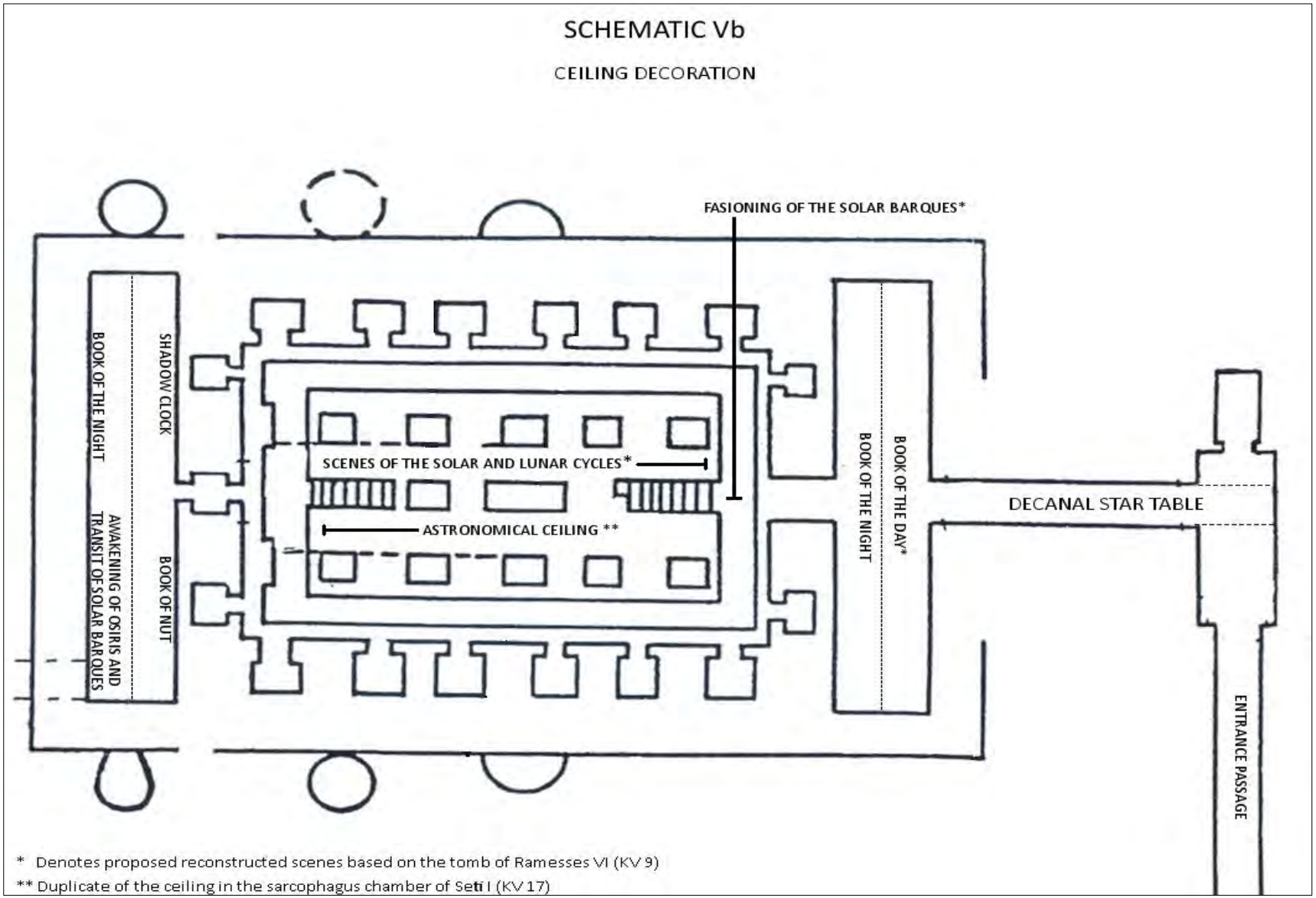

SCHEMATIC Vb
CEILING DECORATION
FASIONING OF THE SOLAR BARQUES*
SHADOW CLOCK
BOOK OF THE NIGHT
AWAKENING OF OSIRIS AND TRANSIT OF SOLAR BARQUES
BOOK OF NUT
SCENES OF THE SOLAR AND LUNAR CYCLES*
ASTRONOMICAL CEILING **
BOOK OF THE NIGHT
BOOK OF THE DAY*
DECANAL STAR TABLE
ENTRANCE PASSAGE
* Denotes proposed reconstructed scenes based on the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9)
** Duplicate of the ceiling in the sarcophagus chamber of Seti I (KV 17)

Plate 32. Schematic Vb Third Ritual Cycle Ceiling Decoration.
(Ezekiel West, Illustrator)

THE CYCLE OF 76:
THE ANNUAL RENEWAL OF KINGSHIP

THEBAN CYCLE: DAYS 1 – 38

DAY 1 (II Akhet 15) : Opening in Luxor – The Start of the Opet Festival

DAY 19 (III Akhet 3) : Completion of the First Sequence of 19 Days - Feast of Udjat, the Restored Eye of Horus

DAY 38 (III Akhet 22) : Conclusion at Luxor - The Presentation of Maat

ABYDENE CYCLE: DAYS 39 – 76

DAY 39 (III Akhet 23) : Arrival in Abydos - First Day of the Osirian Cycle

DAY 40 (III Akhet 24) : Horus Is Given the Kingship of Egypt - Celebration of the Triumph of Horus

DAY 58 (IIIII Akhet 12) : First Day of the Final Sequence of 19 Days - Shentayt Fashions the Body of the Figurine of Osiris

DAY 76 (IIII Akhet 30) : Conclusion of the Cycle of 76 - The Burial of the Body of Osiris and the Raising of the Djet-Pillar

DAY 1 (I Prt 1) : SECOND NEW YEAR'S DAY Coronation of the King and the Feast of Nehebkau

Plate 33. Table I. The Cycle of 76: The Annual Renewal of Kingship (author)

COMPARISON OF THE TOMB OF RAMESSES VI TO THE OSIREION

DESCRIPTION	TOMB OF RAMESSES VI	OSIREION
Offering Scene to Re-Horakhti and Osiris	Corridor A Opening Scenes	Entrance Passage Opening Scenes
Book of Gates	Corridors A, B, C, D, Hall E (left)	Entrance Passage (right)
Book of Caverns	Corridors A, B, C, D, Hall E (right)	Entrance Passage (left)
Book of the Heavenly Cow	Corridor C niche (left)	2nd Transverse Hall (?)
Ramesside Star Clocks/ Star Tables	Corridors A, B and Hall E	Entrance Passage (?) and Sloping Passage
Astronomical Scenes (?)	Corridors A, B and Hall E	Entrance Passage and Central Hall
Book of the Night	Corridors C, D and Hall E/ Sarcophagus Chamber	1st and 2nd Transverse Halls Entrance Passage (?)
Book of the Day	Corridors C, D and Hall E/ Sarcophagus Chamber	1st Transverse Hall (?) Entrance Passage
Double Enshrined Osiris	Hall E (rear wall)	Antechamber and Door to Sloping Passage
Amduat	Corridors F and G	Central Hall (?)
Solar Barques – Diagrams	Corridor F	At Entrance to Central Hall (?)
Litany of Re	Corridor G (related composition)	Central Hall Architraves
Hall of Two Truths	Hall H	1st Transverse Hall
BD 125 'Negative Confession'	Hall H	Sloping Passage (at the end)
The Awakening of Osiris	Hall H	2nd Transverse Hall
Books of the Earth	Sarcophagus Chamber	2nd Transverse Hall
Book of Nut	Omitted	2nd Transverse Hall

Plate 34. Table II. Comparison of the Tomb of Ramesses VI to the Osireion. (author)

HOURLY RITUAL SEQUENCE FOR THE NIGHT OF I PRT 1 ANNUAL CELEBRATION OF THE KING'S CORONATION

FIRST HOUR: xAw(y) - First Darkness , Interstitial Hour

RITES: Begin at sunset first with offerings and the opening of the door to the Sloping Passage. Preparation for crossing over to the Field of Reeds and the House of Osiris. Recitation of BD 99 – Spell for bringing a ferryboat in the god's domain (Ferryman's Spell).

SECOND HOUR: bkAt – Hour One of Early Night

RITES: King confronts a series of 17 Portals and Gates to the House of Osiris, through which he must pass by reciting the names of the Gates, along with their 31 gatekeepers, guardians and heralds of BD 147, BD 146 and BD 145B. BD 147 opens with the king's greeting: Hail to you Foremost of the Westerners, Ruler of Eternity. I have come to you...

THIRD HOUR: bkAt – Hour Two of Early Night

RITES: At the bottom of the Sloping Passage the king stands before an opened-door shrine with its 42 assessors. BD 125A & B Recitation: What is to be said on arriving at this Hall of Two Truths (the First Transverse Hall), followed by the so-called Negative Confession, a final purification ritual for the king before entering into the presence of Osiris.

FOURTH HOUR: bkAt – Hour Three of Early Night

RITES: BD 125C - to be recited just at entering into the broad Hall of Two Truths (the First Transverse Hall), followed by the king invoking the god Heka, then BD 124, BD 127, BD 129, a hymn to the goddess Maat and BD 126. (All reconstructed from the tomb of Ramesses VI.)

FIFTH HOUR: wSAw – Hour One of the Middle/Deep Night

RITES: Inside the Entranceway to the Central Hall, recitation of BD 183, worshiping Osiris – exalting Him who is on his sand. Then the king enters the birth house of Isis to witness the first conception of Horus, his mythical prototype. He stands up praising Re in the West and recites the first half of the Litany of Re.

SIXTH HOUR: nfr m wSAw – Hour Two – 'Her Beautiful Hour of the Deep Night'

RITES: The king enters the Second Transverse Hall, the depths of the duat, to awaken Osiris and cause Re to unite with his corpse, Osiris, thereby rejuvenating them both. Then he equips his father's panoply with his royal regalia and returns to the Central Hall where he is awarded his inheritance.

SEVENTH HOUR: wSAw – Hour Three of the Deep Night

RITES: Having been granted his inheritance, the king is rewarded with provisions by both Geb and Osiris. It is in this hour that Apophis is subdued and the Datian Horus sets the stars upright. The king now turns to recite the second half of Praising Re and the United One in the West, concluding the rites for the seventh hour of the deep night.

EIGTHTH HOUR: wSAw – Hour Four, Final Hour of the Deep Night – the 'Mistress of wSAw'

RITES: The king first pays homage to the Heliopolitan Ennead depicted on the columns on the island. He then kneels before the sacred bier of Osiris for the second time and burns incense, the ritual act of offering the eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, bringing into being the mysteries of his own conception, and confirming his right to rule.

NINTH HOUR: sHtp.n.s – Re begins to withdraw from the lower duat and the Central Hall to the msqt- region.

RITES: First is the fashioning of the solar barques. (Reconstructed from Ramesses VI's tomb. Then follows a hypothetical reconstruction based on the opening of the contemporary Papyrus of Ani. The king performs rites for the benefit of his fathers, Re and Osiris. He recites a hymn to Re, which is followed by a scene of the rising sun. Then he recites a hymn to Osiris Wennefer, followed by the scene of the Scales to measure the requirements of the Eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye, so that it will be refilled. Finally, the king makes offerings before his father, signifying that Osiris-Moon's transfiguration is complete.

TENTH HOUR: name unknown – location the msqt-region.

RITES: The king enters the Ascending Passage. Here begin the recitations for going out into the day, BD 1 and BD 17.

ELEVENTH HOUR: name unknown – location the msqt-region

RITES: The king continues with the recitation of BD 17 and completes it at the top of the Ascending Passage, where he now enters into the eastern akhet, the Antechamber.

TWELFTH HOUR: name unknown – location the msqt-region at the eastern akhet

RITES: Inside the door of the eastern akhet, the king turns and begins by reciting BD 18, addressing the ten Great Councils. He then moves to the east wall, the place of sunrise, where he becomes a god by reciting BD 42, so that he can depart to the sky with Re and the ba of Osiris at sunrise with the recitation of BD 133.

SUNRISE I PRT 2: Birth of Horus and Horus-Moon on the Day of First Crescent Visibility.

Plate 35. Table III. Hourly Ritual Sequence for the Night of I Prt 1 Annual Celebration of the King's Coronation. (author)

LUNAR NUMBER SYMBOLISM

Number	Lunar Connection
1	Festival of the Blacked-out Moon Day, psDntyw; first day of the lunar month and the conception of Horus and Horus-Moon.
2	Festival of the New Crescent Day, (tp) Abw; second day of the lunar month and the birth of Horus and Horus-Moon.
3	(Second) Arrival Day, mspr; third day of the lunar month - delayed appearance of the New Crescent. Maximum number of days lunar invisibility (conjunction).
4	Sixth Day Festival, snt; day of filling the Udjat(-eye). The sum of its six parts is an encoded representation of the precise length of the synodic month in relation to the fixed 30-day month of the Egyptian civil calendar.
7	Seventh Day Festival, dnjt; First Quarter Moon.
14	Visible phases of both the waxing and waning cycle; SjAw, full moon period, same name as the seventeenth day because the full moon appears within this window.
15	Festival of the Full Moon, (tp) smdt; fifteenth day of the lunar month and the day Osiris is said to enter the moon in the sky; the restored eye of Horus, the Udjat-eye.
17	Osiris dies on the seventeenth day at the end of the full moon period, SjAw and is the length of the entire period when the moon first gradually becomes covered (waning) and then remained totally covered (invisible) during conjunction.
19	Osiris is said to be revivified and born anew on the nineteenth day, sDm mdw.f; the period of time from the day of the Full Moon to its return in the night sky with first crescent visibility; the nineteen year Metonic cycle marking the maximum period of time required for the movement of the moon across the sky from its northern extreme to its southern extreme and back; 235 lunar months is almost exactly 19 solar years re-synchronizing the lunar cycle with that of the sun.
21	The sum of the parts of the Udjat-eye defining its monthly cycle; 1 + 2 + 3 = 6, the number of its pieces and 4 + 5 + 6 = 15, the number of days of its waxing phase from New Moon to the Full Moon, the restored Eye of Horus.
28	Number of visible phases of the monthly lunar cycle.
31	Limbs of Osiris-Moon; all possible combinations of phases for any single 29 or 30 day lunar month
32	Associated with the Udjat-eye and is the sum of its component numbers 15 and 17, representing both the waxing phase of the lunar cycle and its waning from full moon to and including conjunction. It also signifies the entire group of the 31 limbs of Osiris-Moon with its initiator and creator in its totality.
36	Sum of the numbers 17 and 19 sacred to Osiris signifying the waning and waxing phases of the monthly lunar cycle. Sum of the lunar numbers 15 and 21. Sum of the numbers 30 and 6. See the number 6 above.
42	Sum of the sacred Osirian numbers 6 + 17 + 19 = 42, symbolizing the complete lunar cycle and its sequential unfolding: the number six as the sound eye, Udjat-eye, (the full moon); the number seventeen representing its dismemberment (waning) and death (invisibility); and nineteen as its rebirth (waxing), the number days from the full moon to its return to the night sky with first crescent visibility.
47	Number representing the dual Egyptian year; solar year 30 + 12 + 5 = 47, lunar year 15 + 12 + 9 + 2 + 9 = 47. (See 4.4 for the explanation.)
76	The Callippic period of 76 tropical years of 365.25 days is exactly 940 synodic months synchronizing the lunar cycle with the solar cycle after every period of 76 successive heliacal risings of Sothis, which marked the start of the ancient Egyptian New Year, harmonizing the movements of the the sun, moon and the stars.
235	235 synodic months of the 19 year Metonic period mark the maximum period of time required for the moon to cross the sky from its northern extreme to its southern extreme and back.
254	254 sidereal lunar months = 235 synodic months = 19 year Metonic cycle.
309	309 lunations in 300 30-day months of 25 gyptian civil years; the period required for the same phase of the the moon to fall on the same day of the civil month.
354	Number of days in a twelve month lunar year.
384	Number of days in a thirteen month lunar year.

Plate 36. Table IV Lunar Number Symbolism.
(author)

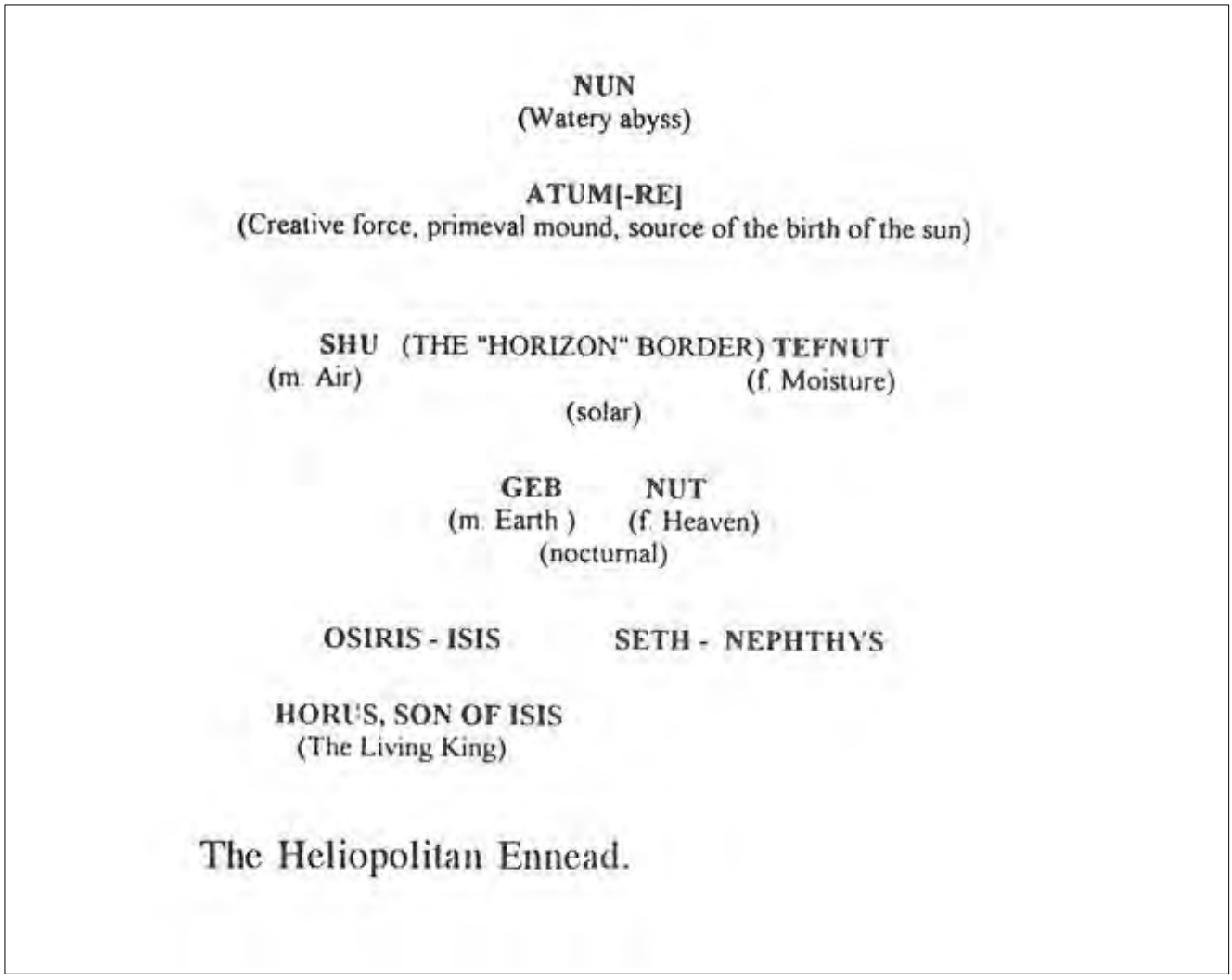


Plate 37. Table V Heliopolitan Ennead.
(Troy 1994, 5)

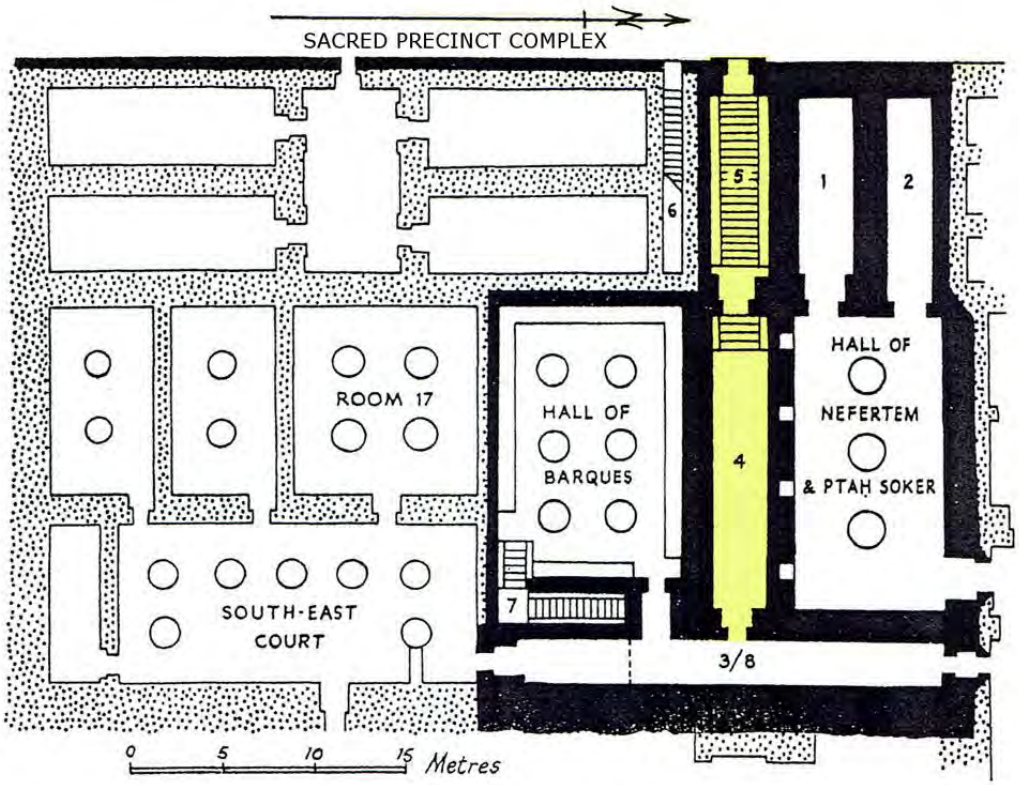


Fig. 1 Temple of Sethos I, southern extension, general plan. Redrawn by Marion Cox from A.M. Calverley *et al.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, I pl. IA.
Walls in solid black are to be published in Vol. V.

1. Chapel of Nefertem
2. Chapel of Ptah-Sokar
3. Gallery of Lists
4. Corridor
5. Stairway Passage
6. Upper Staircase
7. Staircase from Hall of Barques to upper Gallery
8. Upper Gallery (north of dotted line)

Plate 38. Entranceway of the Sacred Precinct Complex from the East Wing Temple of Seti I. (Baines 1990, 67)

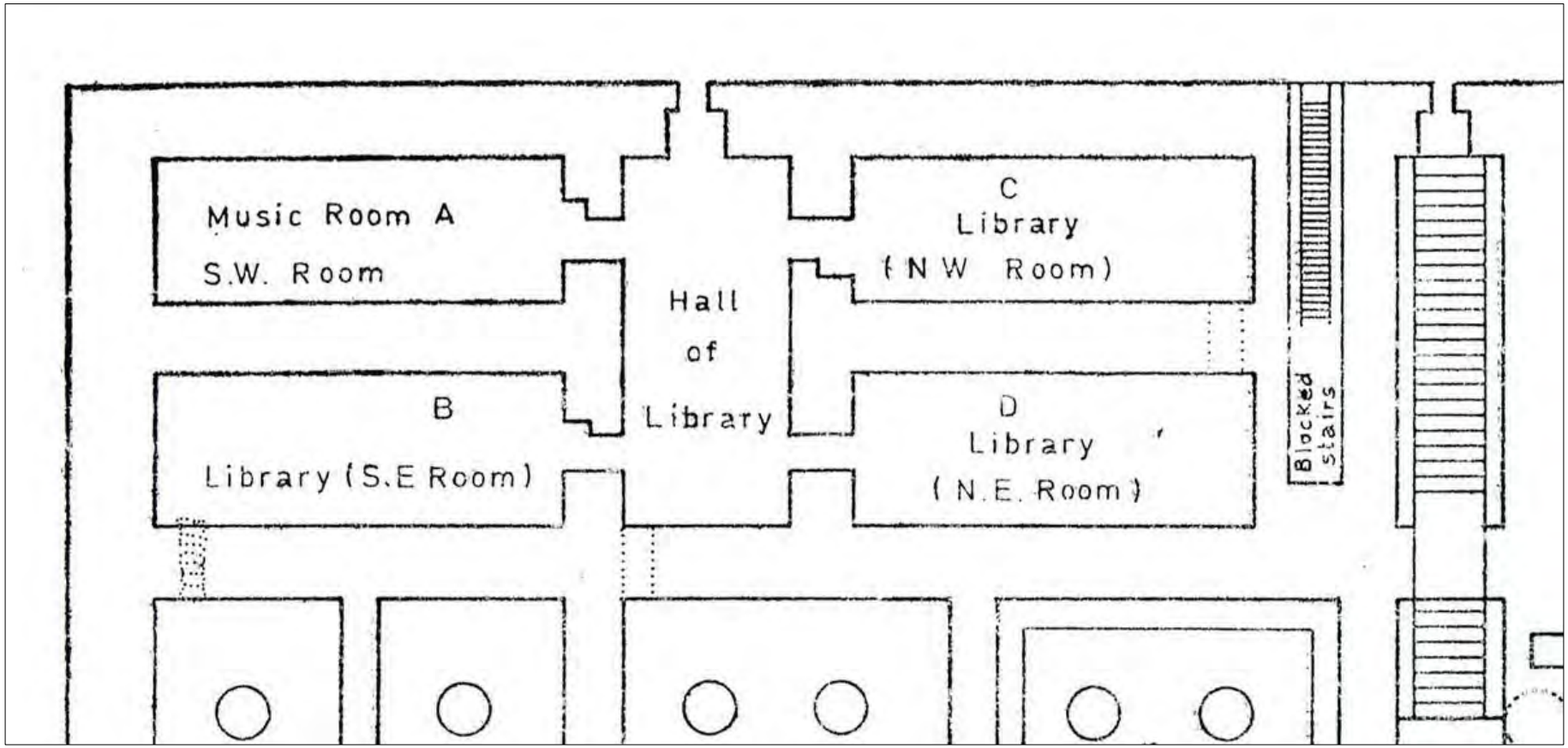


Plate 39. East Wing Plan of Treasury and Archive Complex Temple of Seti I.
(after Zayed 1983, 20)

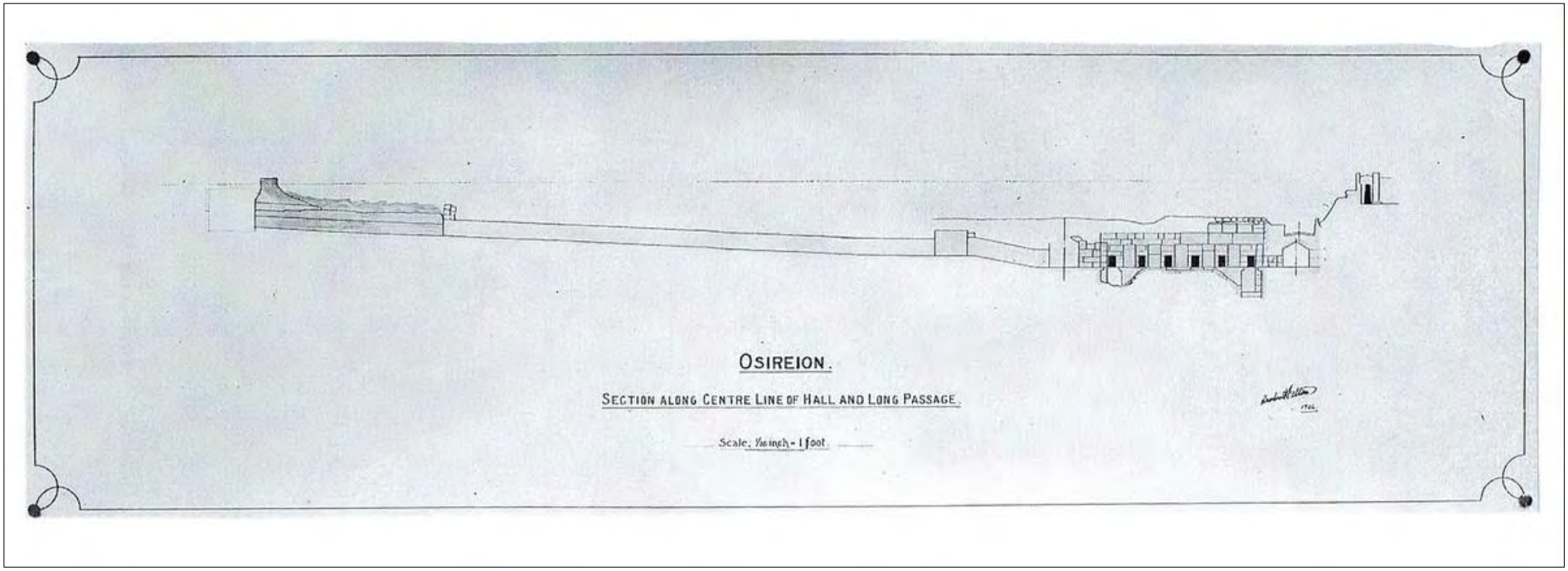


Plate 40. Osireion Scale Drawing.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0144)

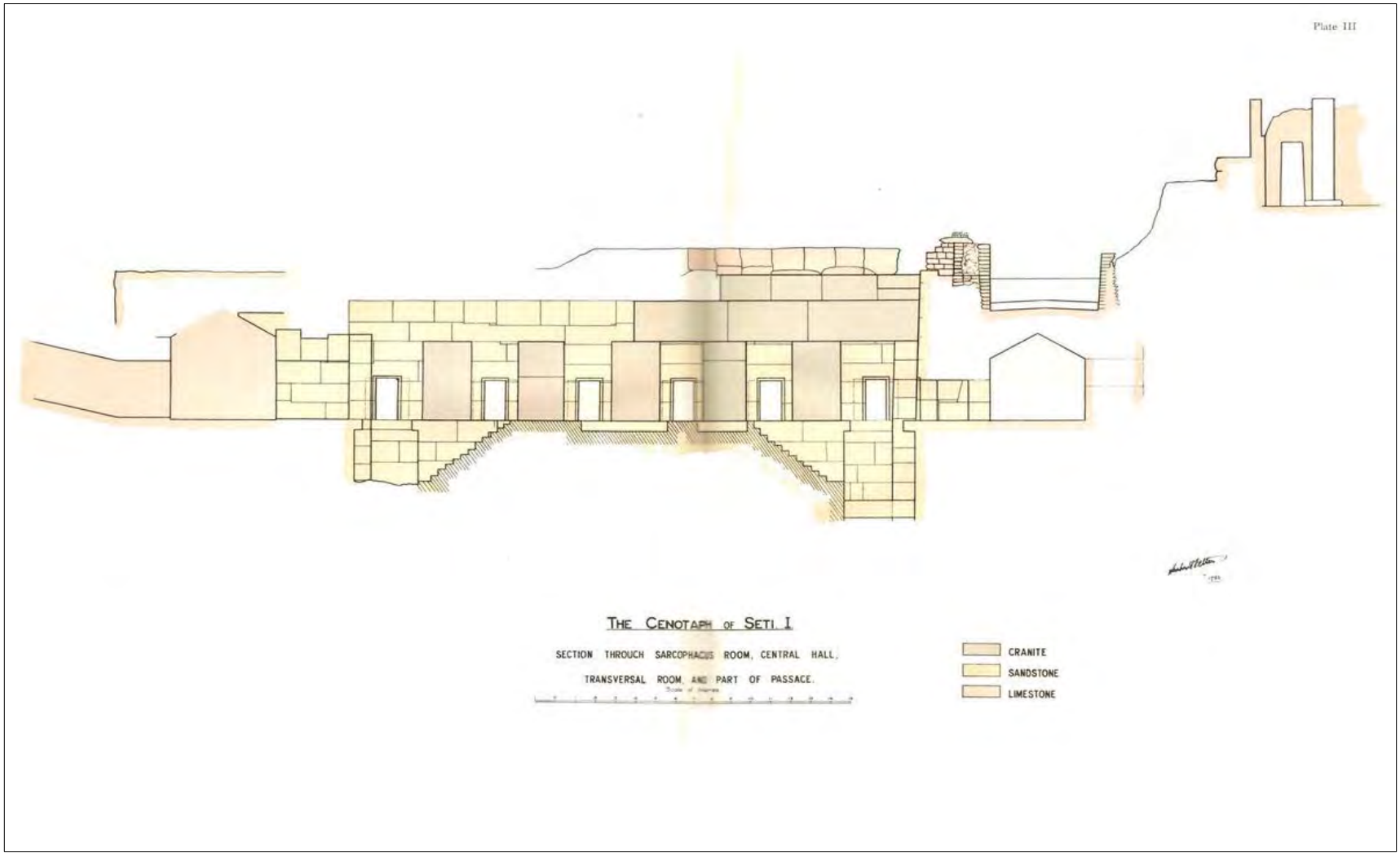


Plate 41. Sectional Plan of the Osireion.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 3)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

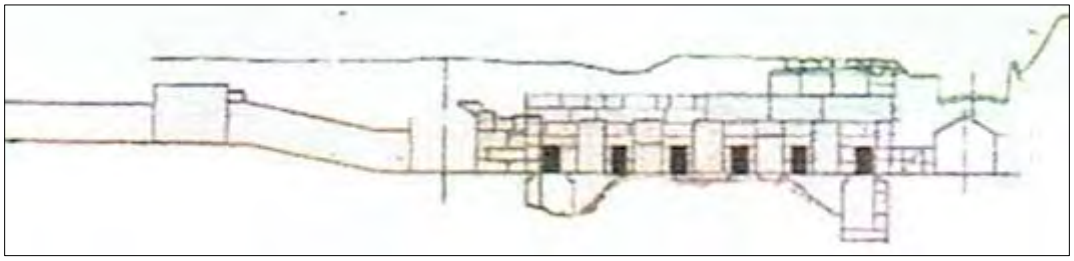


Plate 42. Sloping Passage Scale Drawing of the Osireion detail.
(after Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0144)

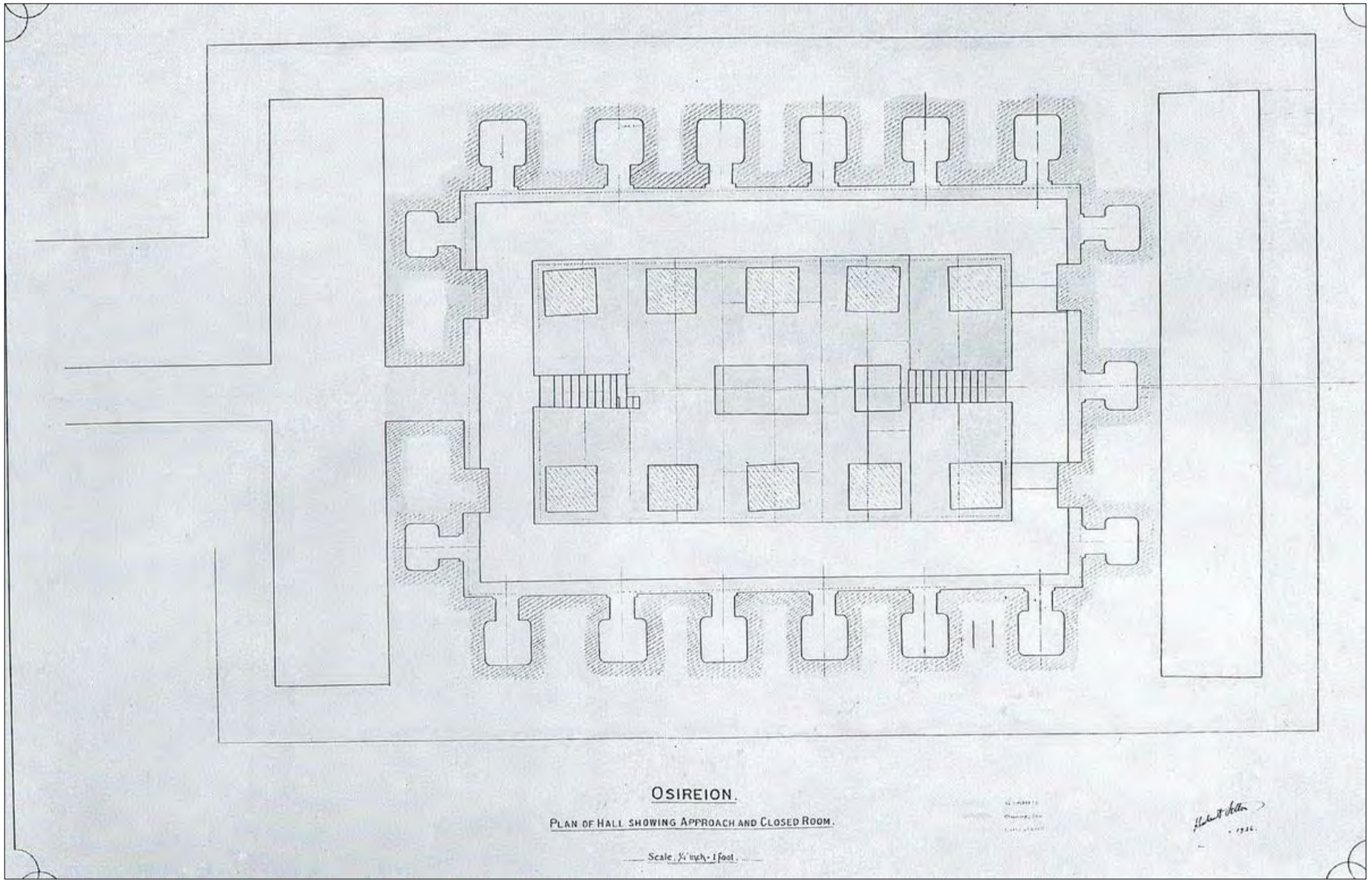


Plate 43. Central Hall Plan.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0145)

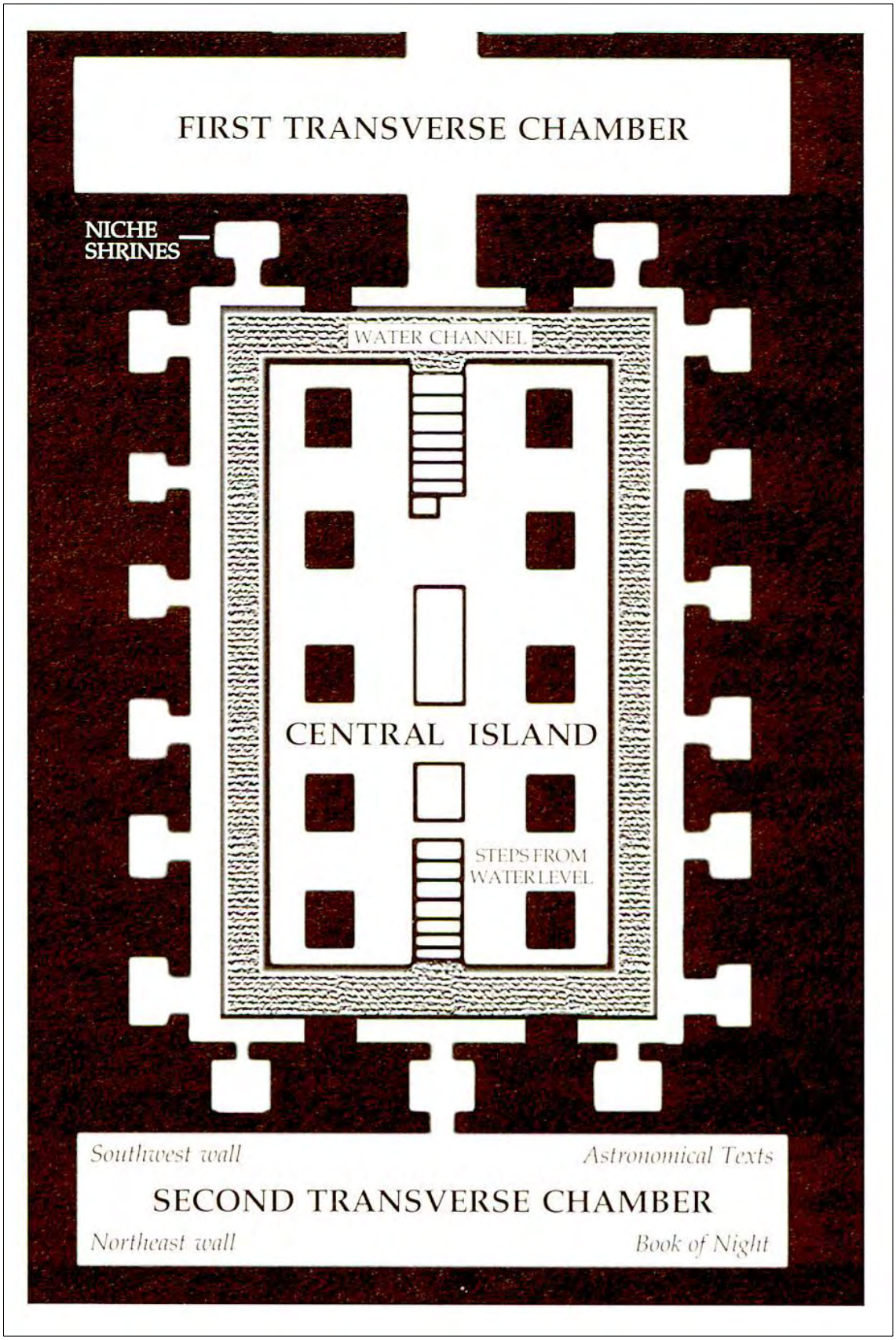
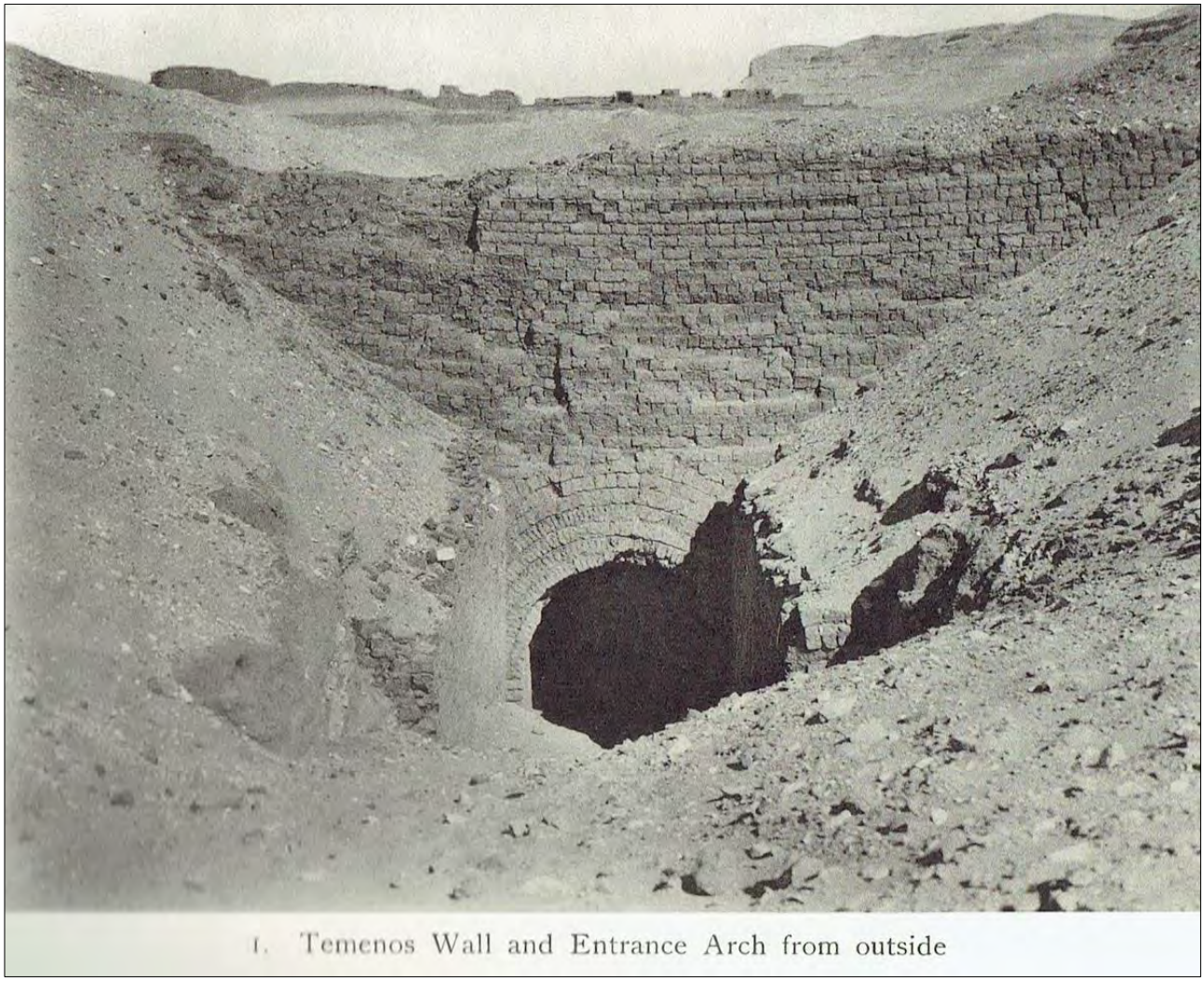


Plate 44. Osireion Central Hall.

https://www.pinterest.com/pin/498281146243824409/
from
https://objectiveart01.tripod.com/Egypt_03.jpg

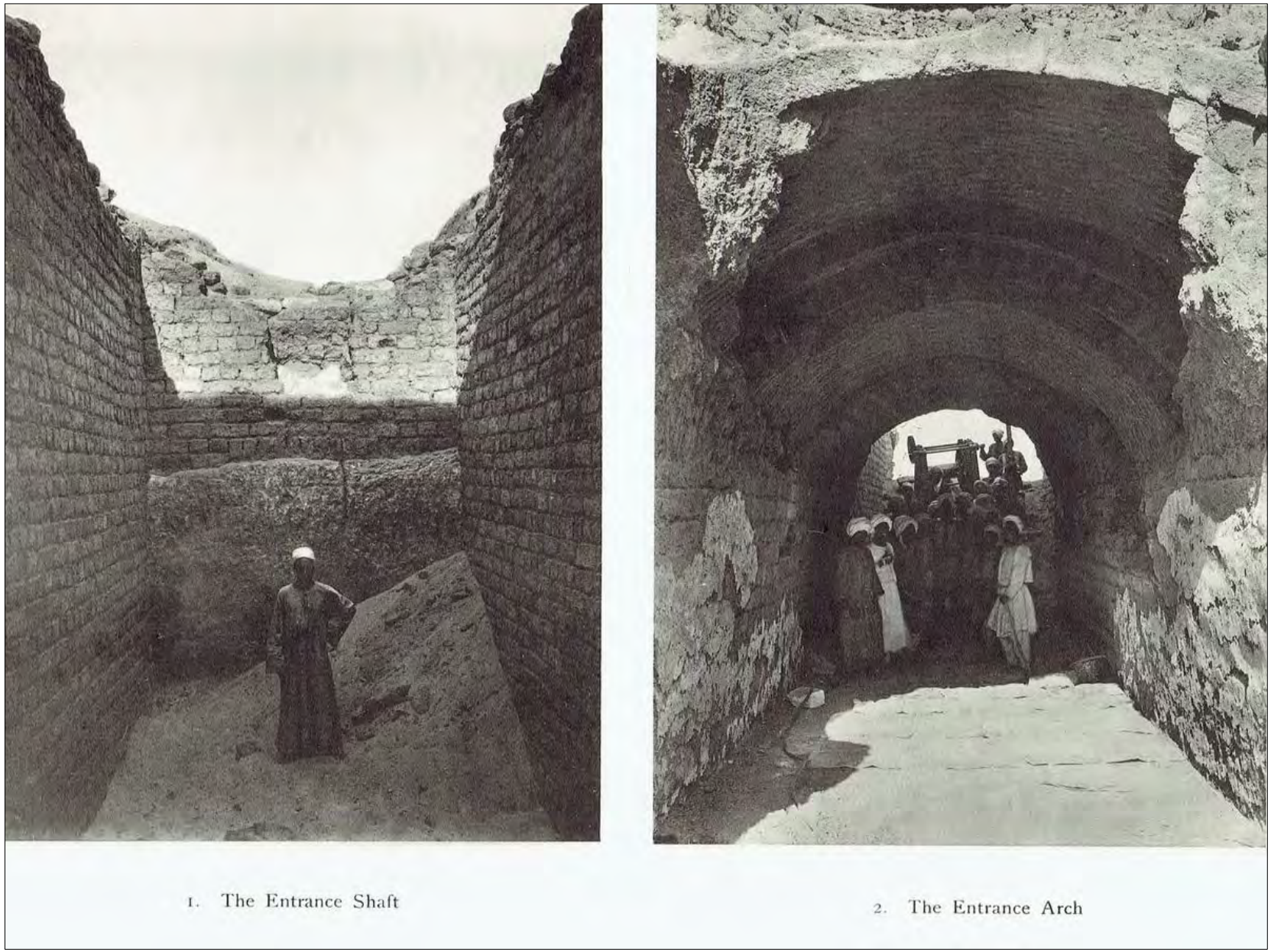


1. Temenos Wall and Entrance Arch from outside

Plate 45. Entrance Archway in Notional Western Temenos Wall.

(Frankfort 1933, plate 13)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 46. Entrance Archway to the Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4745658747/in/album-72157624260294383/



1. The Entrance Shaft

2. The Entrance Arch

Plate 47. Entrance Shaft and Entrance Arch.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 12)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

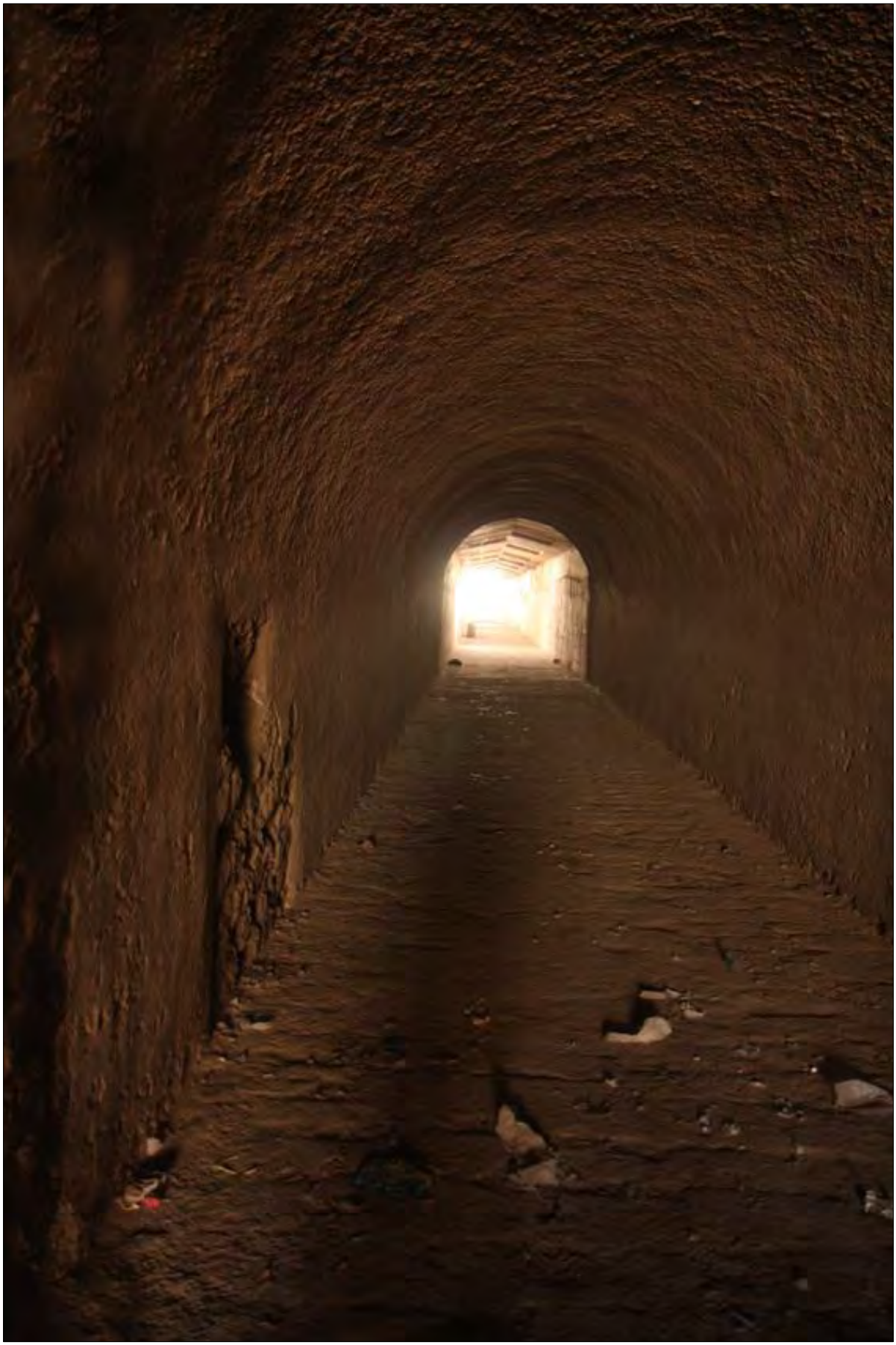


Plate 48. Entrance Passage today view from entrance – vaulted undecorated mud brick walls.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4745660199/in/album-72157624260294383/

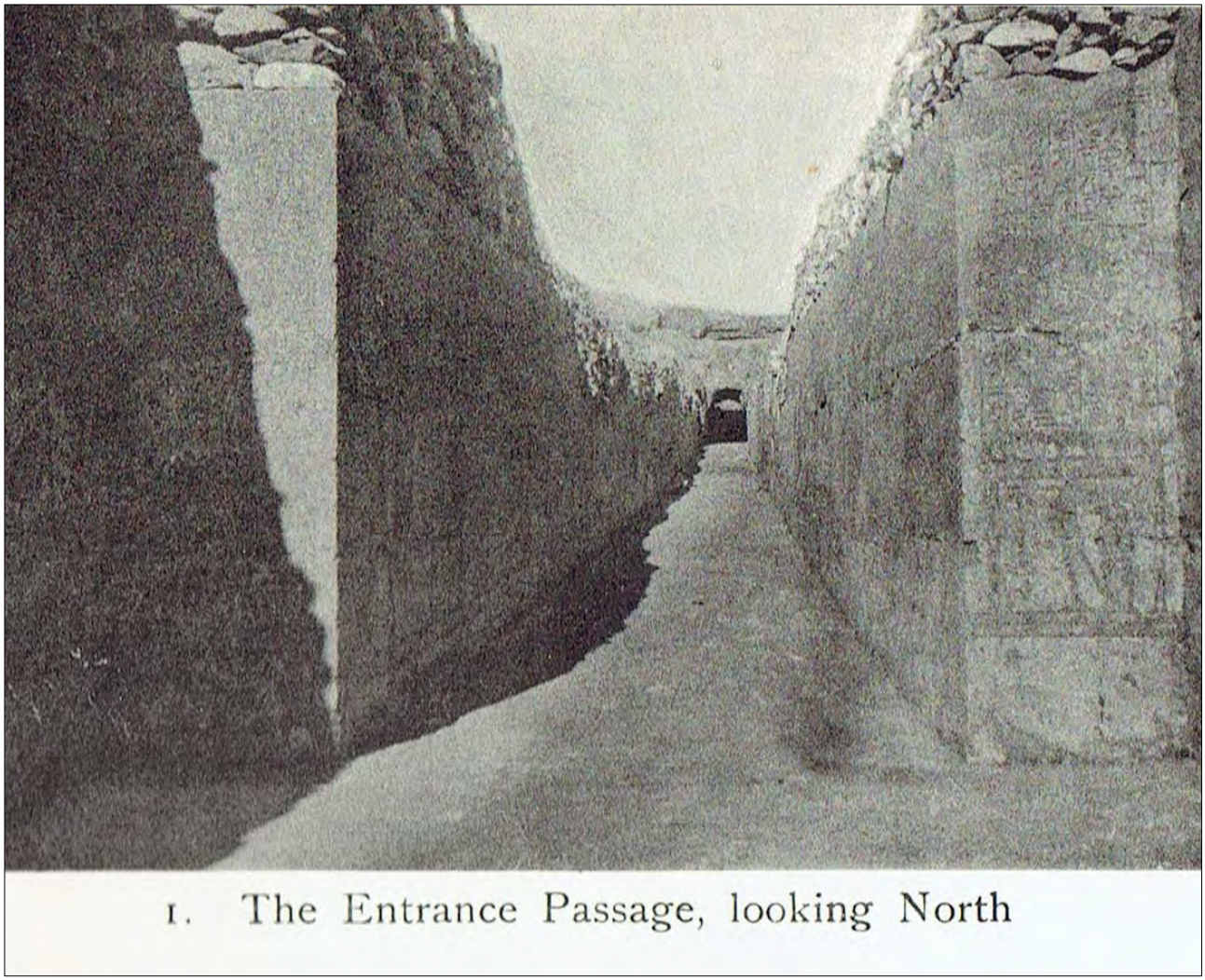
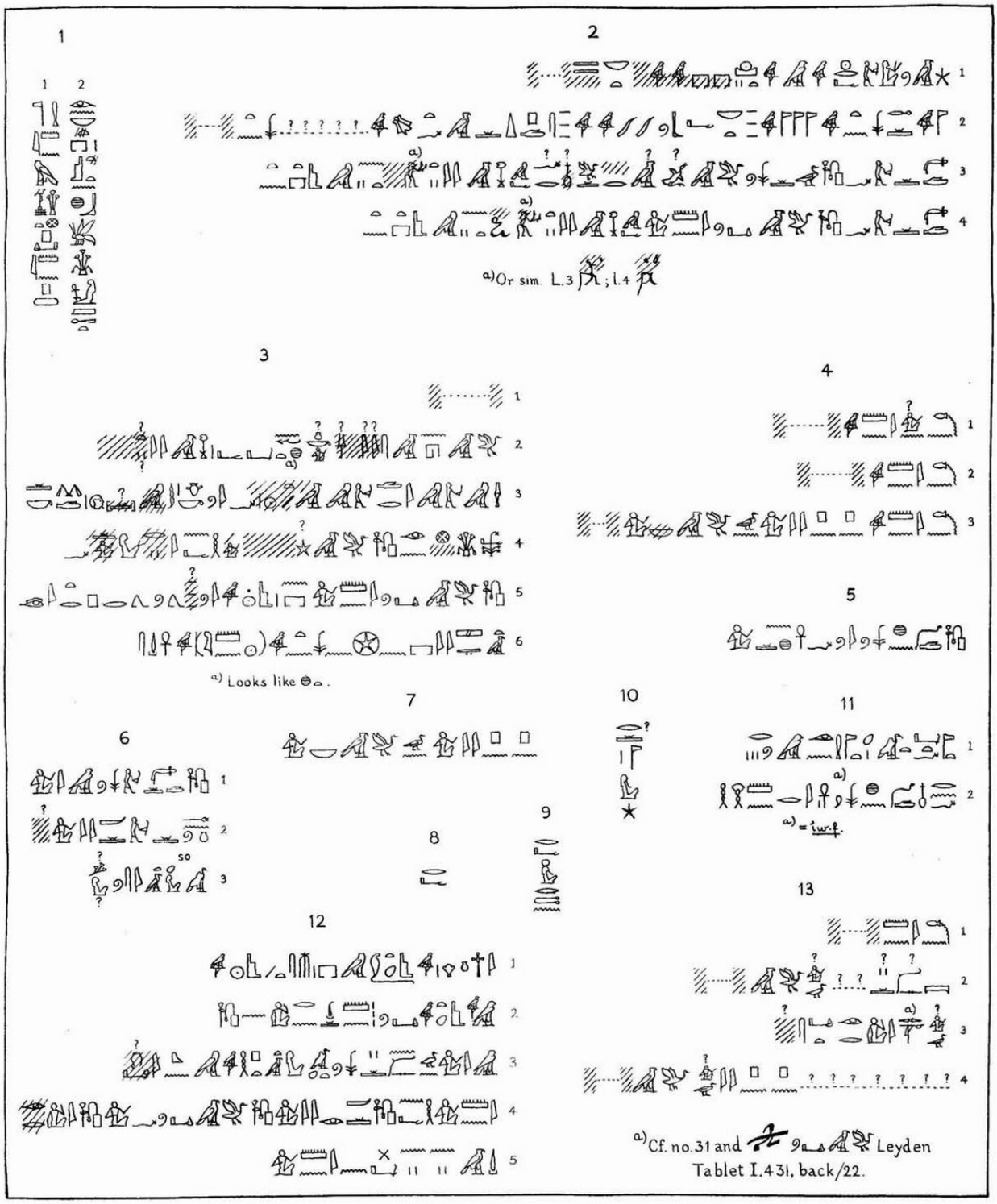


Plate 49. Entrance Passage Looking North (Notional West)
(Frankfort 1933, plate 11)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

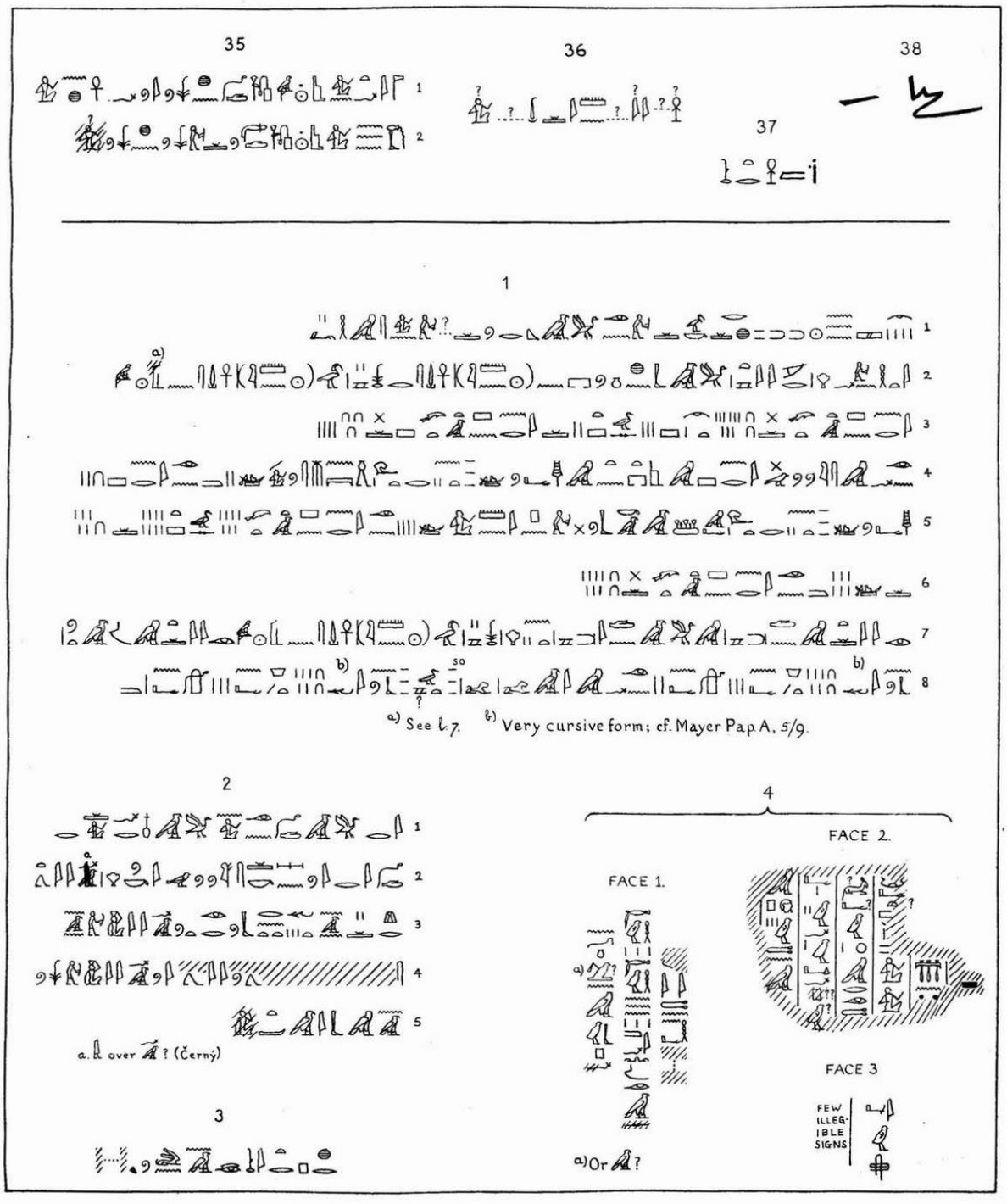
Plate 50. Entrance Passage Abrupt Beginning of Decorated Limestone Walls.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0077)

Plate 51. Sloping Passage viewed from the Antechamber.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779812842/in/photostream/



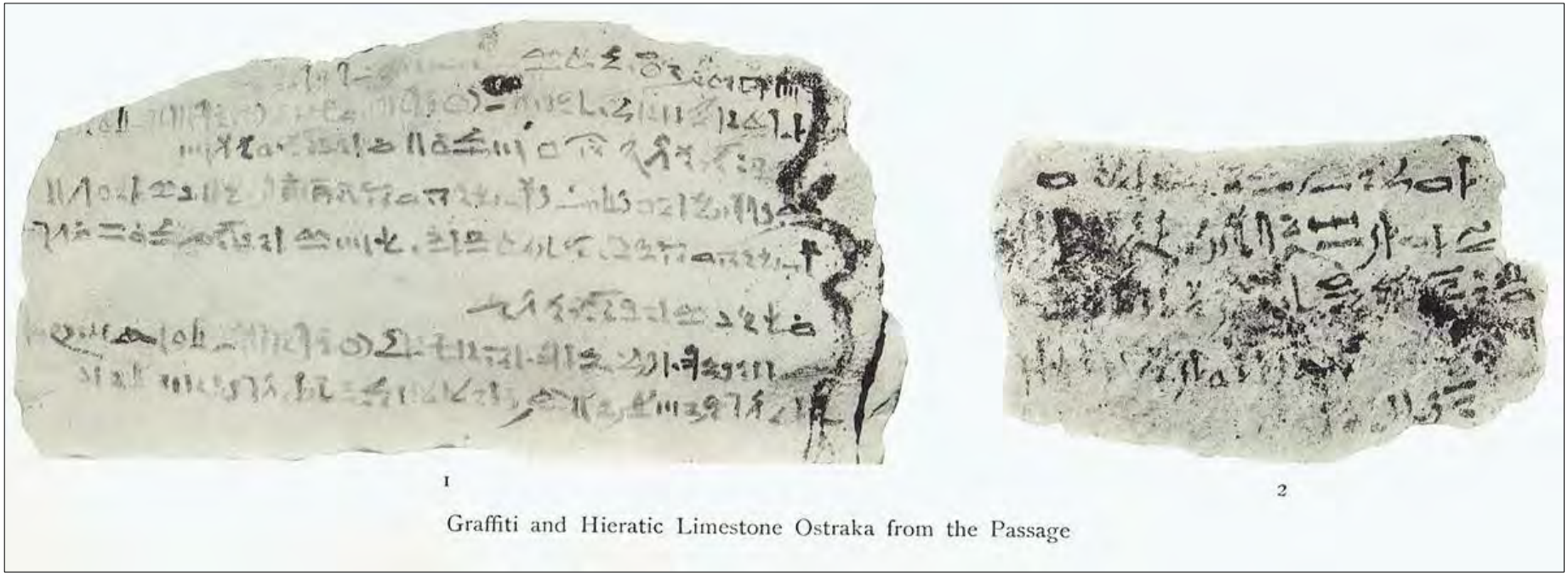
Graffiti from the Passage : Transcriptions by Battiscombe Gunn

Plate 52. Entrance Passage Graffiti.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 88) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2



Graffiti and Ostraca from the Passage: Transcriptions by Battiscombe Gunn

Plate 53. Entrance Passage Graffiti and Ostraca.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 90)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2



1 2

Graffiti and Hieratic Limestone Ostraka from the Passage

Plate 54. Entrance Passage Limestone Ostraka.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 92)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

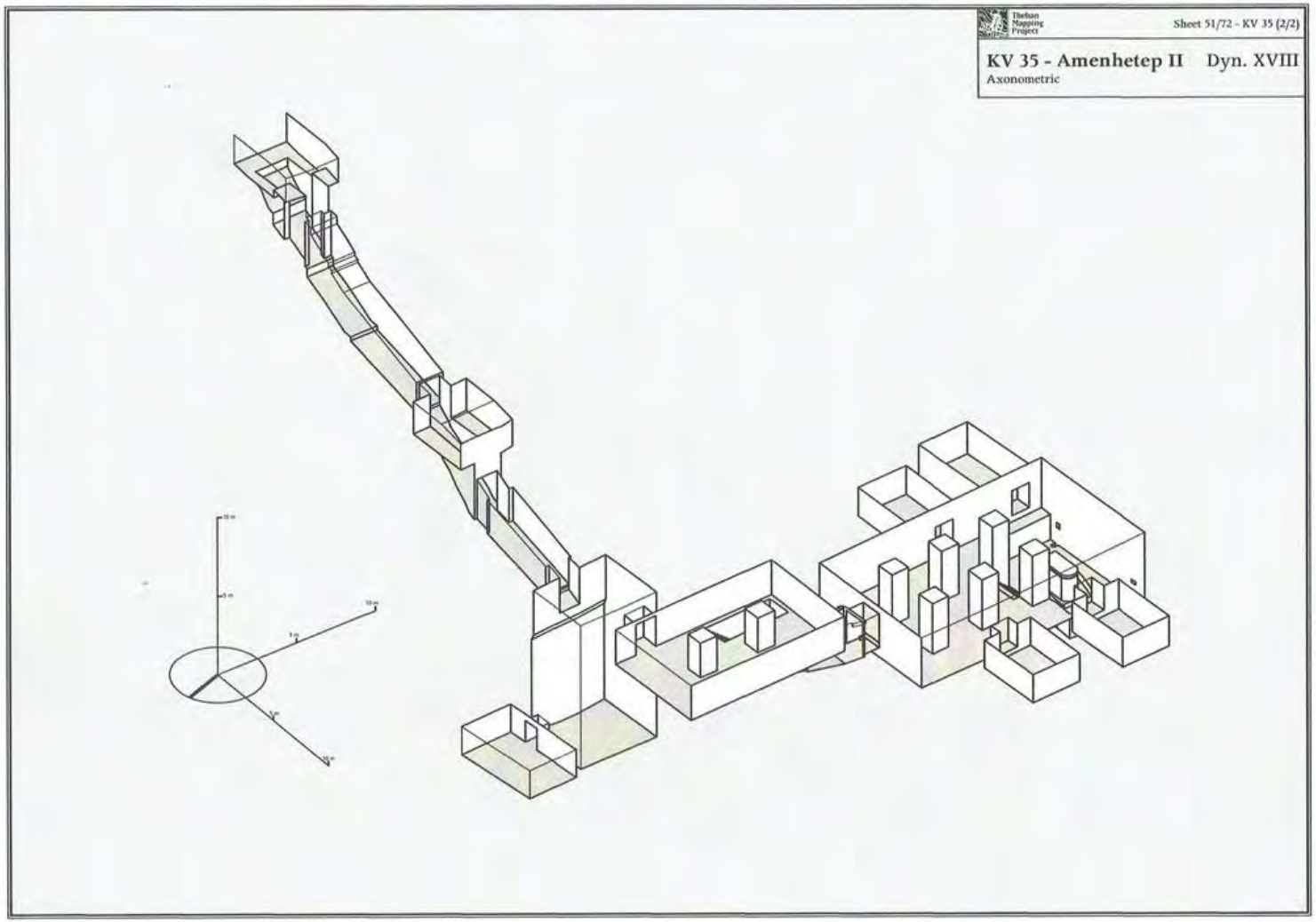


Plate 55. Tomb of Amenhotep II.
(Walton Chan Theban Mapping Project KV 35)
https://thebanmappingproject.com

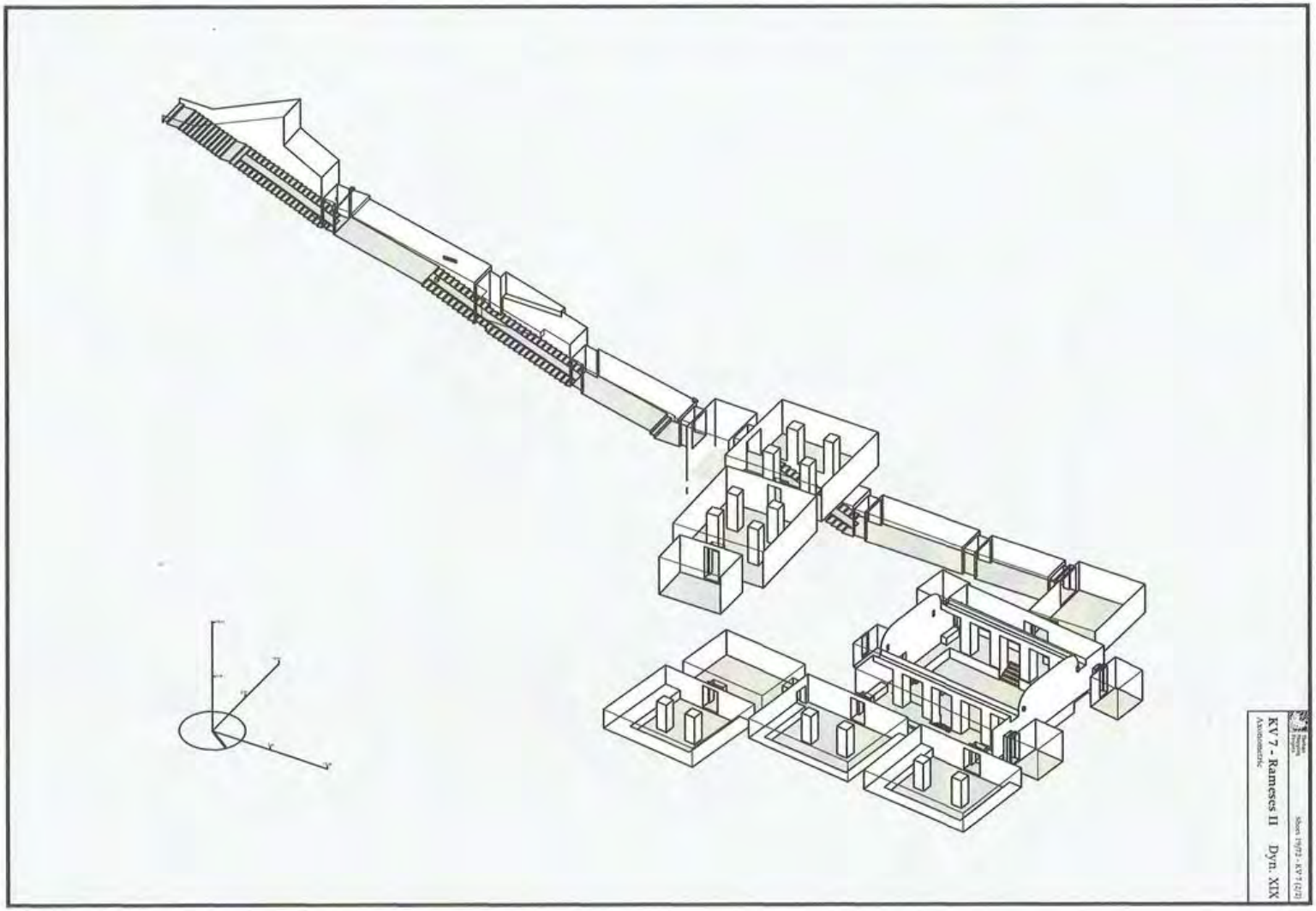


Plate 56. Tomb of Ramesses II.
(Walton Chan Theban Mapping Project KV 7)
https://thebanmappingproject.com

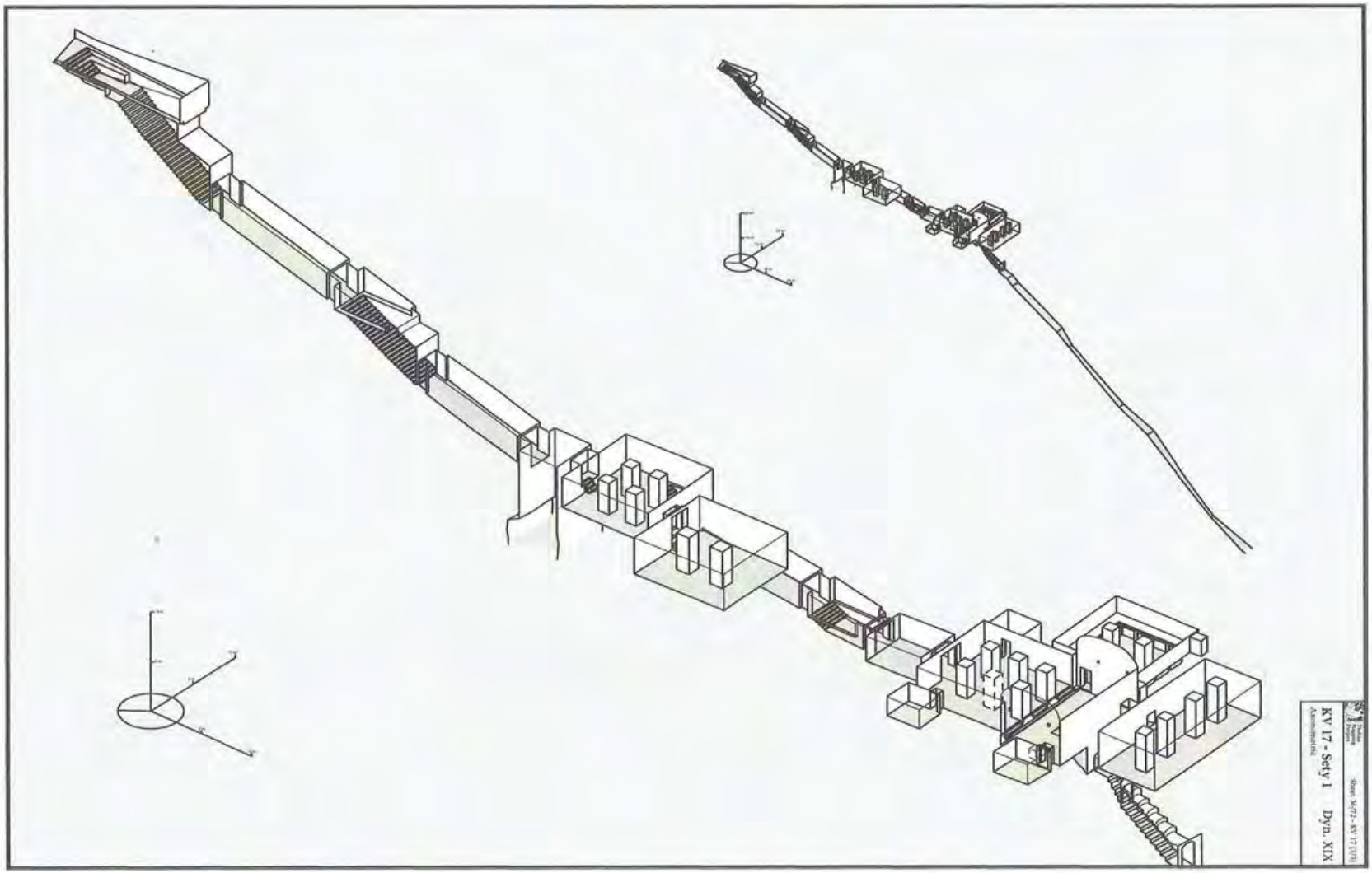


Plate 57. Tomb of Seti I.
(Walton Chan Theban Mapping Project KV 17)
https://thebanmappingproject.com

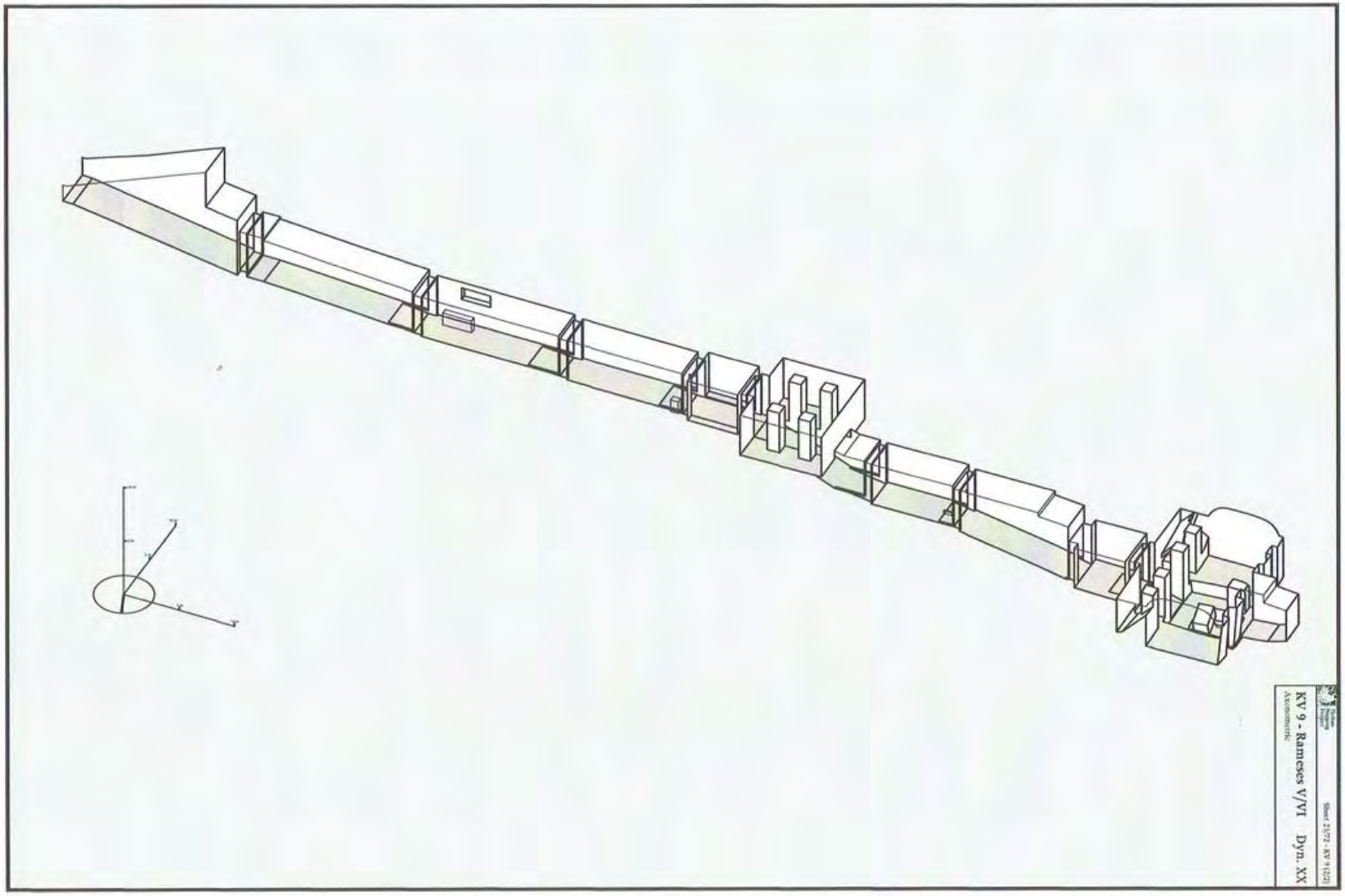


Plate 58. Tomb of Ramesses VI.
(Walton Chan Theban Mapping Project KV 9)
https://thebanmappingproject.com

Figure 9.14. The dromos of access to the tomb of Ramses VI, fifth king of the 20th Dynasty, showing that the horizon, far from being open, is actually being obscured by the cliffs of the hills above Deir el Bahari. This precludes its possible orientation to the rising of Sirius at the time of construction. However, the central asterism of the constellation of *Sah* would have been visible in that area of the sky in the correct period. Photograph by J.A. Belmonte.

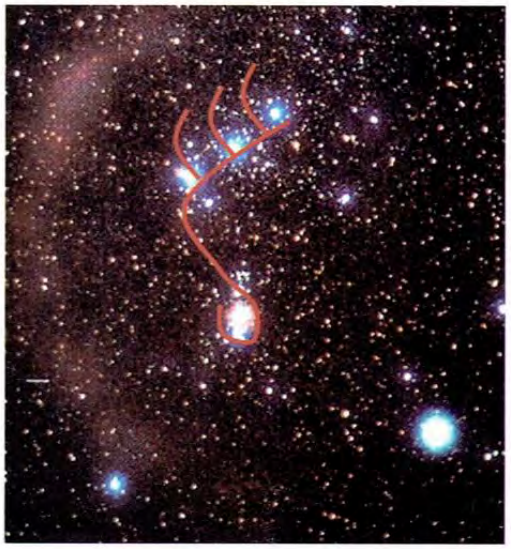


Figure 9.15. The southern part of the constellation of Orion. In its central section, ancient Egyptians recognized the upper part of *Sah*, with the Belt and the region of M42, the Orion Nebula, as the most representative elements of the constellation (see Chapter 6). Adapted from a photograph of the IAC/SMM Archive.

Plate 59. Tomb of Ramesses VI Axial Orientation to Orion.
(Belmonte 2009, 300)

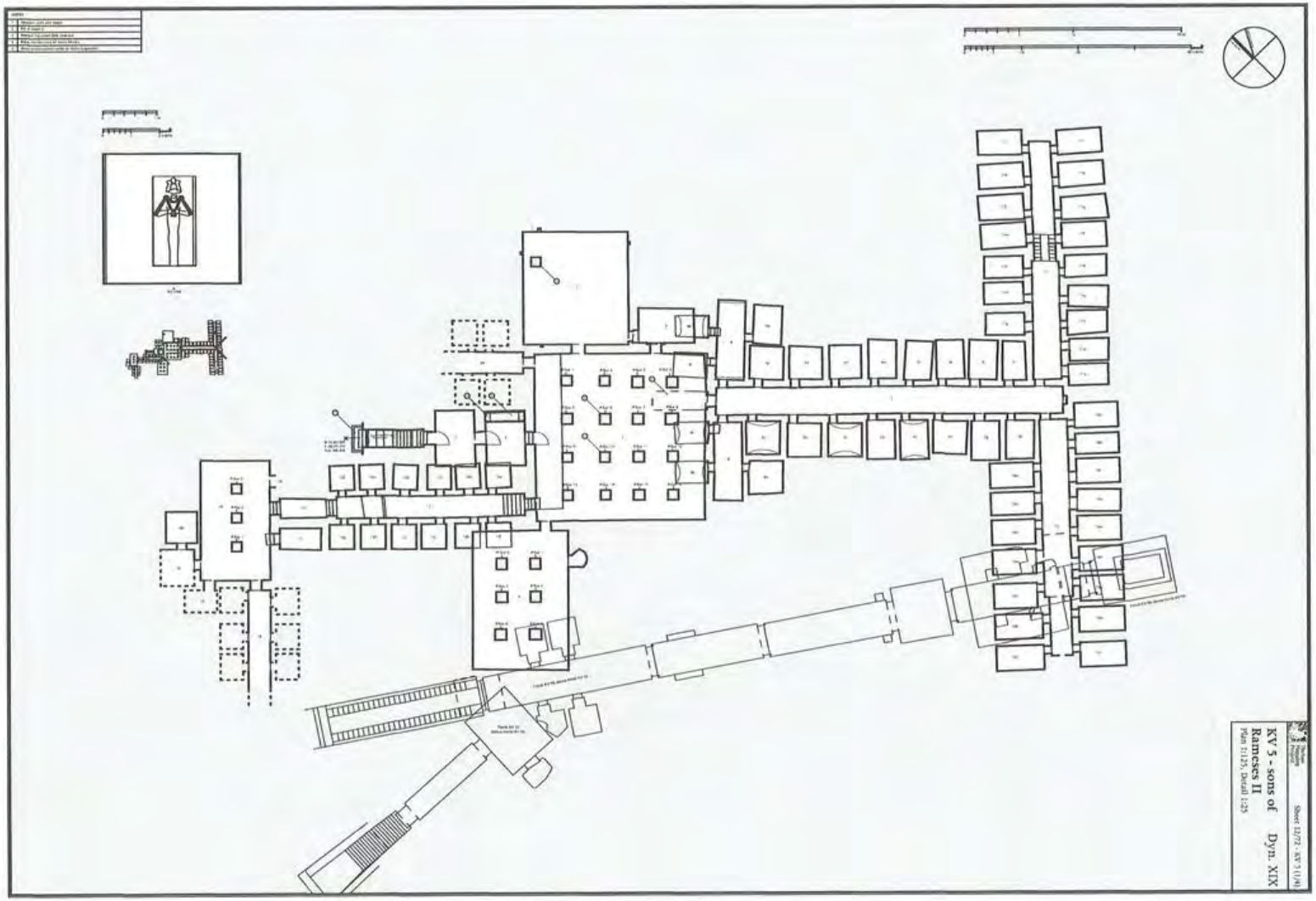


Plate 60. Tomb of the Sons of Ramesses II.
(Walton Chan Theban Mapping Project KV 5)
https://thebanmappingproject.com

Plate 61. First Ritual Cycle Opening Scene Invocation of Atum.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 50)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

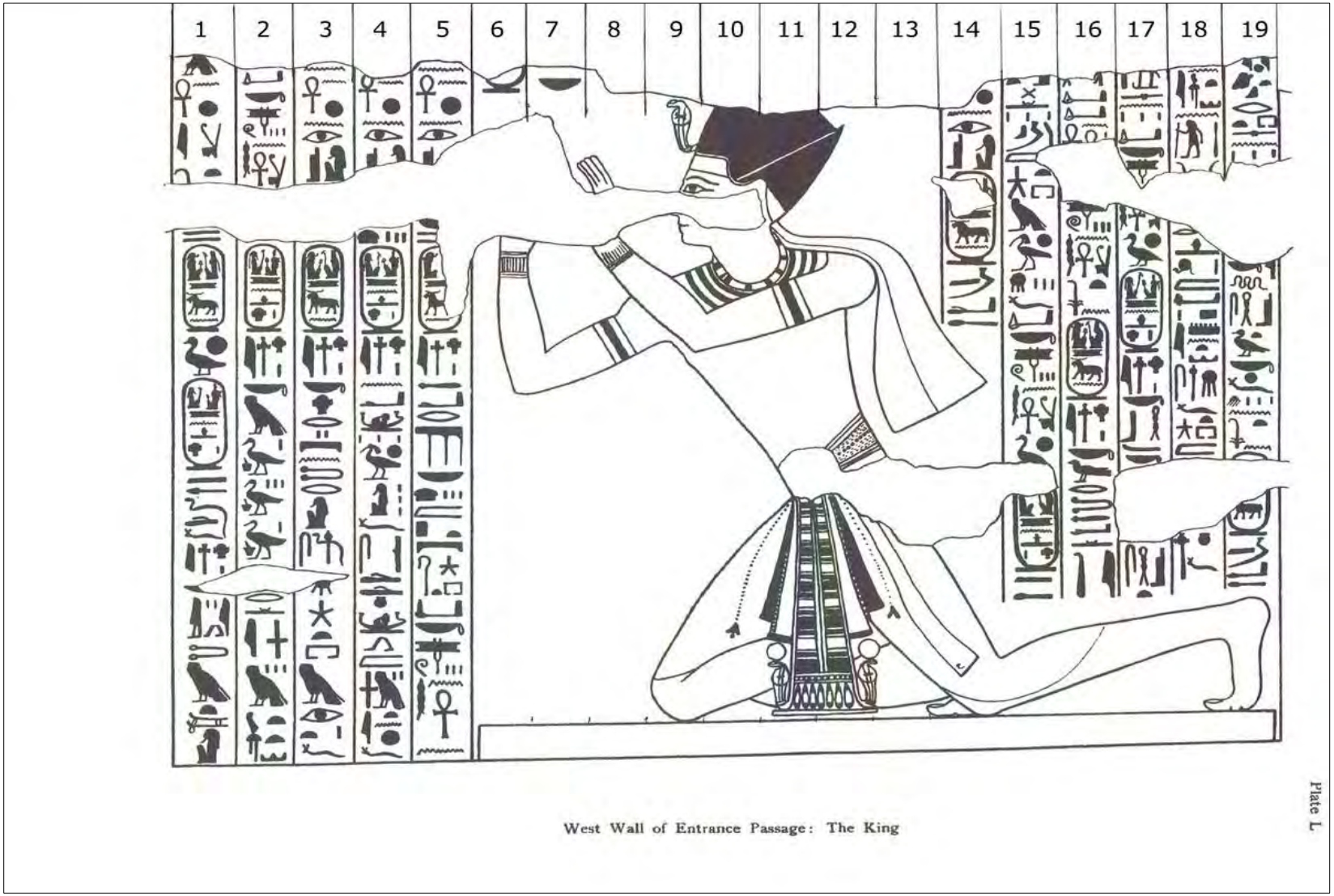


Plate 62. First Ritual Cycle Opening Scene BD 15 text columns numbered.
(after Frankfort 1933, plate 50)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

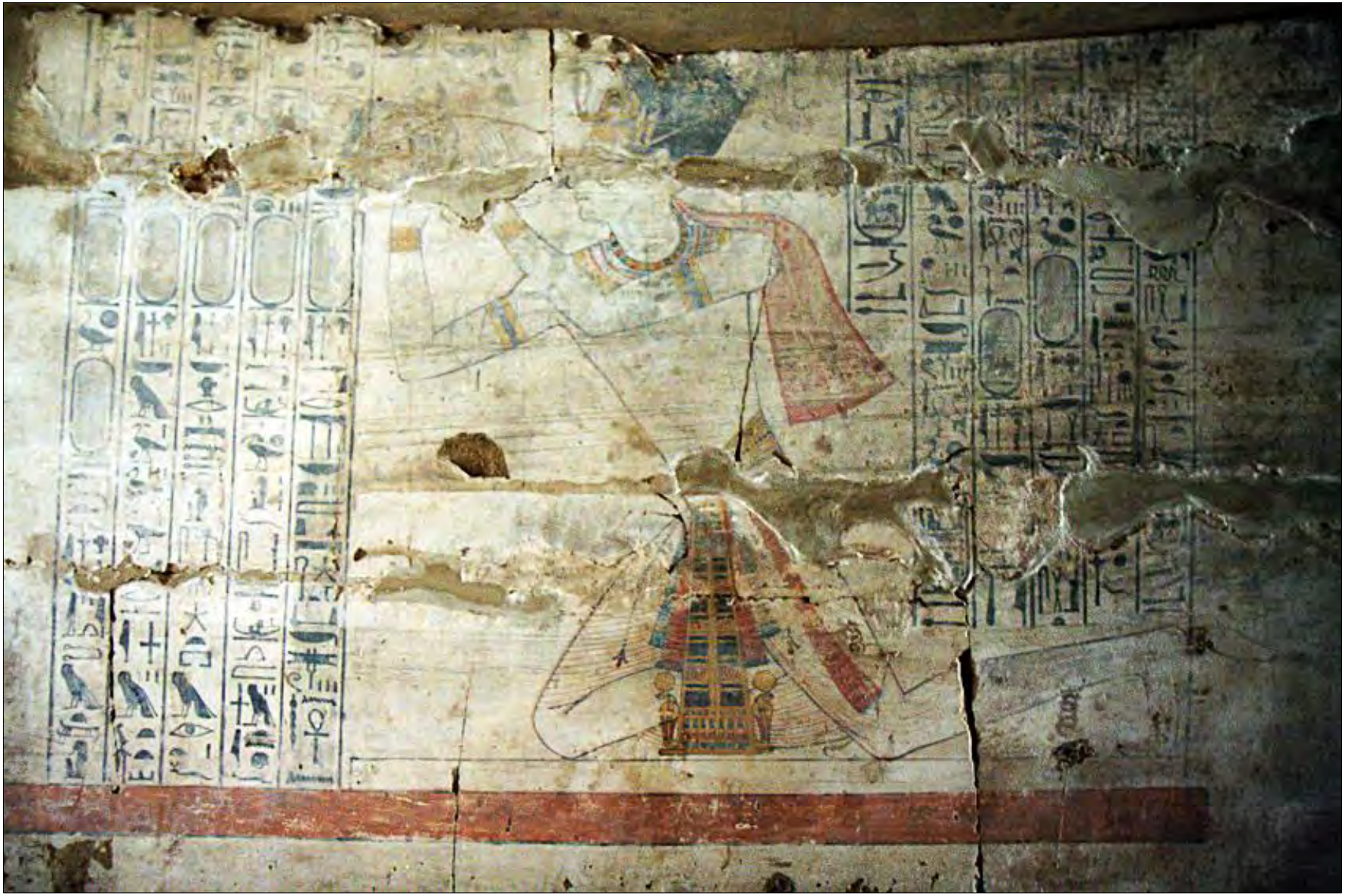


Plate 63. Invocation of Atum by the King.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779764540/in/album-72157624260294383/

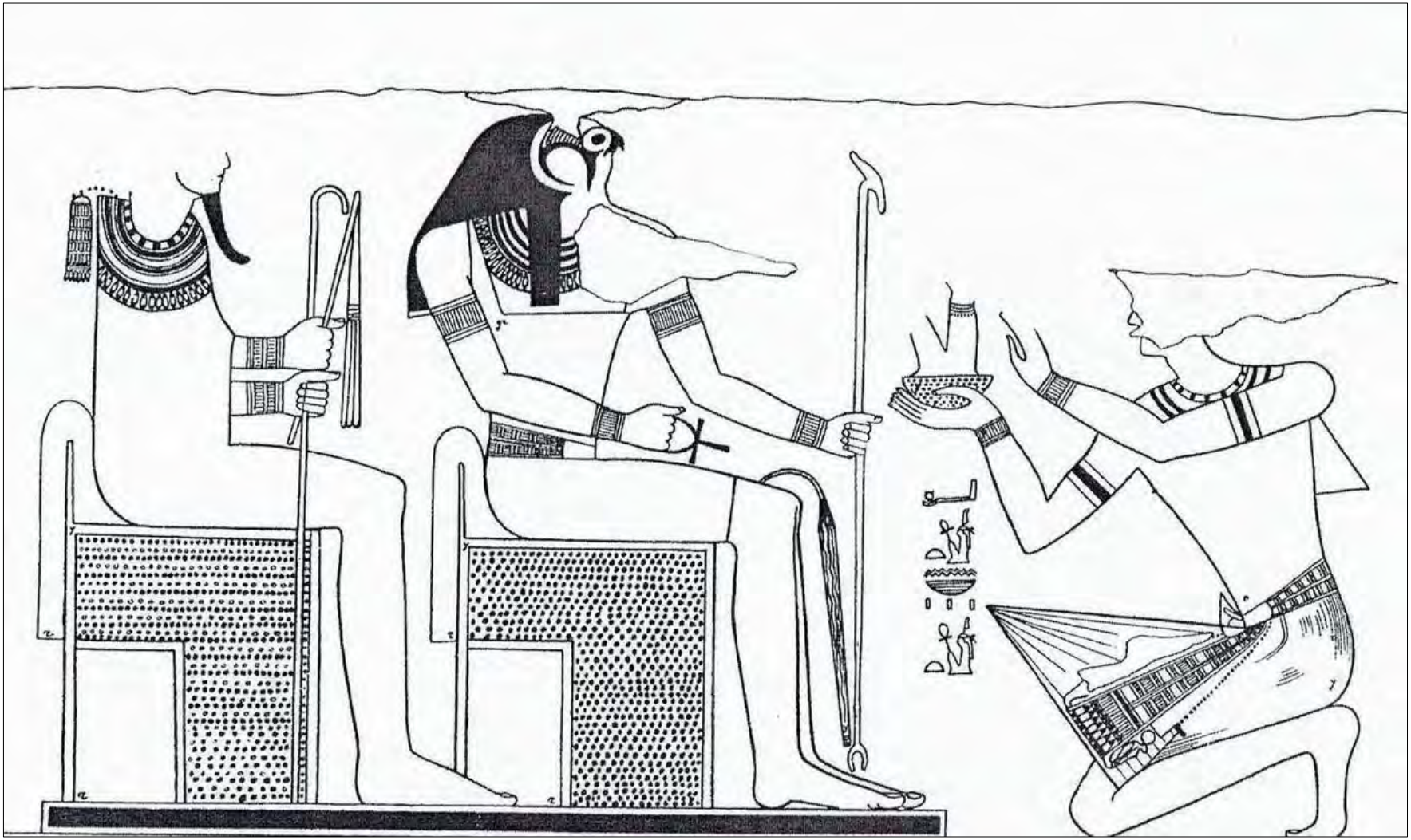


Plate 64. King Offering Maat to Re-Horakhti and Osiris.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 51)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 65. Re-Horakhti detail with Graffiti.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779766010/in/album-72157624260294383/

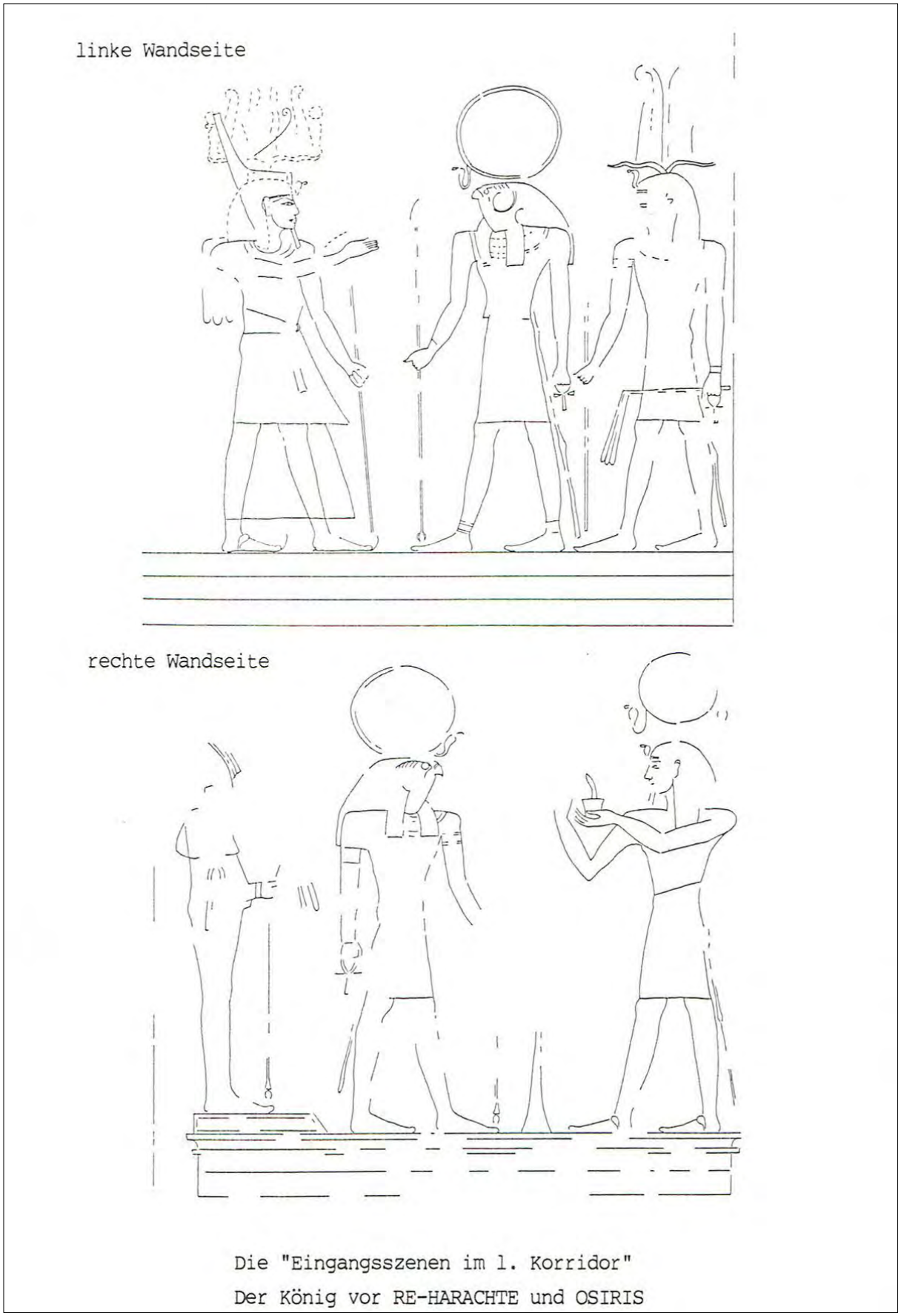


Plate 66. Opening Scenes of the King before Re-Horakhti and Osiris KV 9 Ramesses VI. (Abitz 1989, 60)

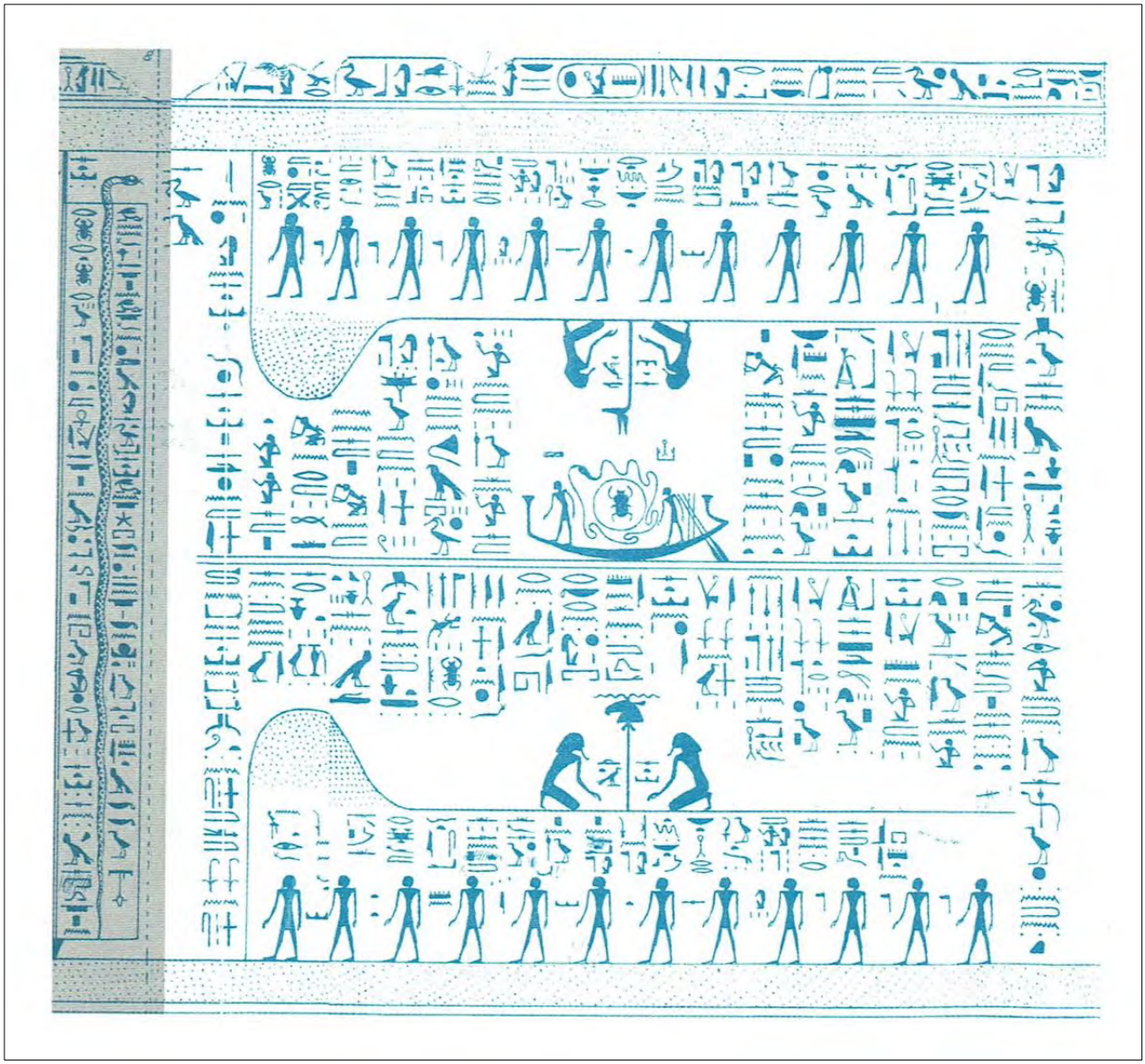


Plate 67. Book of the Gates First Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 17)

Plate 68. Book of Gates First Hour second and third registers Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779132707/in/album-72157624260294383/

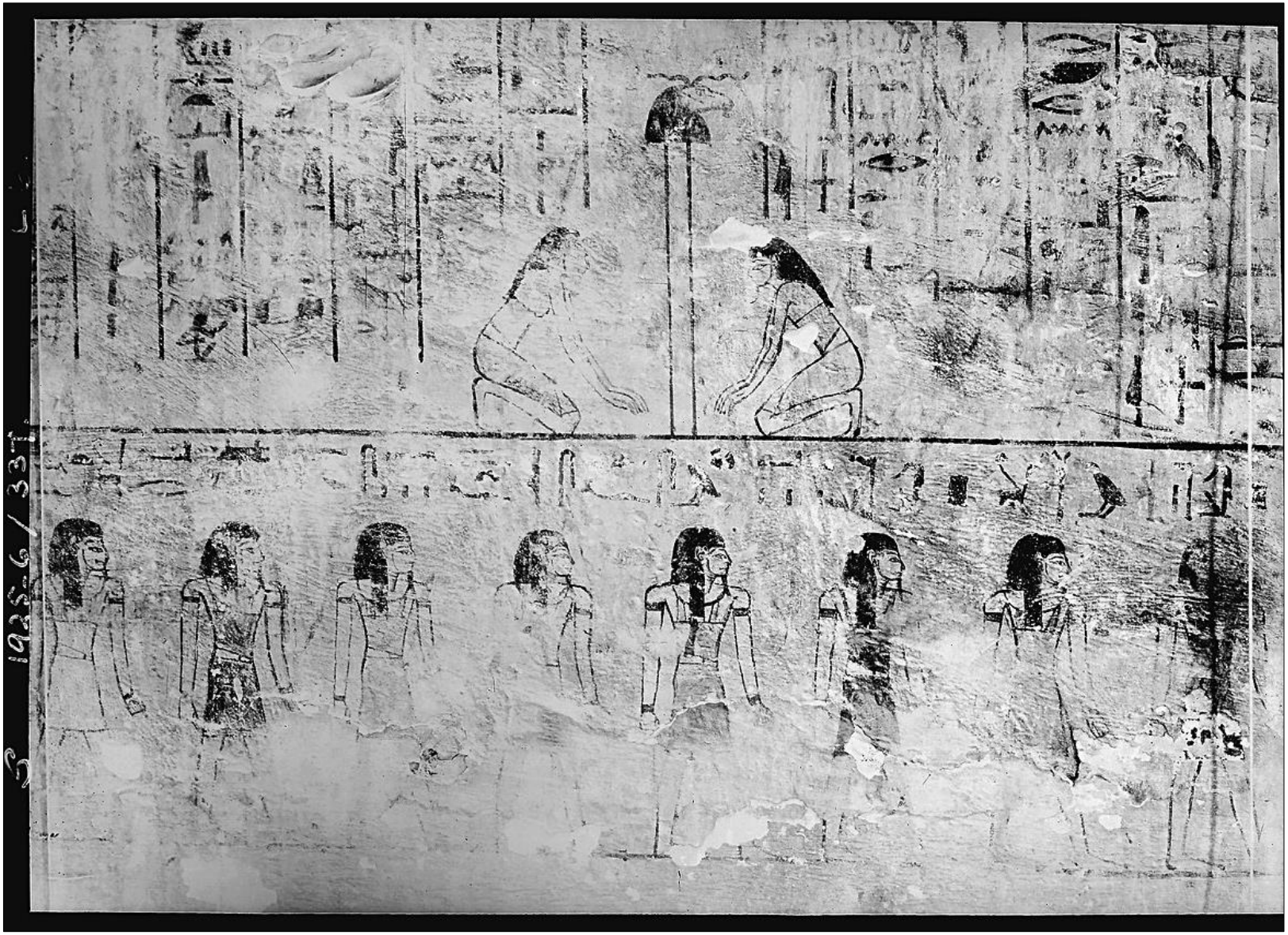


Plate 69. Book of Gates First Hour lower register Osireion.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0337)

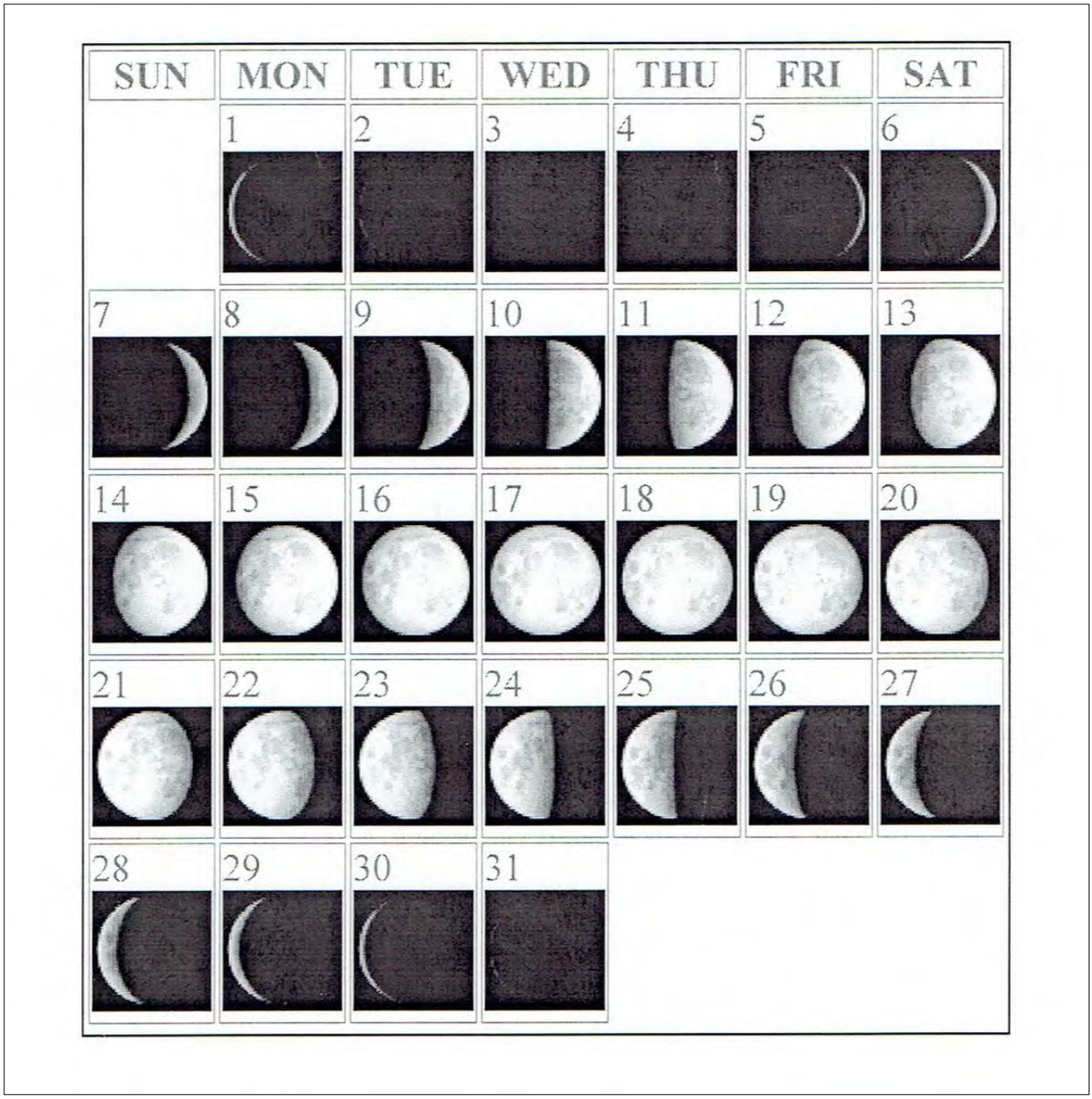


Plate 70. Monthly Lunar Cycle Moon Phases.
(Googolhedron Systems 2000)

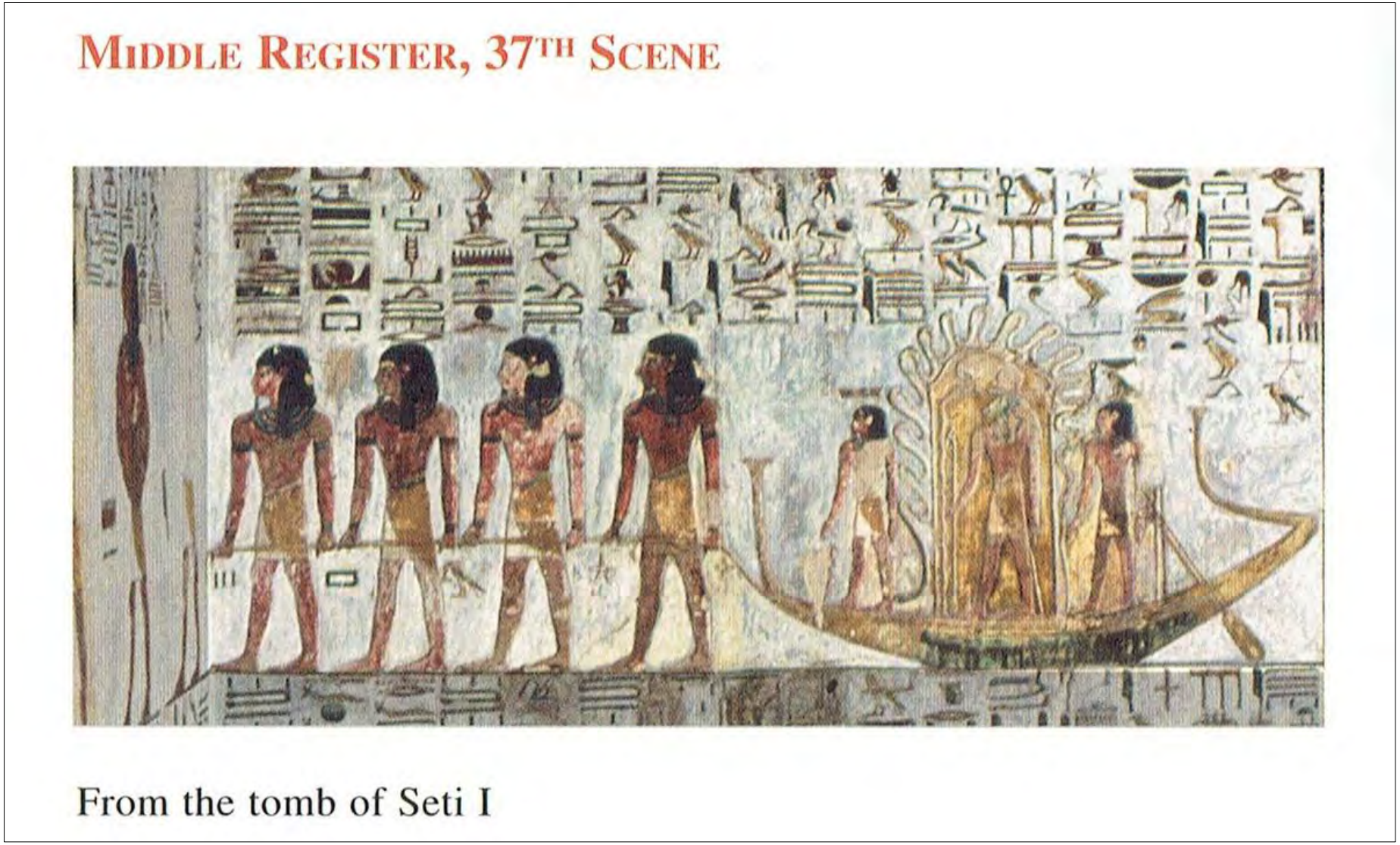


Plate 71. Book of Gates Solar Barque Sixth Hour scene 37 KV 17 Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 210)

Plate 72. Book of Gates King in the Solar Barque Sixth Hour scene 37 Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779140033/in/album-72157624269294383/

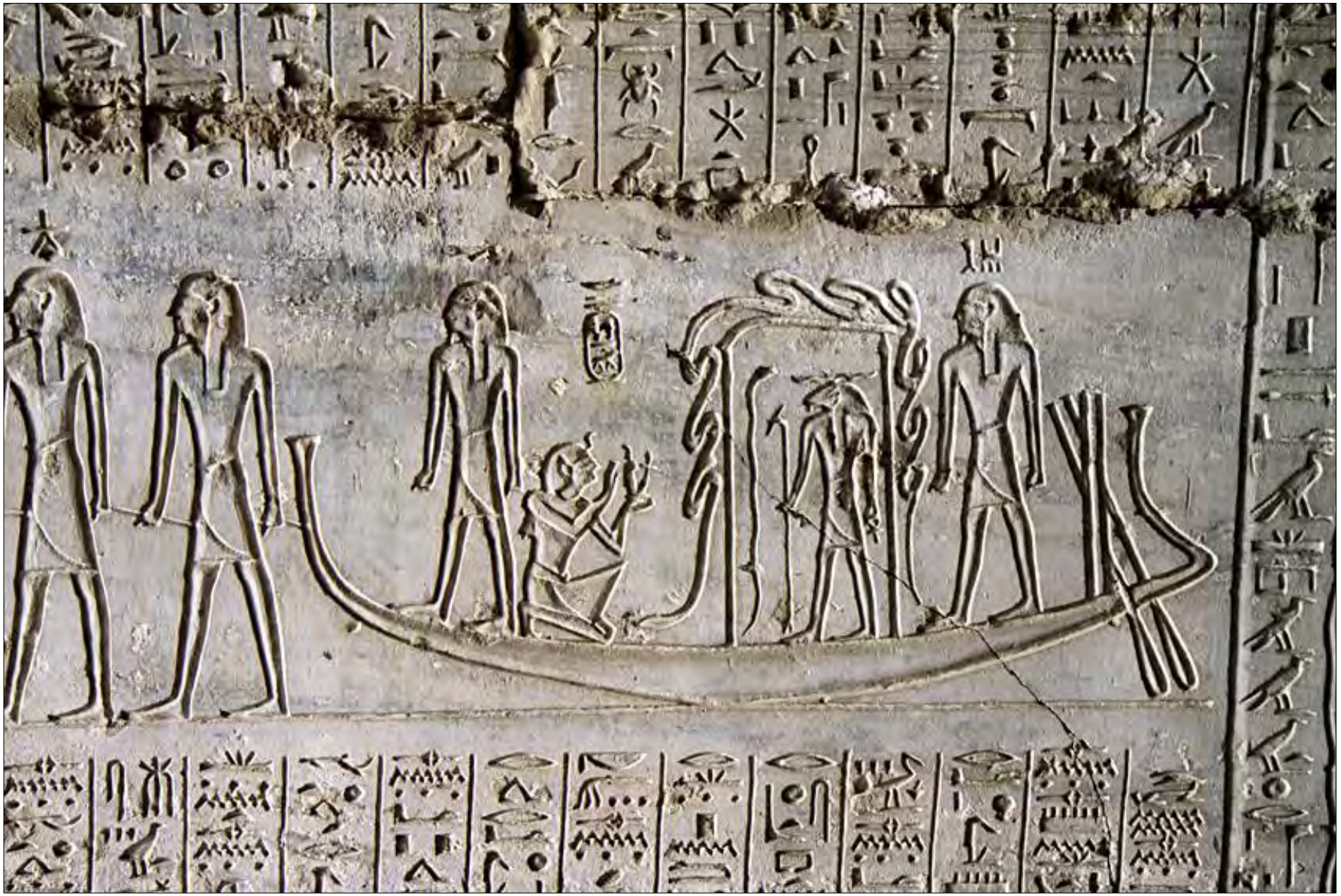


Plate 73. Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Solar Barque with the King Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6815934443/in/album-72157624260294383/

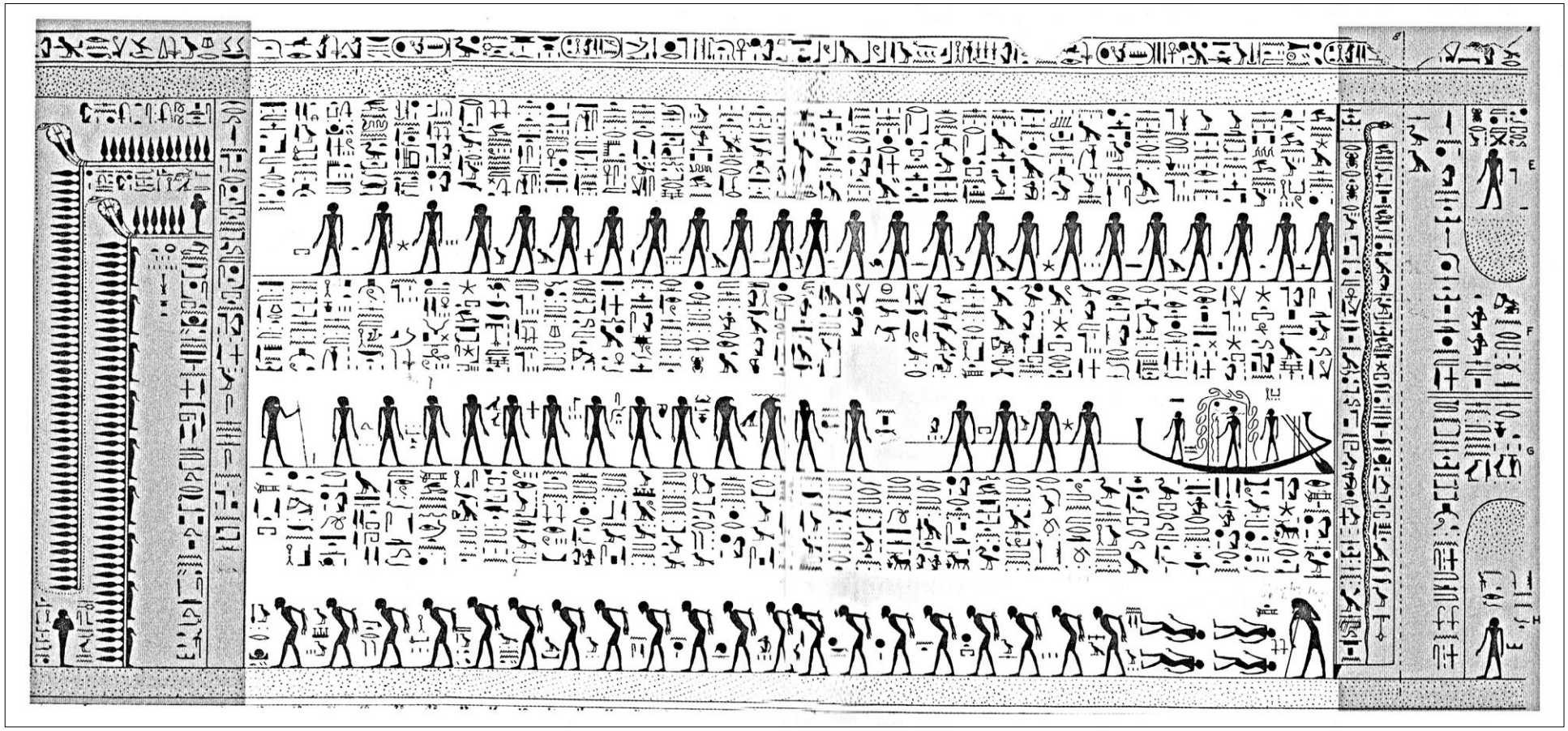


Plate 74. Book of Gates Second Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 27-28)

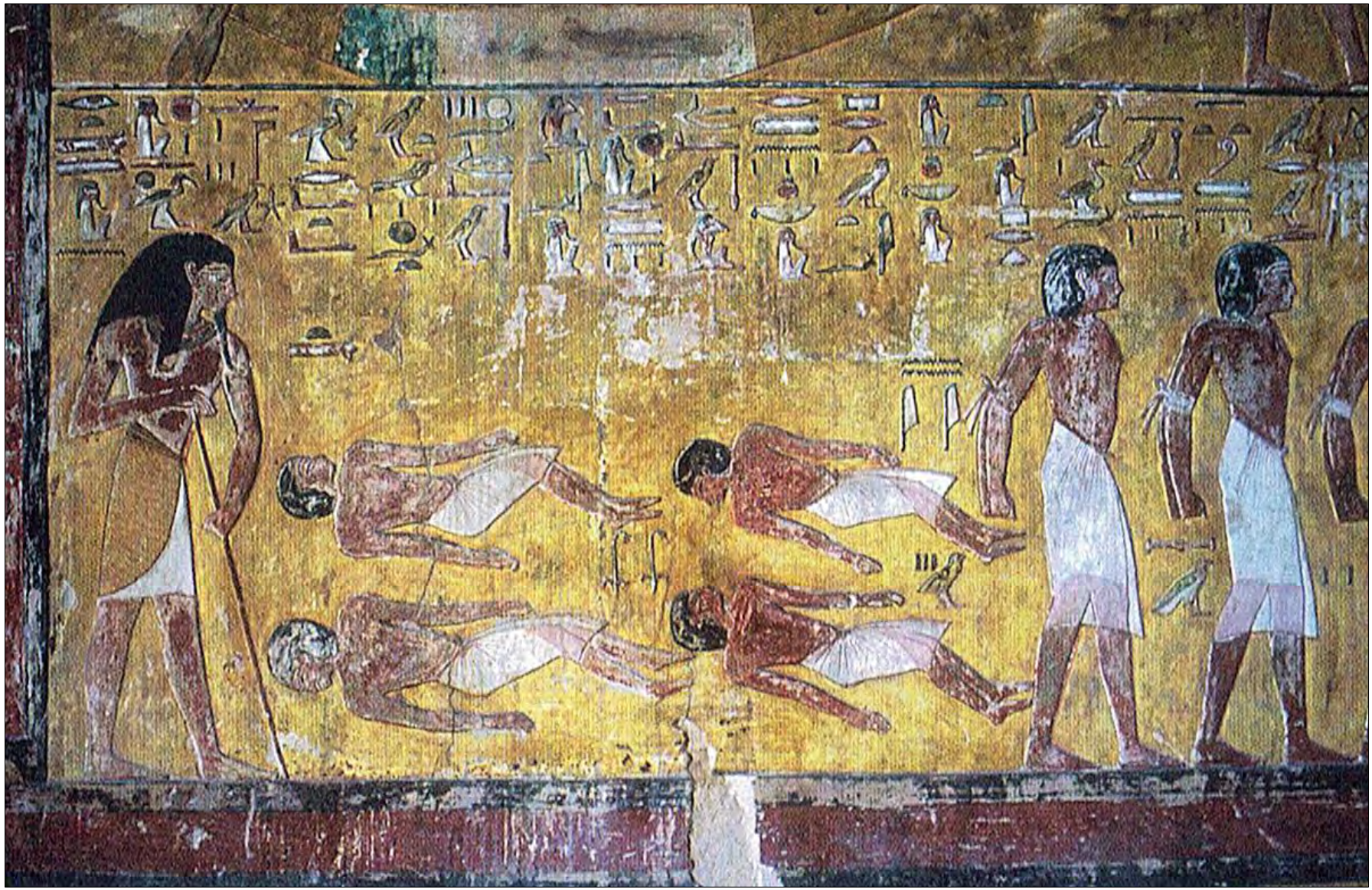


Plate 75. Book of Gates Second Hour Atum and the Inert Ones scene 8 Kv 17 Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 49)

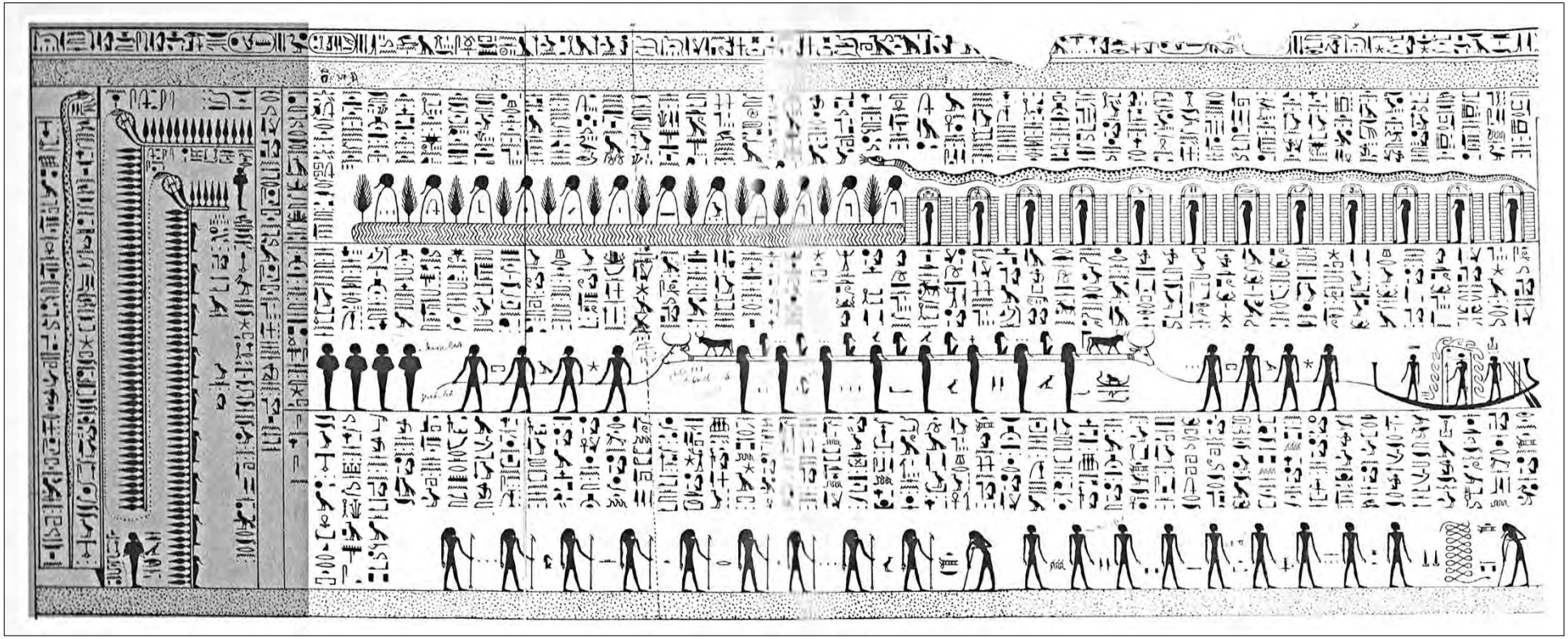


Plate 76. Book of the Gates Third Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 56-57)

Plate 77. Book of Gates Third Hour middle and lower registers Tomb of Ramesses I.
(Hornung 2014, 58-59)

Plate 78. Book of Gates Third Hour Barque of the Earth detail Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6829992769/in/album-72157624260294383/

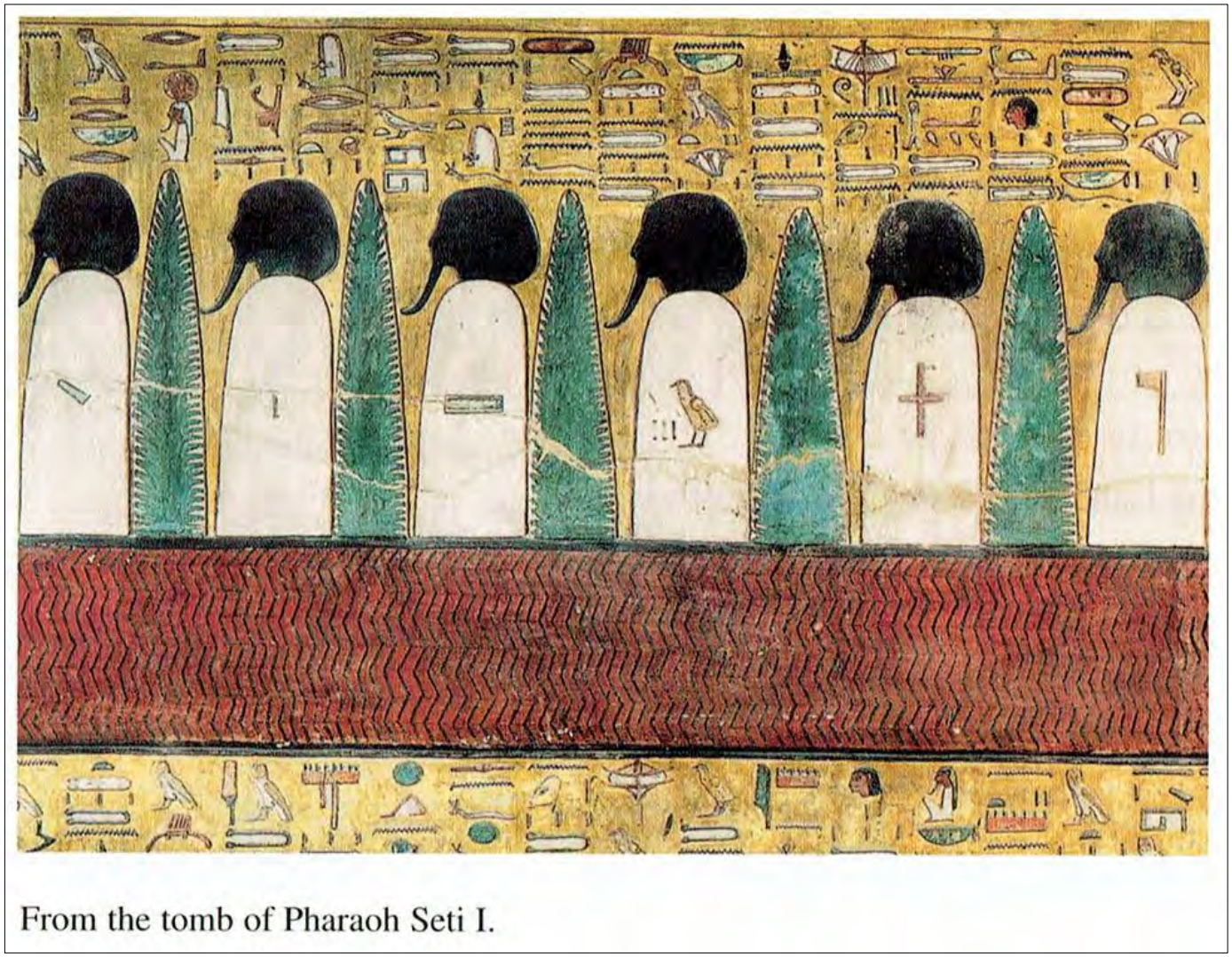


Plate 79. Book of Gates Third Hour Lake of Fire detail scene 10 KV 17 Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 69)

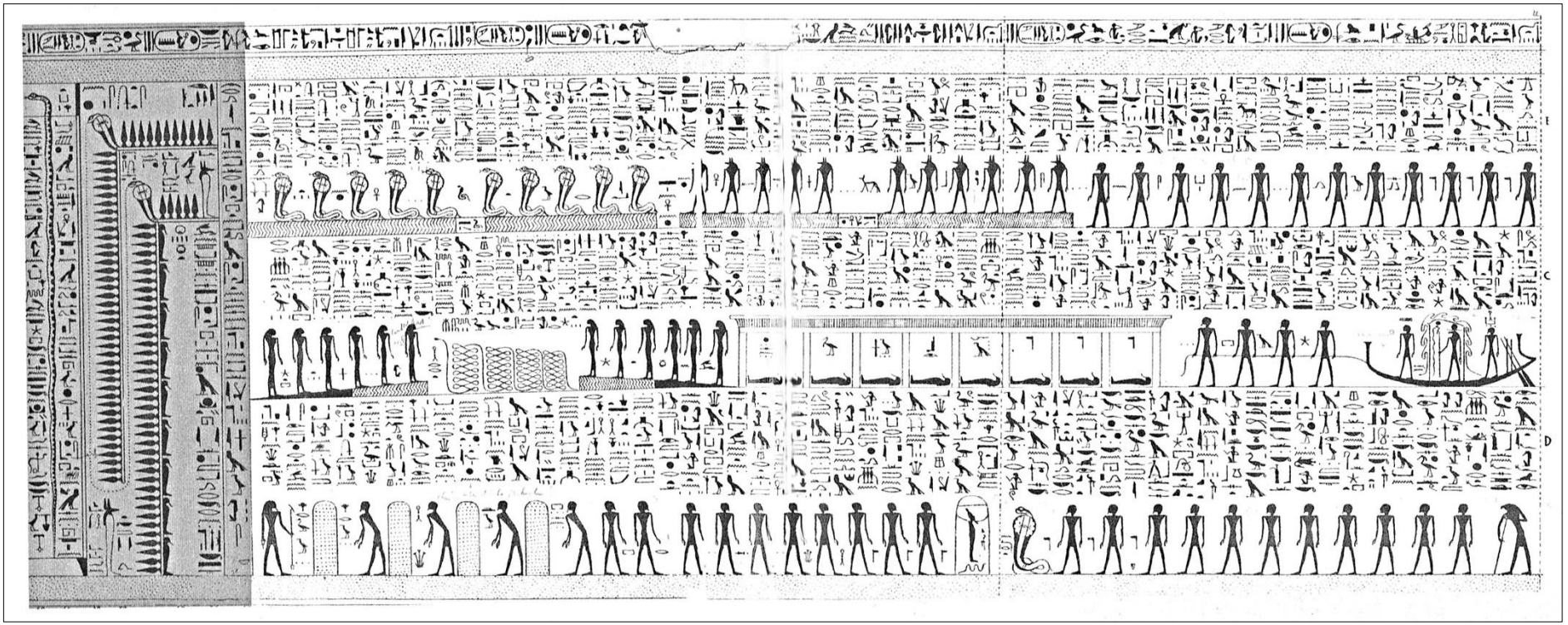


Plate 80. Book of Gates Fourth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 96-97)

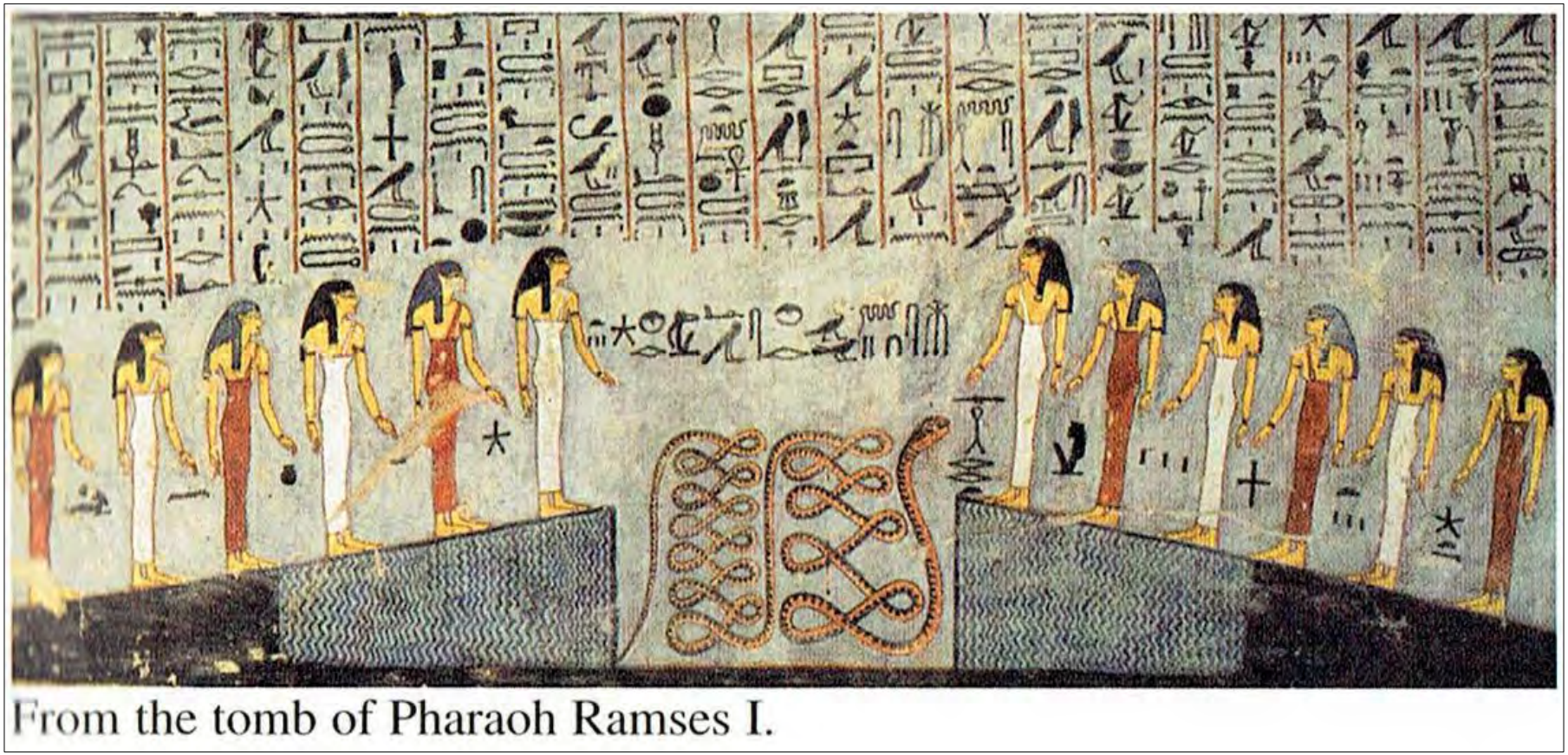


Plate 81. Book of Gates Fourth Hour scene 20 Hour Goddesses Tomb of Ramesses I.
(Hornung 2014, 121)

Plate 82. Book of Gates Fourth Hour middle register scene 20, lower register scene 22 Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779135197/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 83. Book of Gates Fourth Hour middle register scene 19 detail Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6829981857/in/album-72157624260294383/

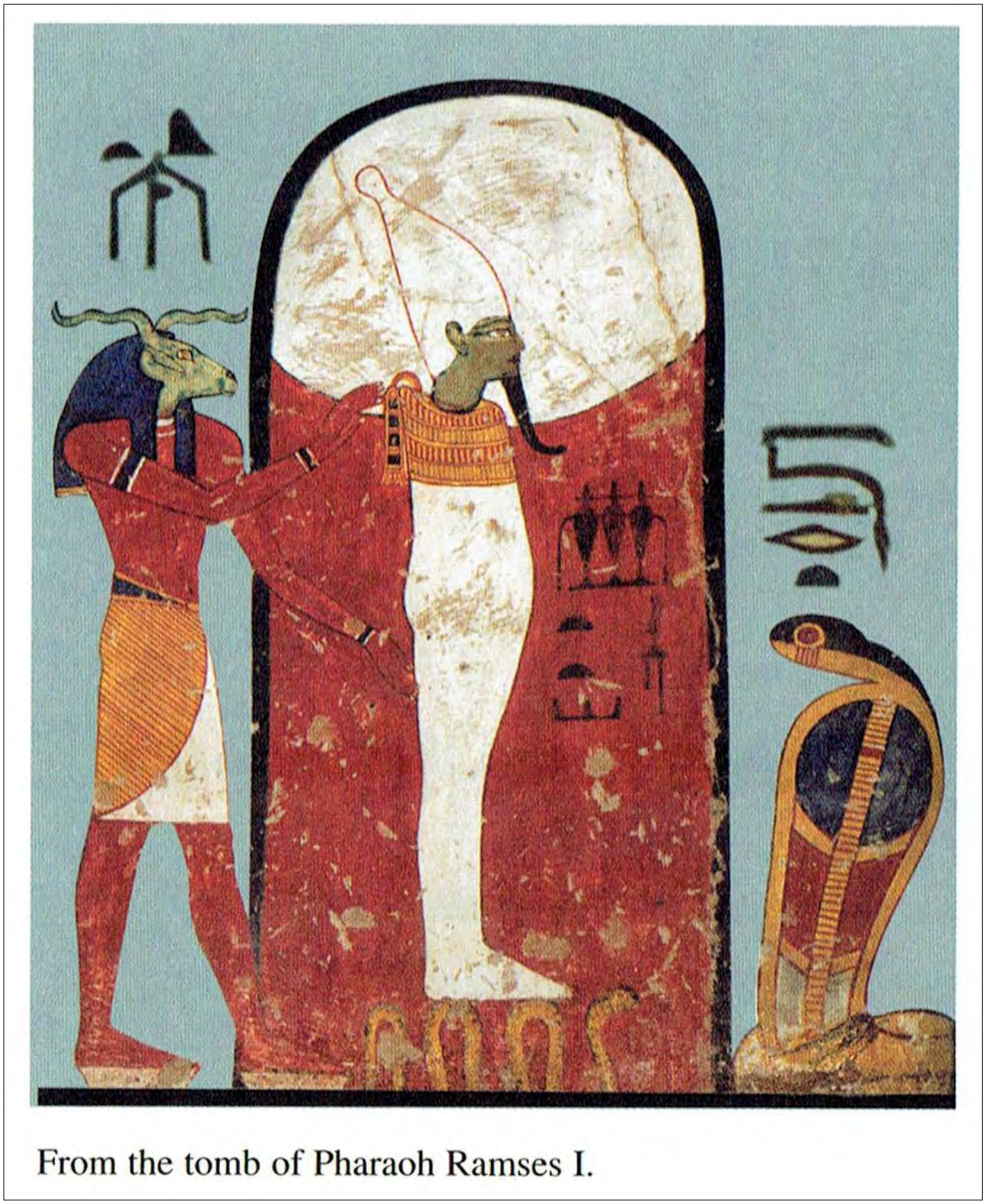


Plate 84. Book of Gates Fourth Hour scene 21 Osiris detail Tomb of Ramesses I.
(Hornung 2014, 127)

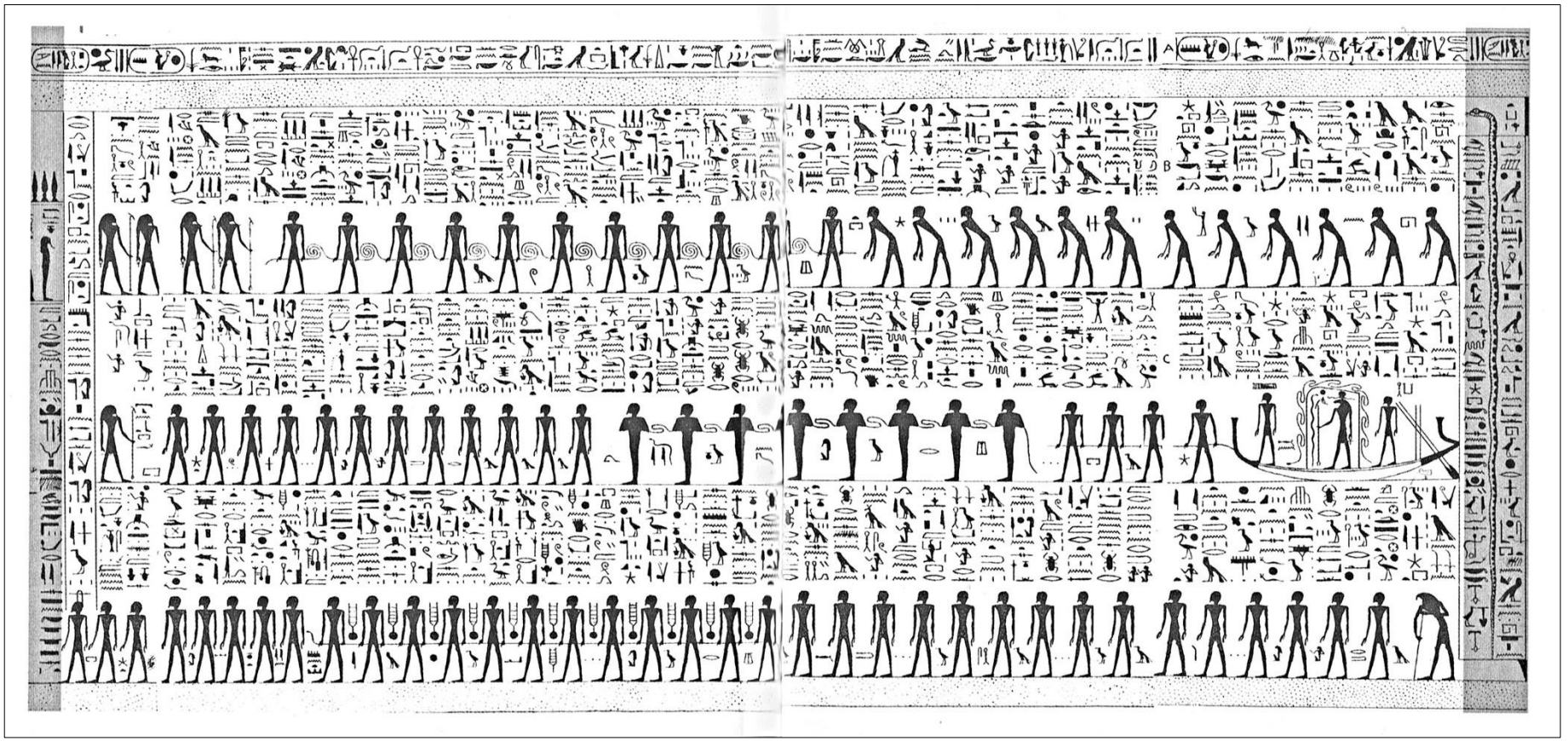


Plate 85. Book of Gates Fifth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 144-145)

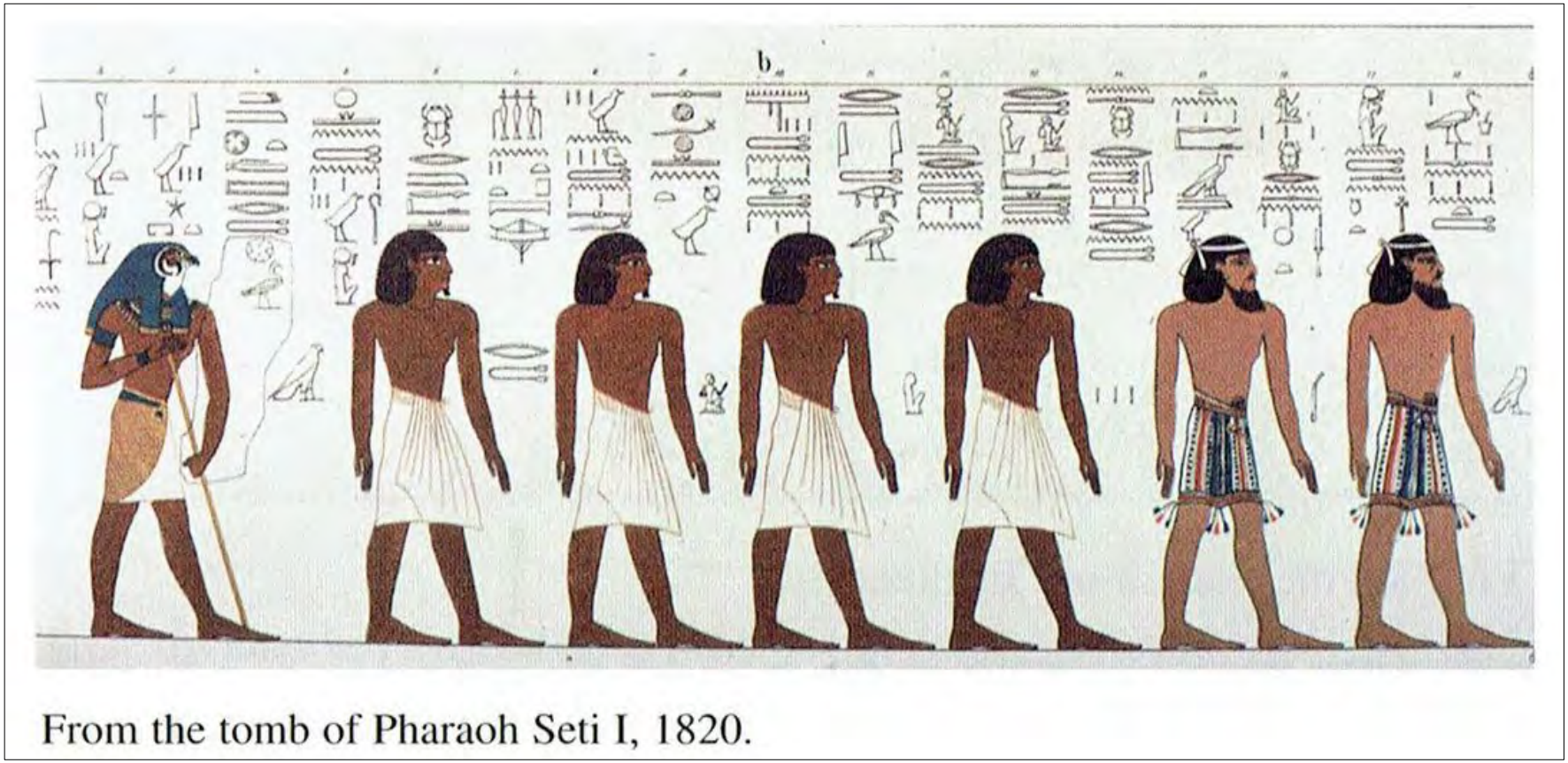


Plate 86. Book of Gates Fifth Hour scene 30 detail KV 17 Seti I
(Hornung 2014, 169)

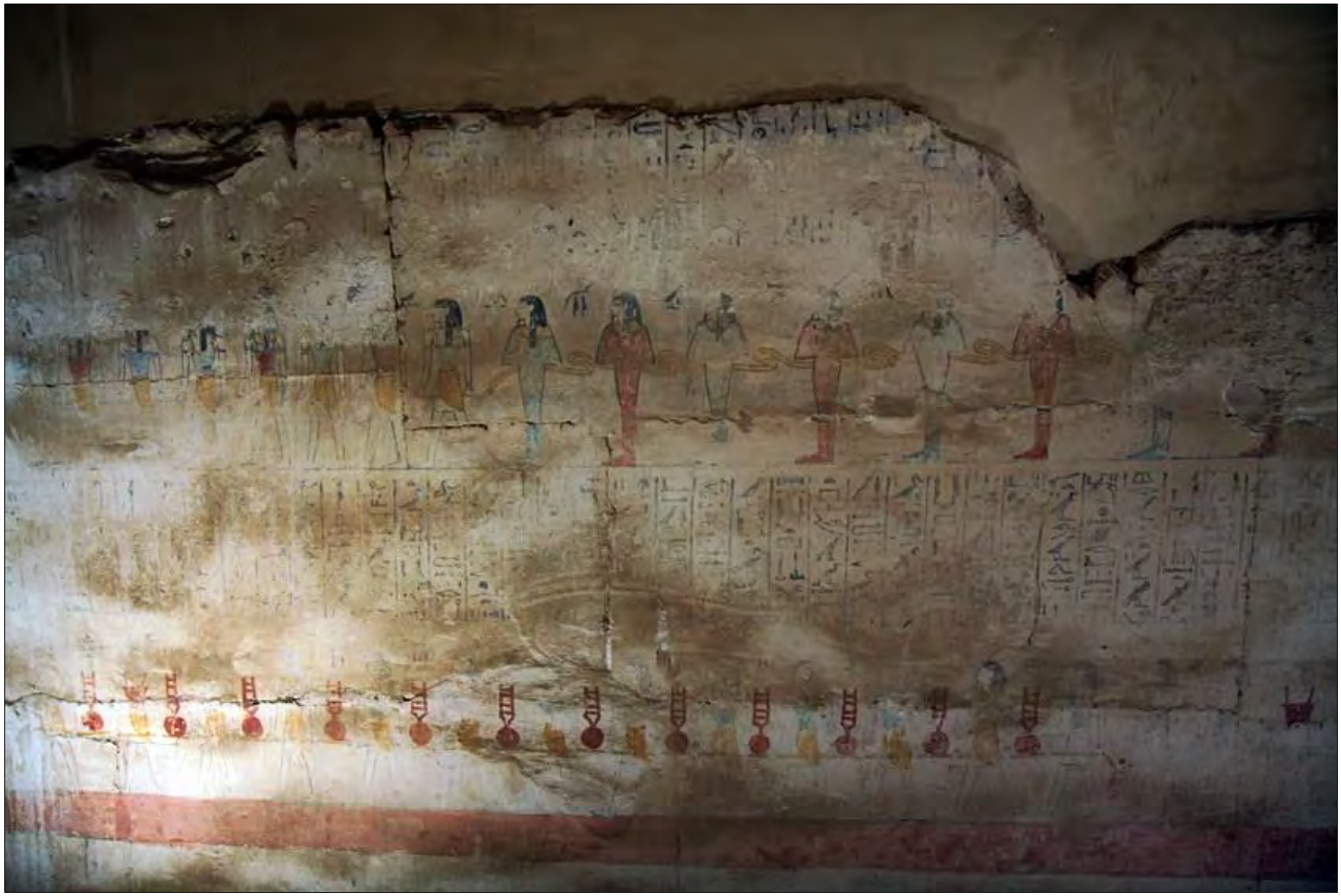


Plate 87. Book of Gates Fifth Hour scene 27 and 31 detail Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779138017/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 88. Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 Osireion.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 55)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 89. Book of Gates Hall of Osiris KV 57 Horemheb.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_tombe_de_Horemheb_(KV.57)_(Vallee_des_Rois_Thebes_ouest)_-6d.jpg
Jean-Pierre Dalb'era, JMCCI, CC BY 2.0 via Wikimedia Commons

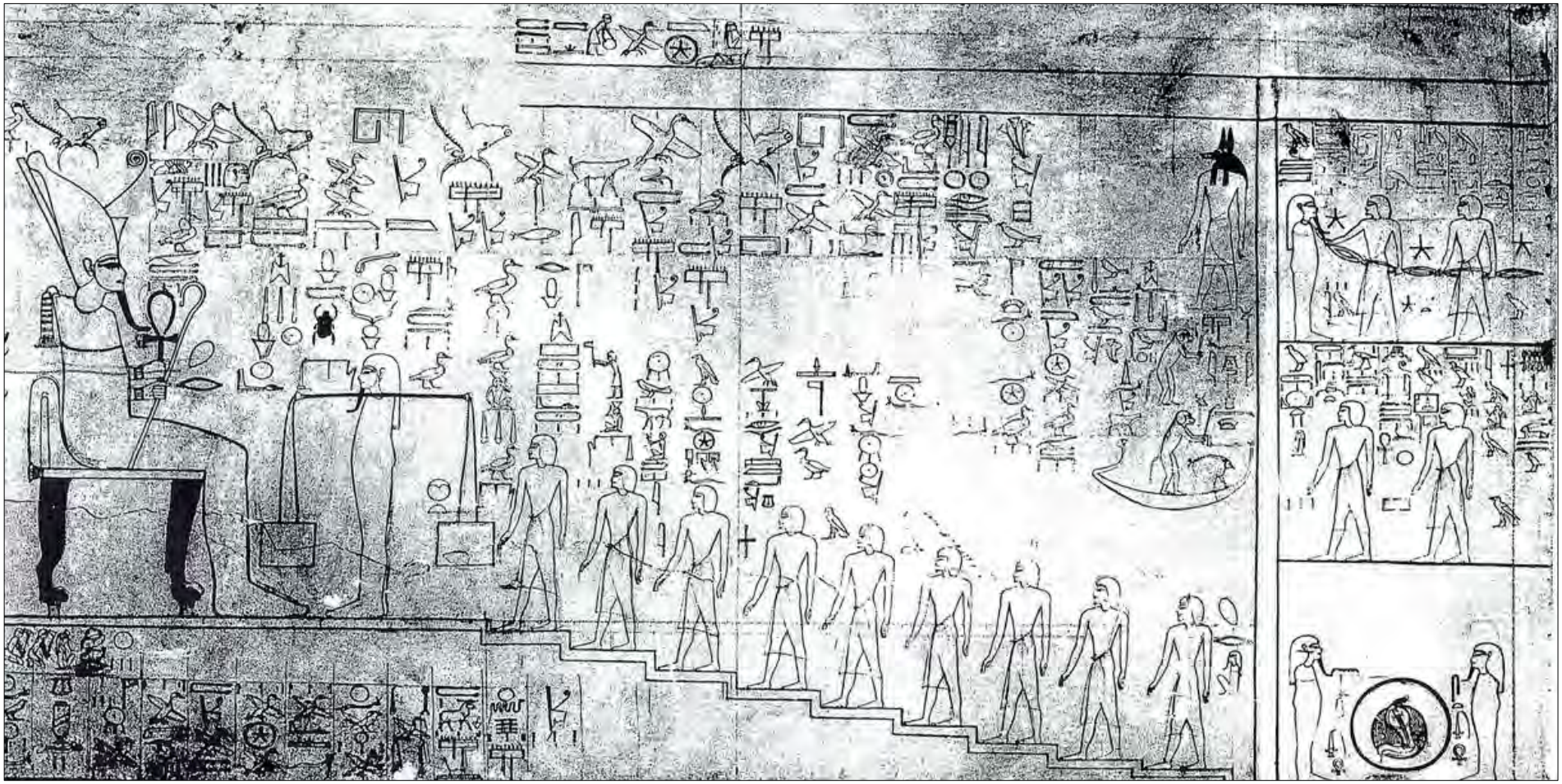


Plate 90. Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 KV 57 Horemheb.
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

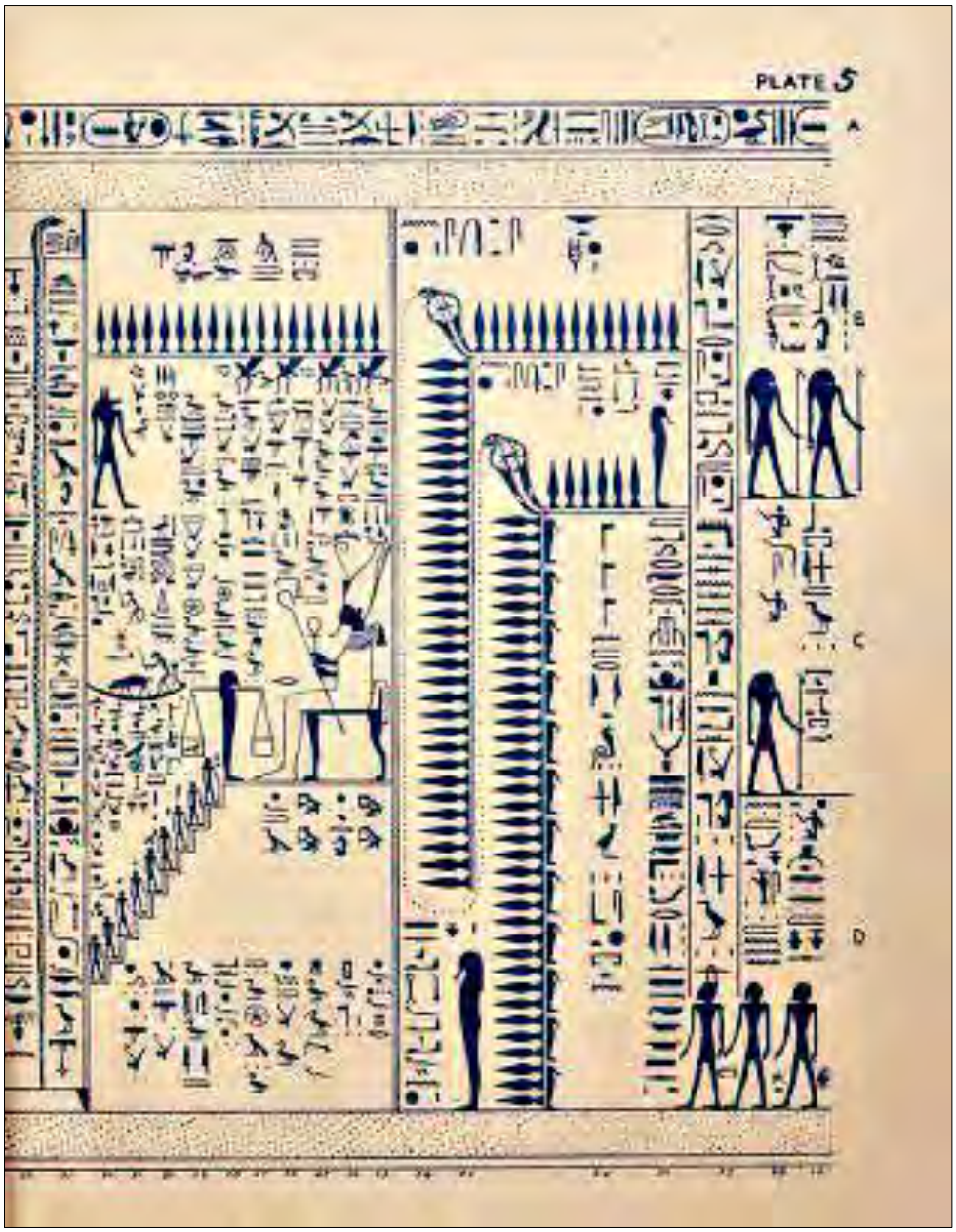
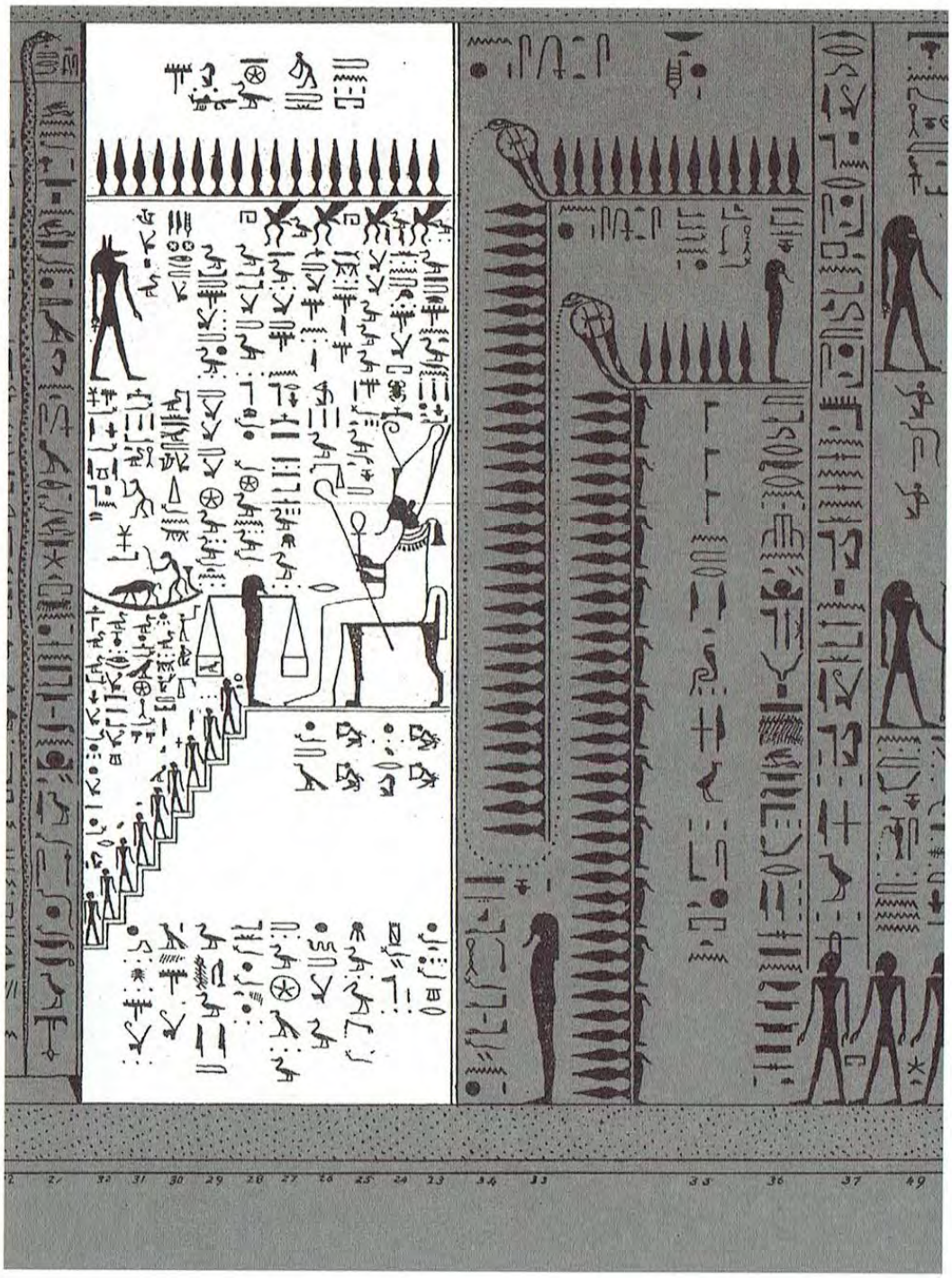


Plate 91. Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Bonomi & Sharp 1864, plate 5)

33RD SCENE

The text of the Judgement Hall of Osiris is mainly cryptographic.



The Judgement Hall of Osiris.

Plate 92. Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 183)

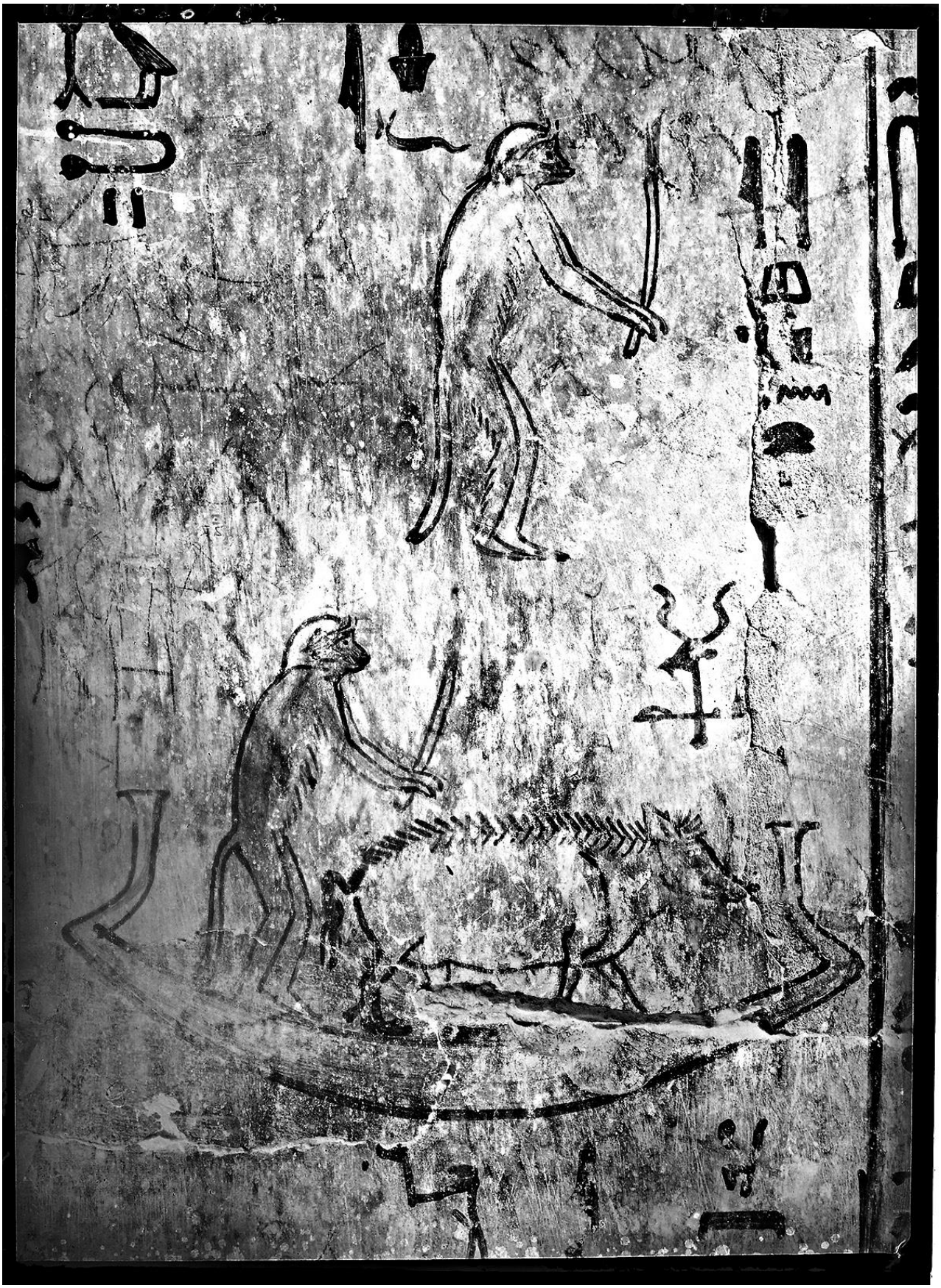


Plate 93. Book of Gates Hall of Osiris scene 33 detail of Sethian Pig Osireion.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0082)

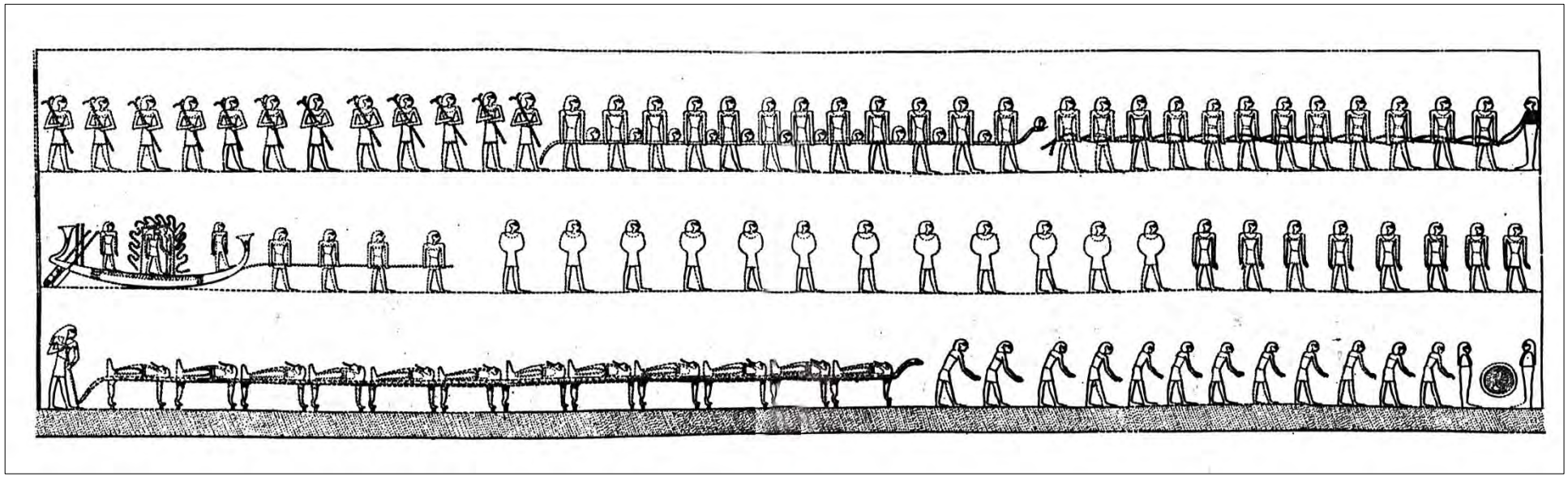


Plate 94. Book of Gates Sixth Hour Schema.
(Hornung 2014, 194-195)

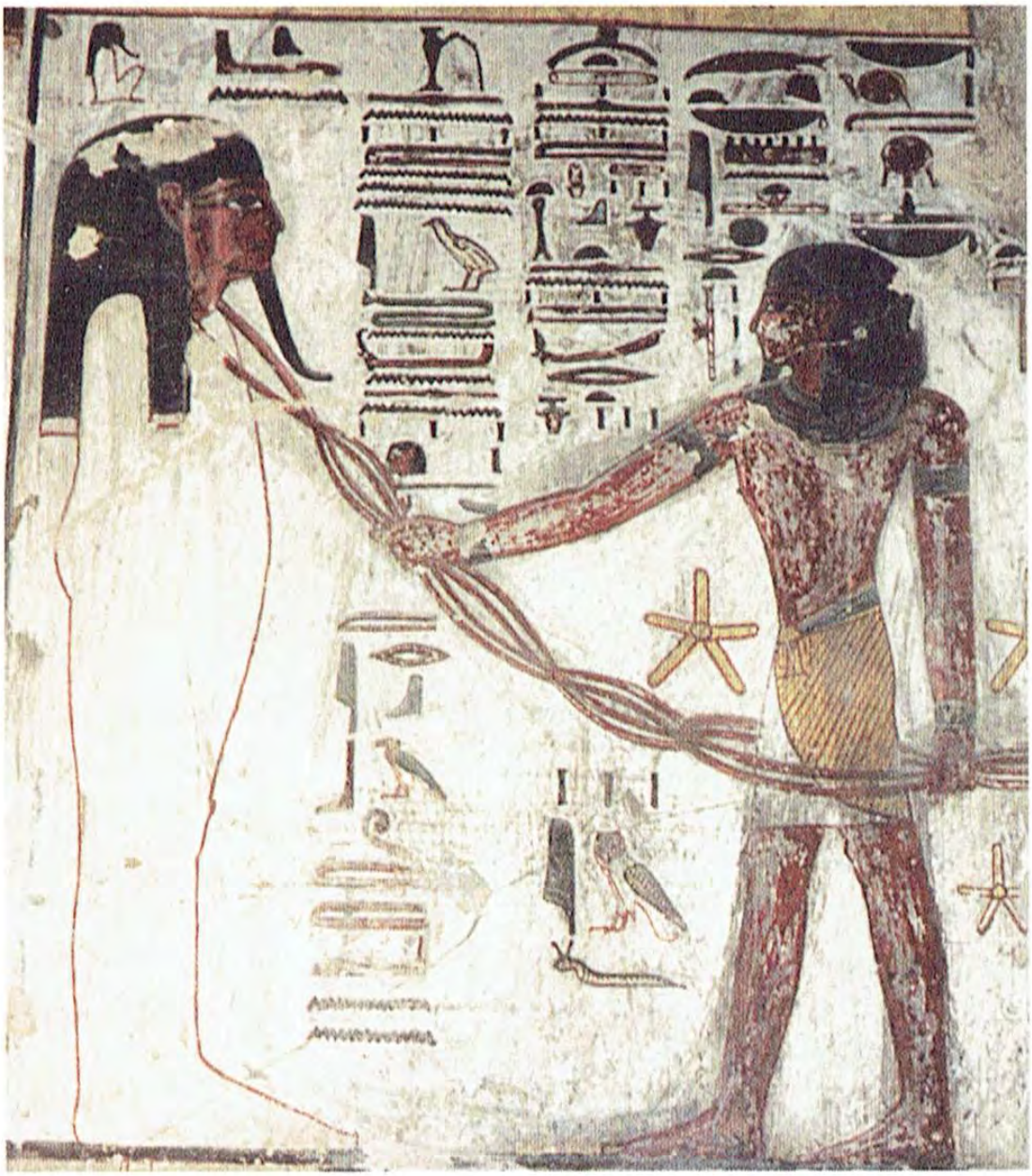
Plate 95. Book of Gates Sixth Hour detail leading out of the Hall of Osiris Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779138241/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 96. Book of Gates Sixth Hour panoramic view Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779775622/in/album-7 2157624260294383 /

Plate 97. Book of Gates Sixth Hour top register scene 36 detail Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779776758/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 98. Book of Gates Sixth Hour top register scene 35 and middle register scene 39 Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779140517/in/album-72157624260294383/

Upper Register, 36th Scene



From the tomb of Pharaoh Seti I.

Plate 99. Book of Gates Sixth Hour scene 36 detail KV 17 Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 207)

From the tomb of Pharaoh Horemheb.

Plate 100. Book of Gates Sixth Hour scene 41 Lake of Fire KV 57 Horemheb
(Hornung 2014, 225)

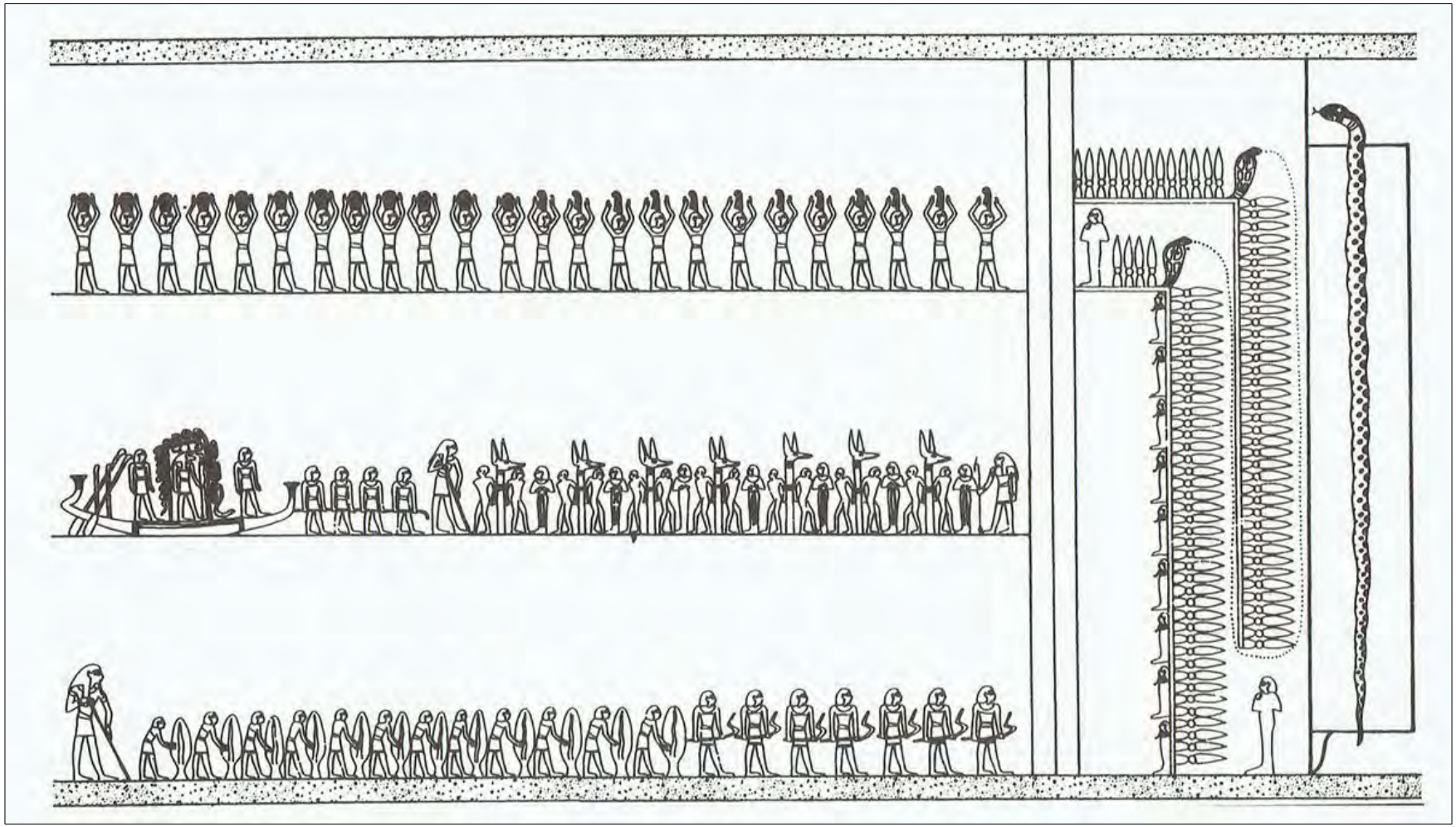


Plate 101. Book of Gates Seventh Hour Schema.
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 36)

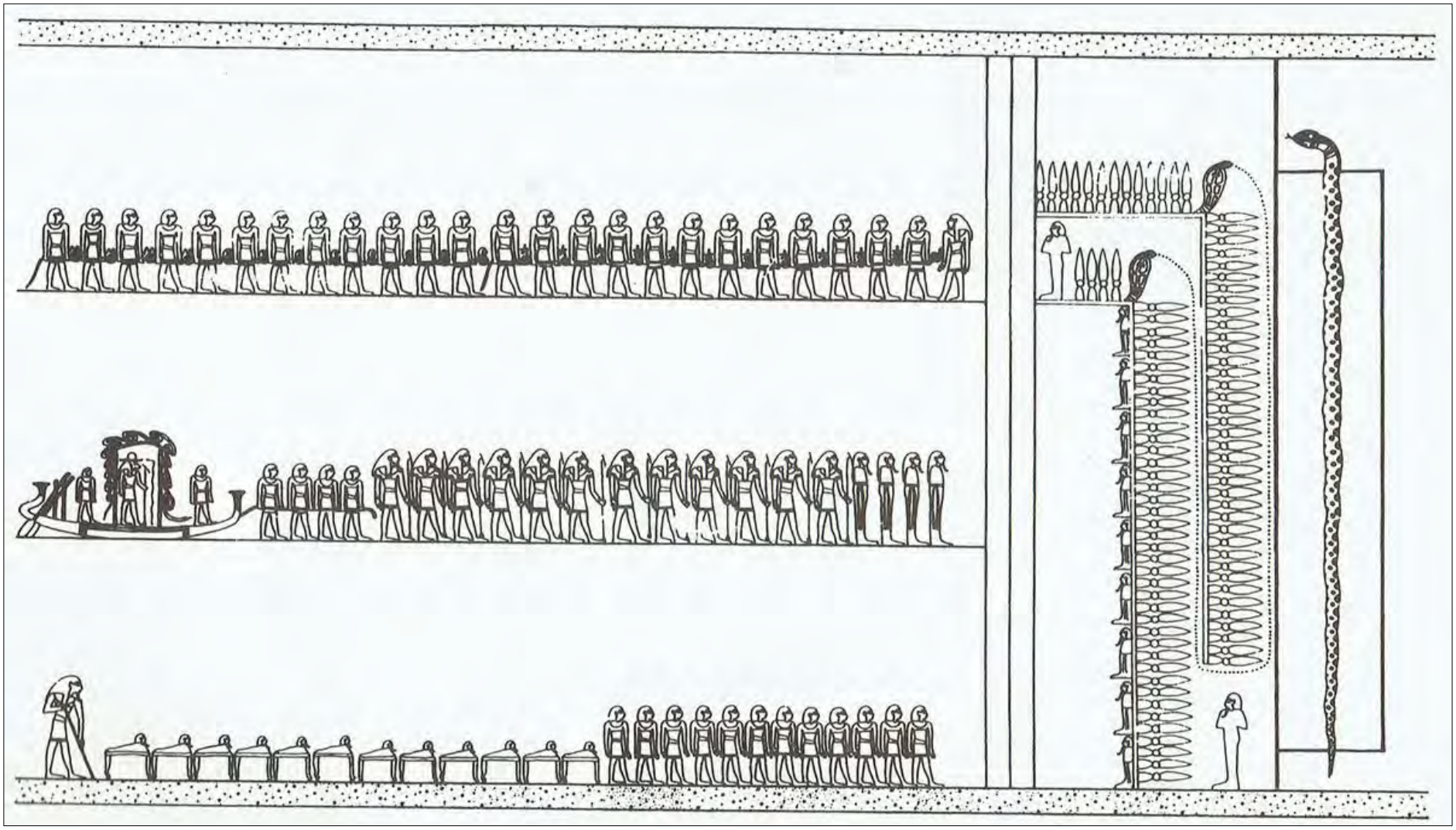


Plate 102. Book of Gates Eighth Hour Schema
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 37)

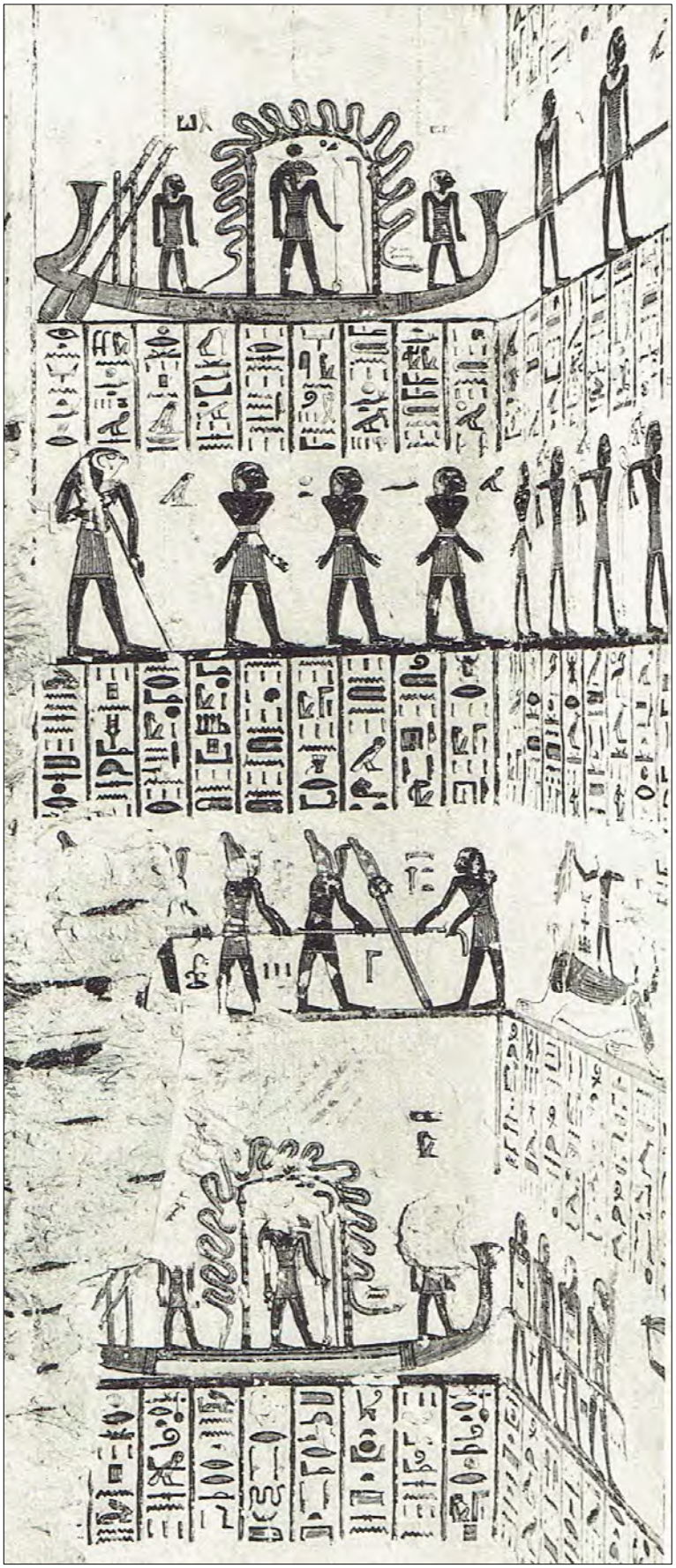


Plate 103. Book of Gates Eighth and Ninth Hours detail Solar Barques KV 9 Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1954, plate 54)

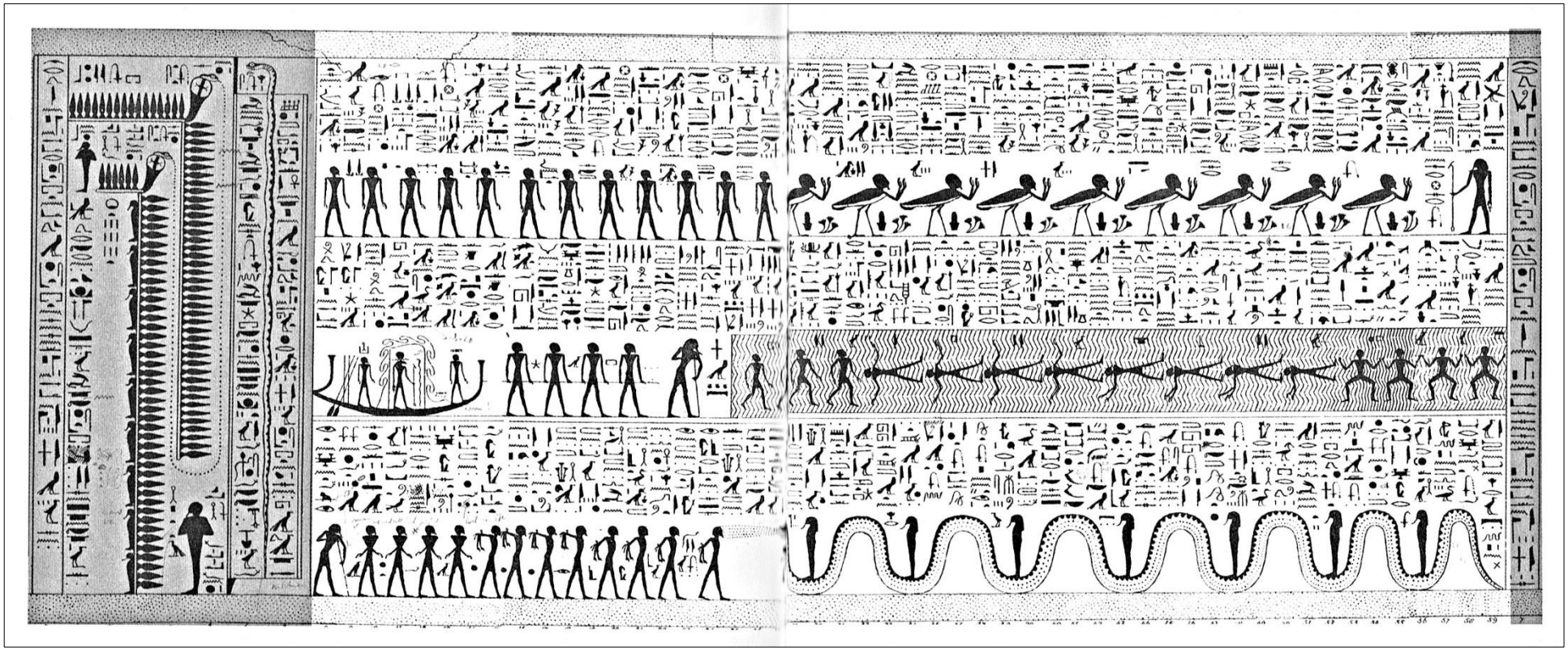
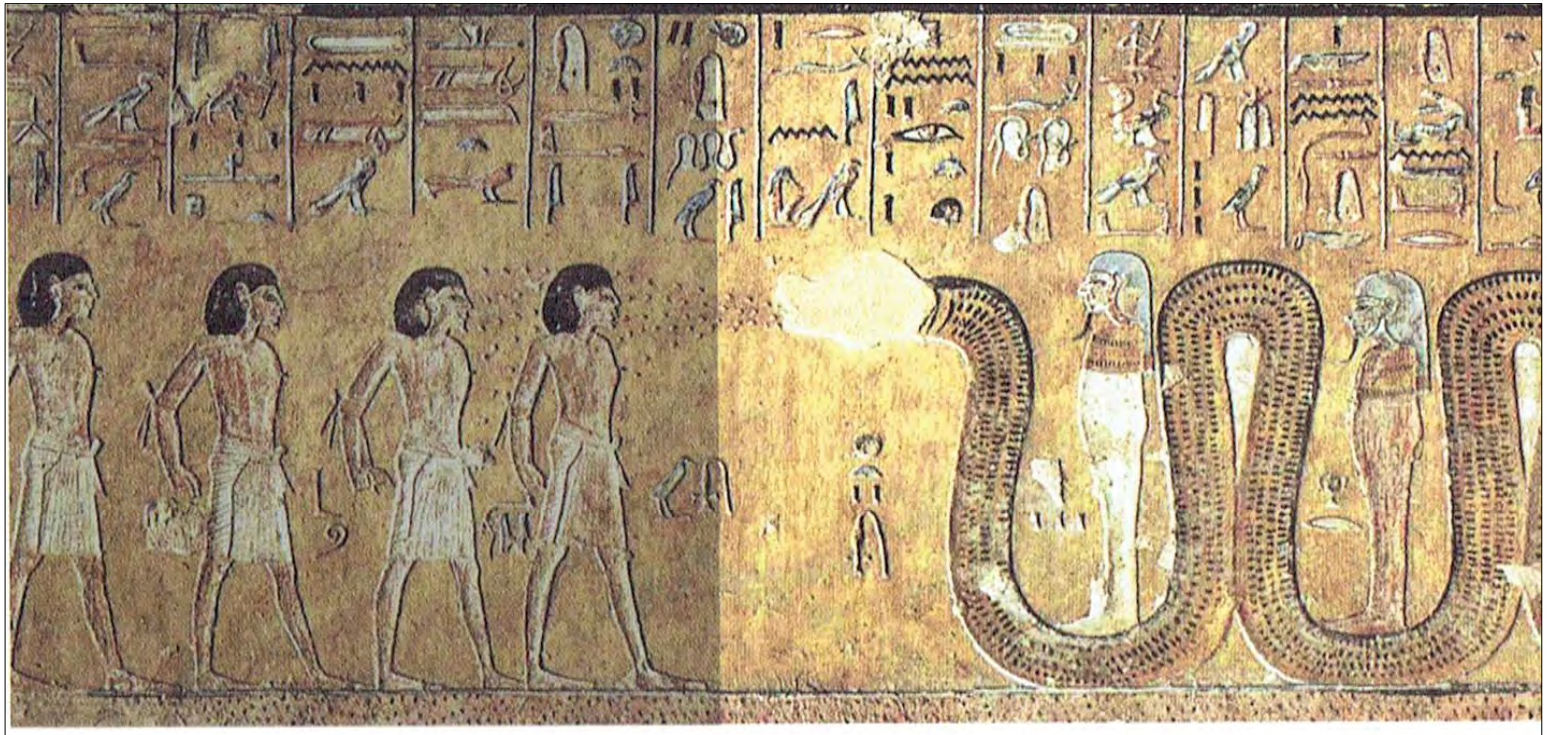


Plate 104. Book of Gates Ninth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 304-305)



A giant, multi-coiled serpent, spitting fire from its mouth against the enemies of the 59th scene:

Plate 105. Book of Gates Ninth Hour scene 59 and 60 KV 14 Tausert. (Hornung 2014, 326)

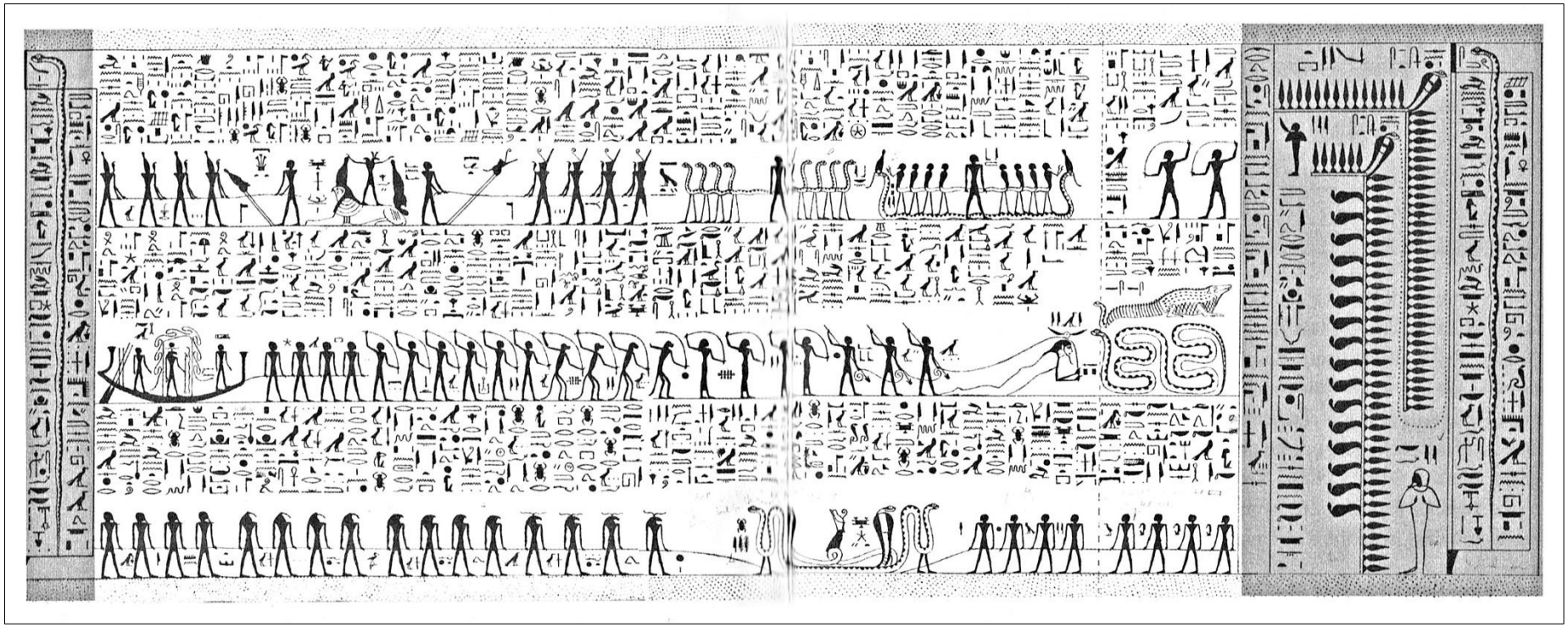


Plate 106. Book of Gates Tenth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 334-335)

Plate 107. Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 61 top register two headed Horus-Seth detail Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779783862/in/album-72157624260294383/

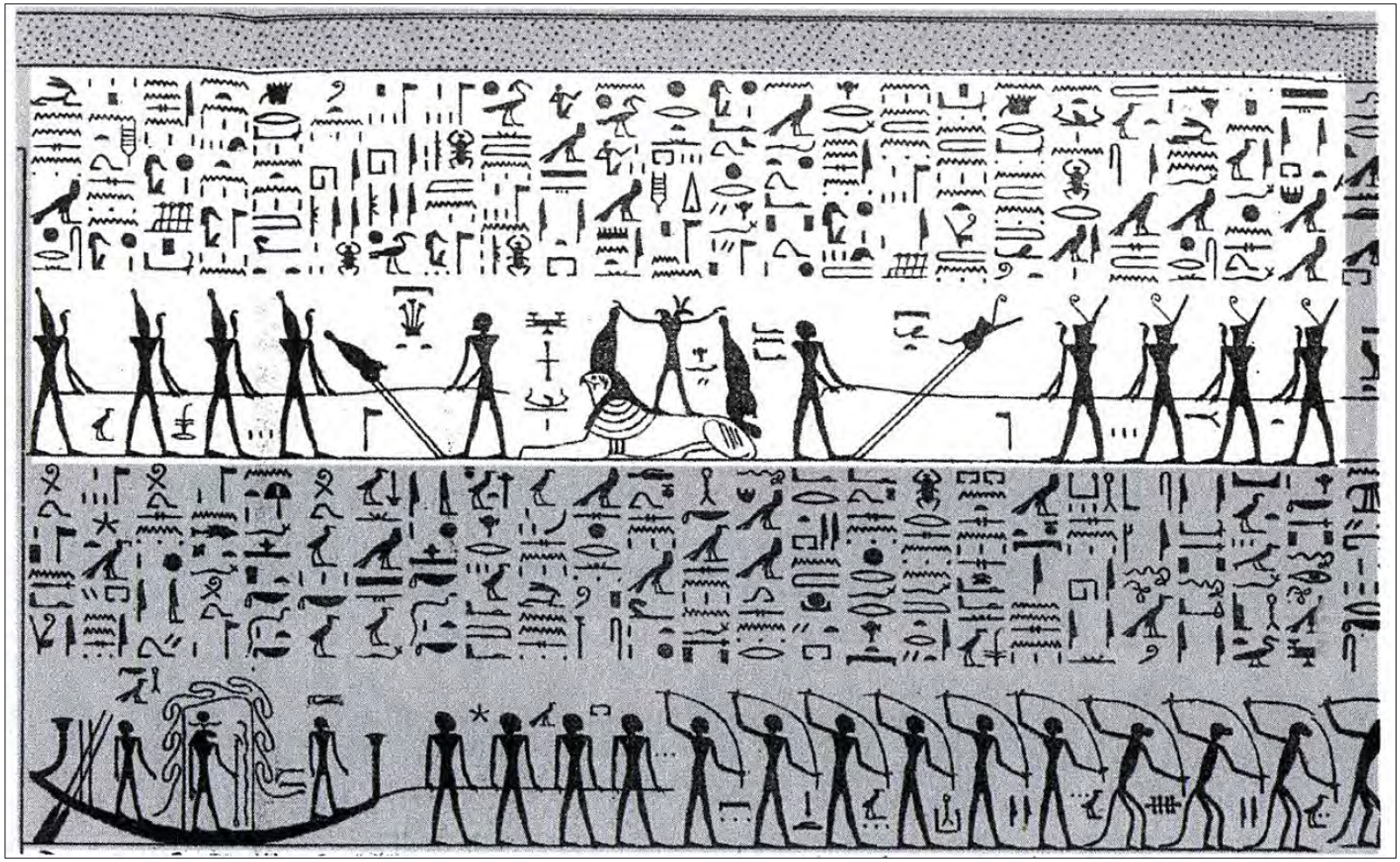


Plate 108. Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 61 detail
(Hornung 2014, 334)

Plate 109. Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 68 detail KV 14 Tausert.
(Hornung 2014, 361)

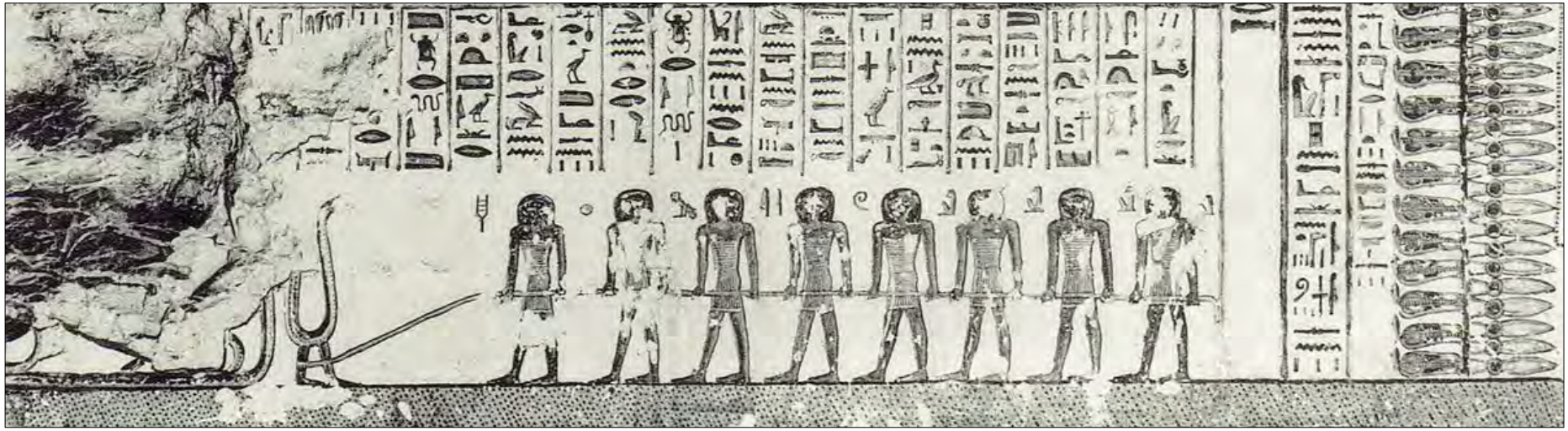


Plate 110. Book of Gates Tenth Hour scene 68 detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 56)

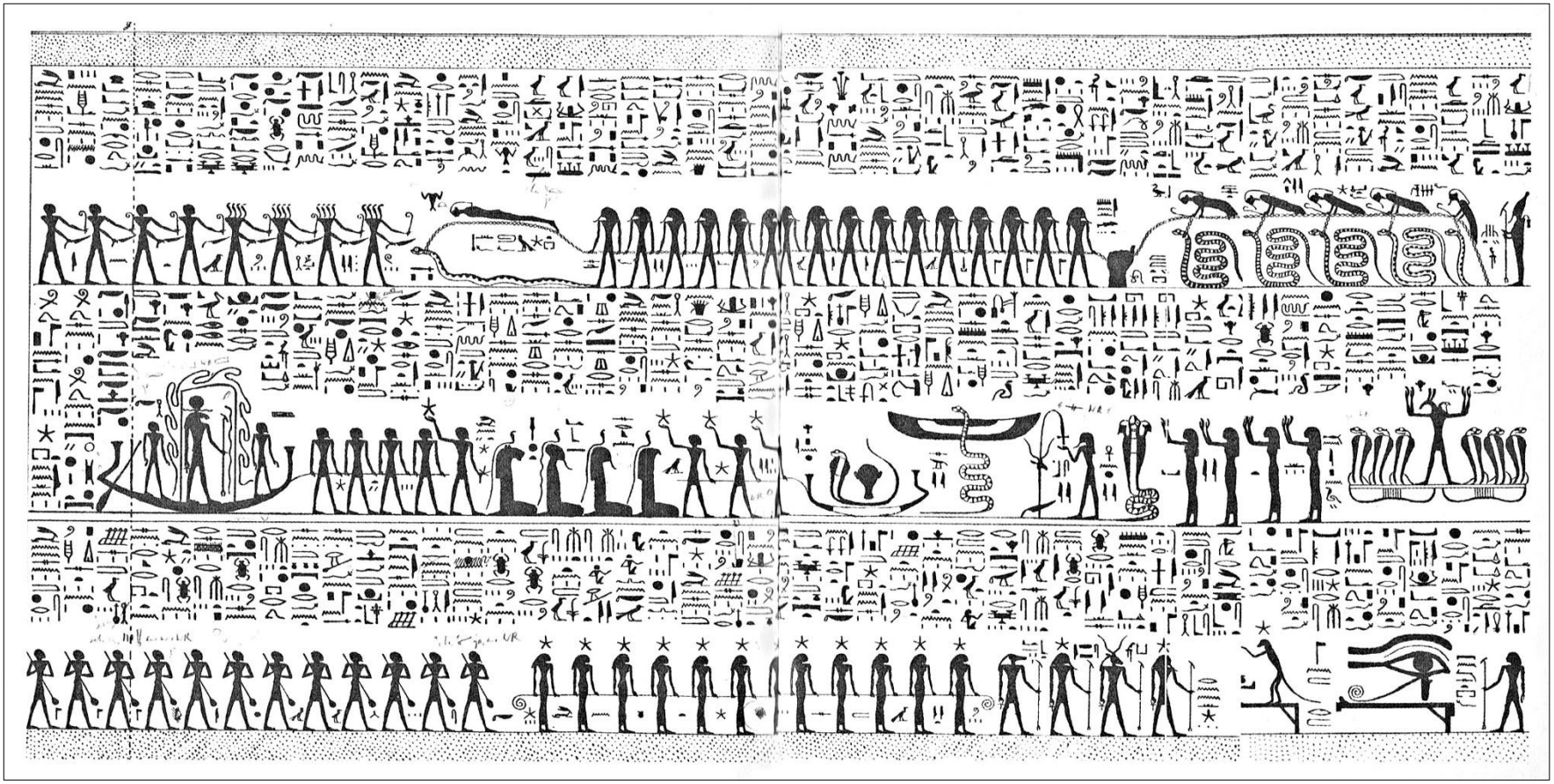


Plate 111. Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 368-369)

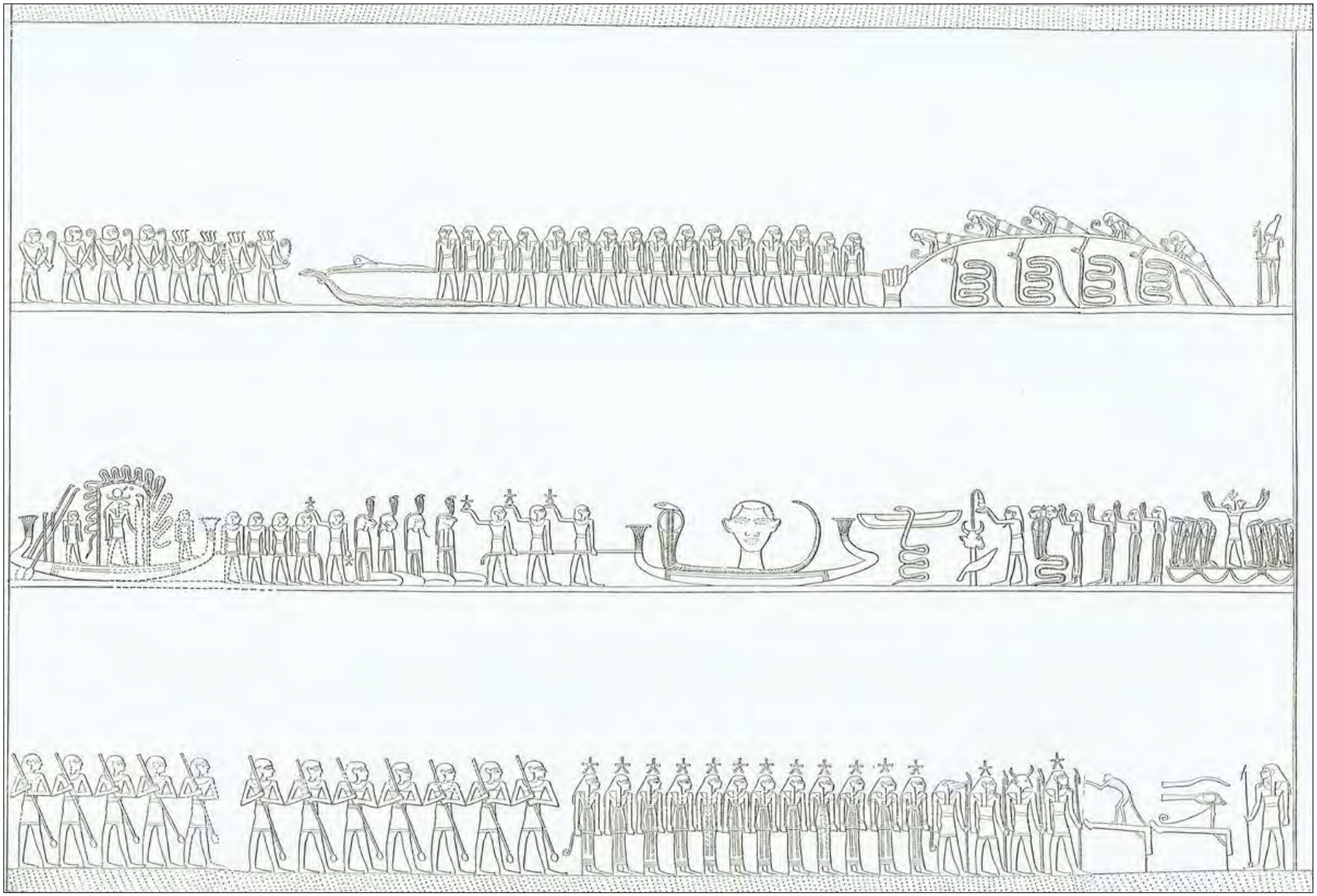


Plate 112. Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Line Drawing
(Piankoff 1954, 204)

Plate 113. Book of Gates Eleventh Hour scene 80 KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Hornung 2014, 370)

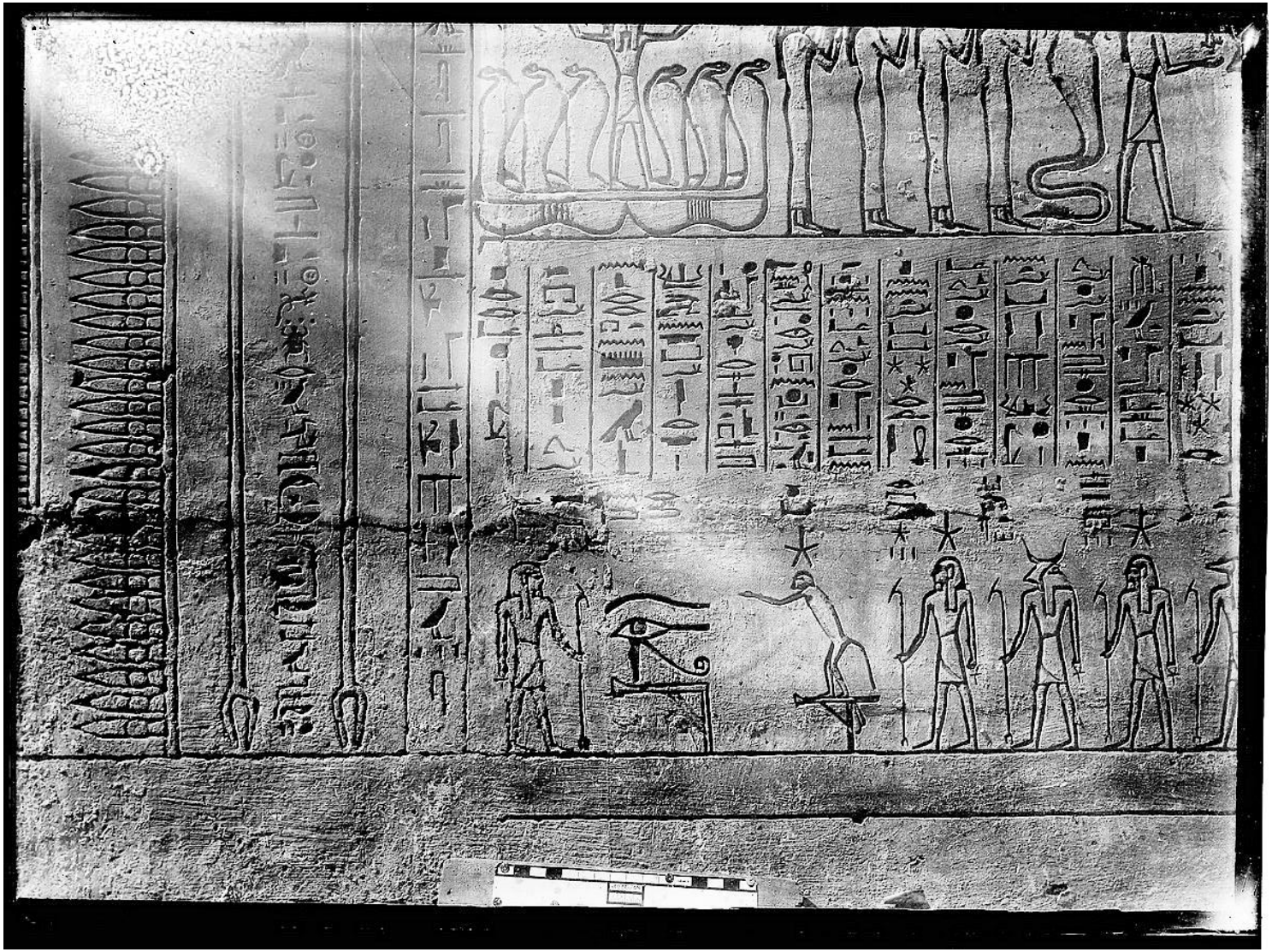


Plate 114. Book of Gates Eleventh Hour end Osireion.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0164)

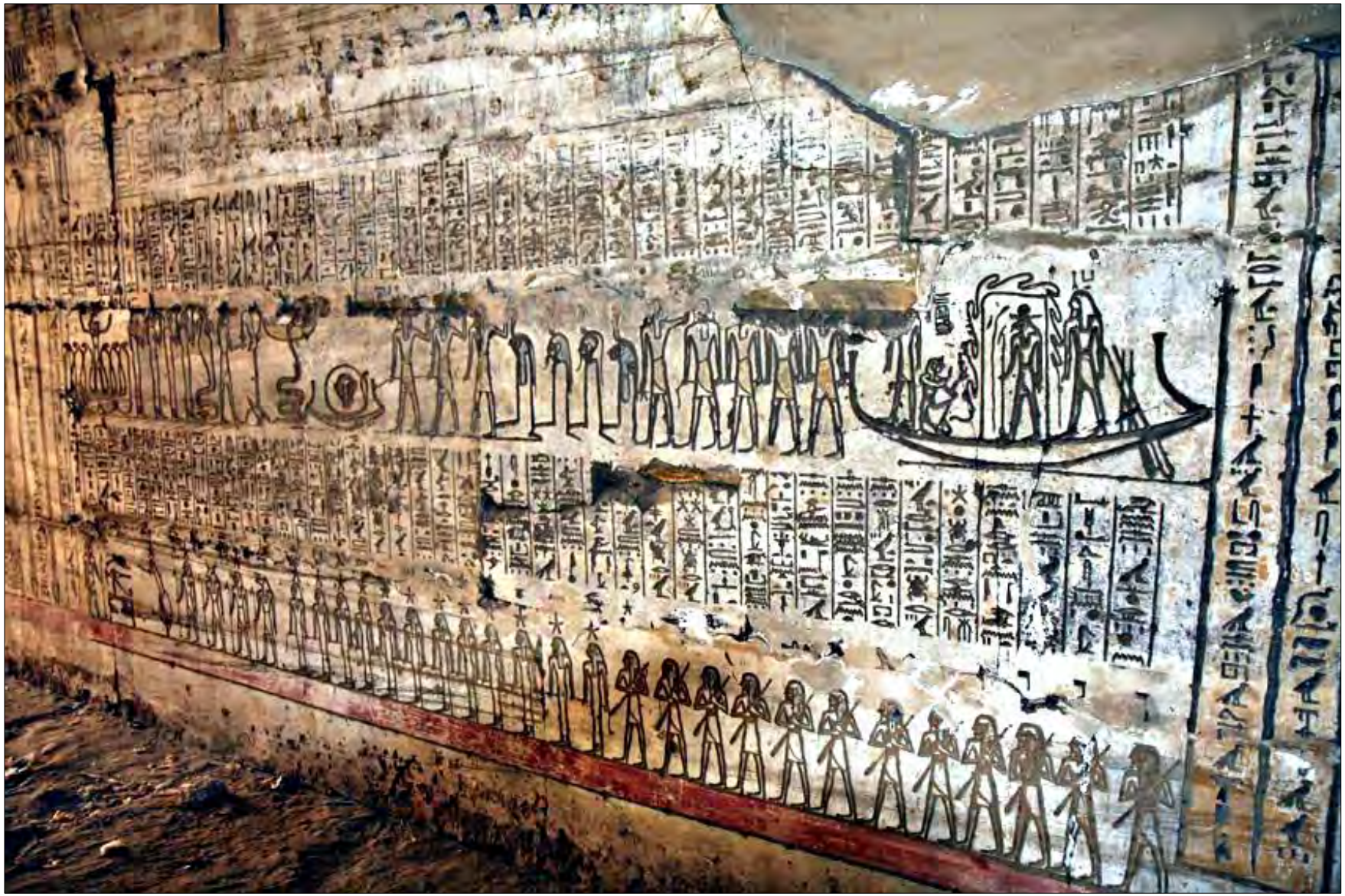


Plate 115. Book of Gates Eleventh Hour Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779786044/in/album-72157624260294383/

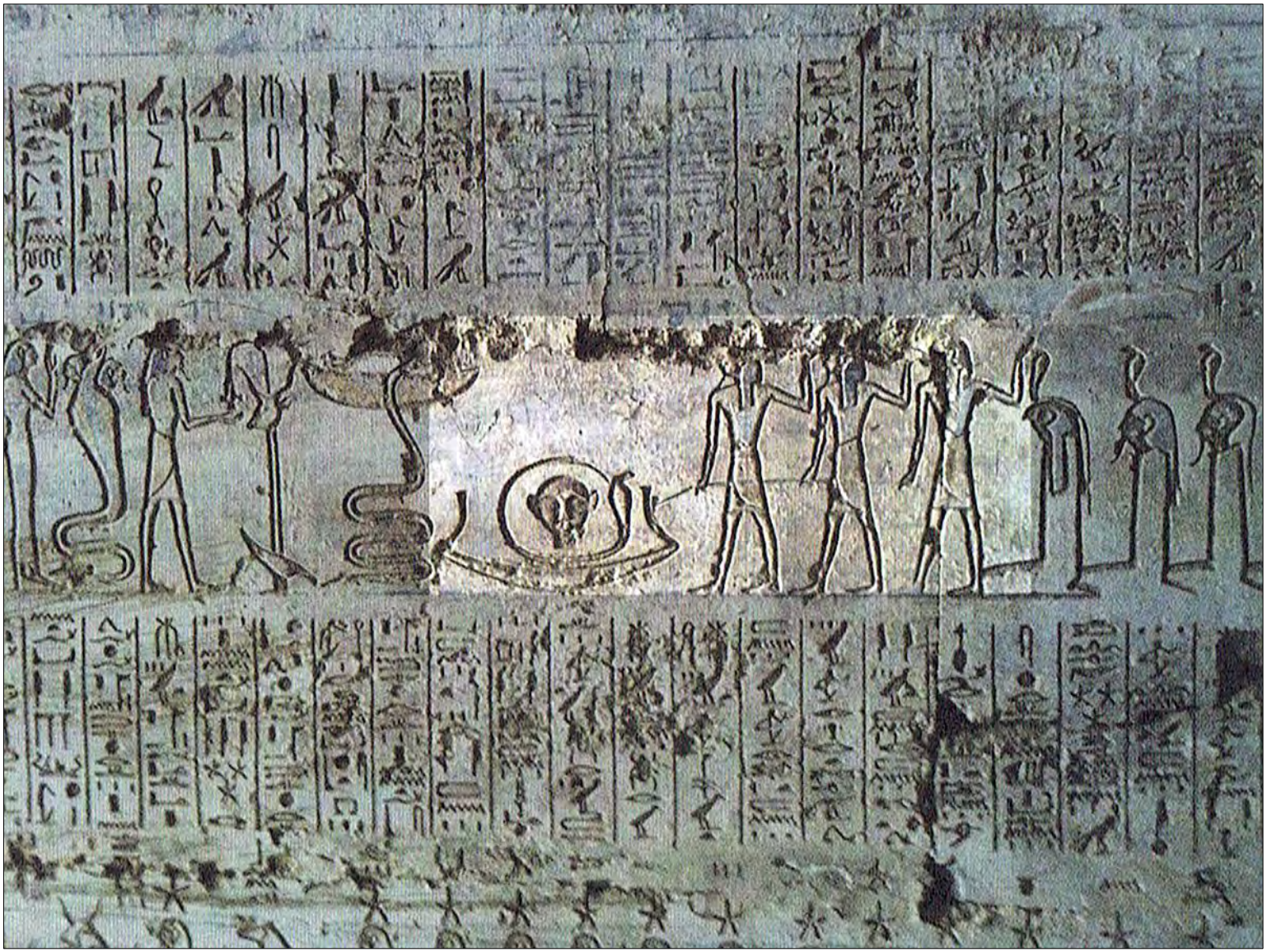


Plate 116. Book of Gates Eleventh Hour detail Osireion
(Hornung 2014, 386)

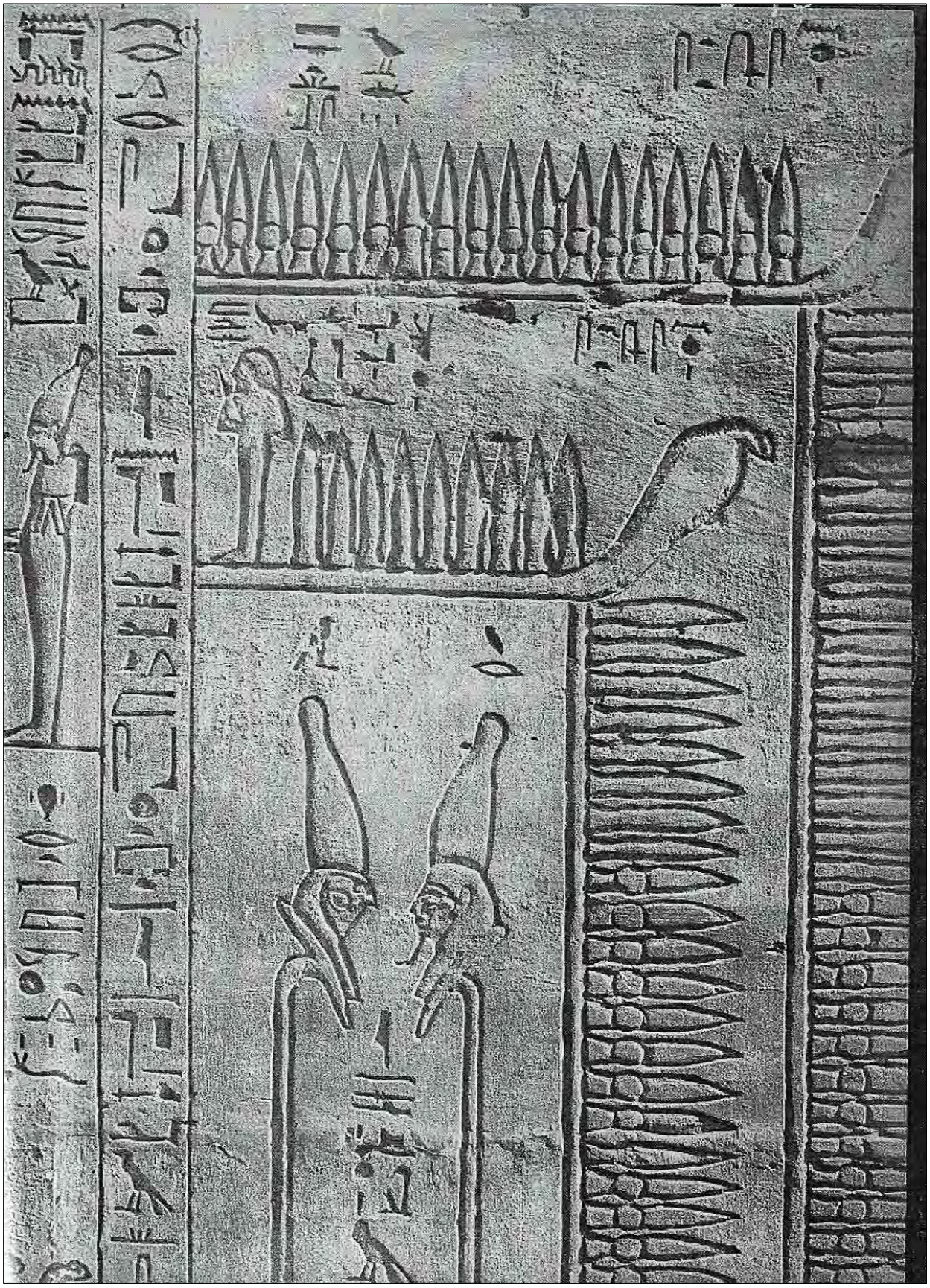


Plate 117. Book of Gates Eleventh Gate detail Osireion.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0484)

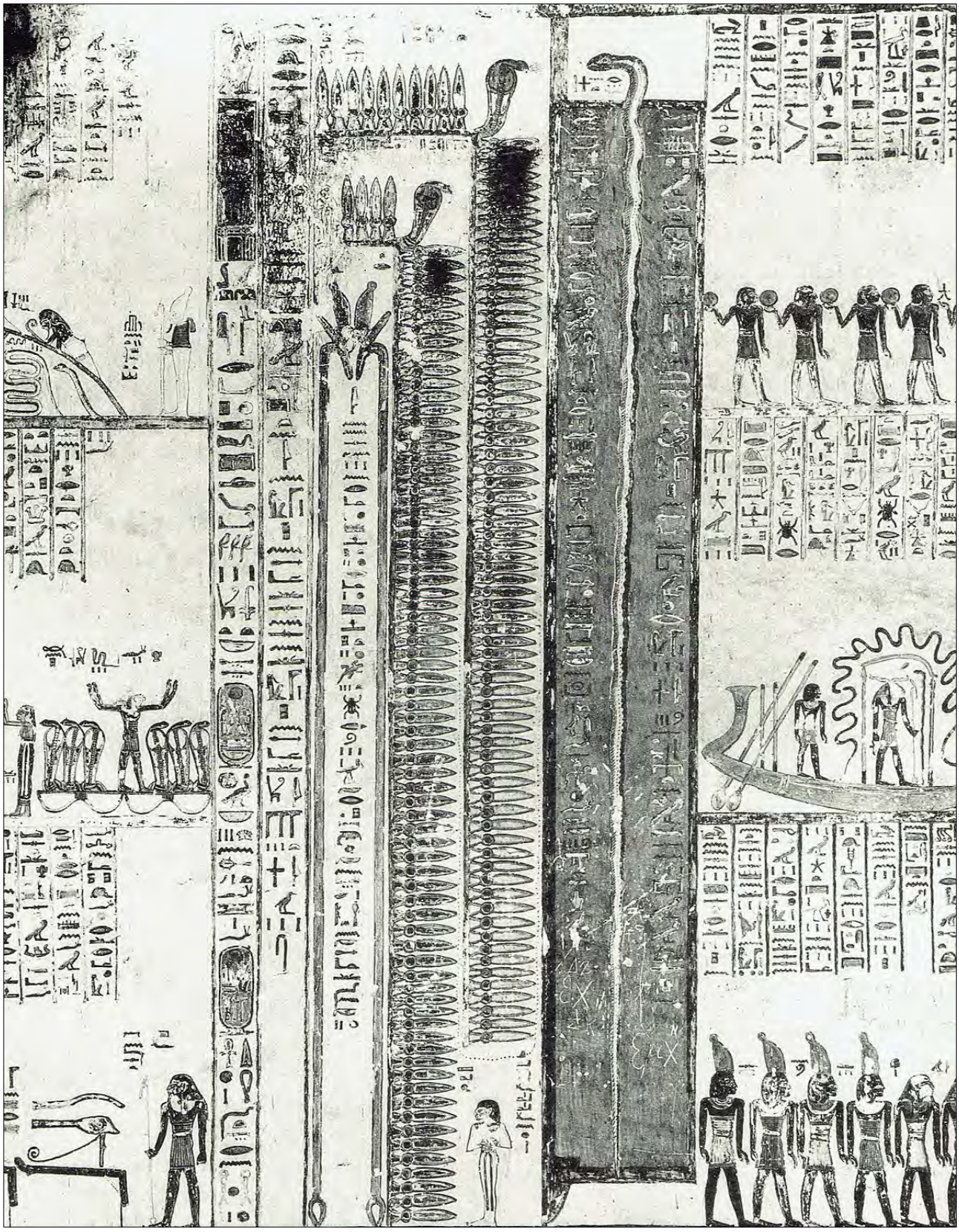


Plate 118. Book of Gates Eleventh and Twelfth Hours name of Ramesses VI before the Gate KV 9. (Piankoff 1954, plate 59)

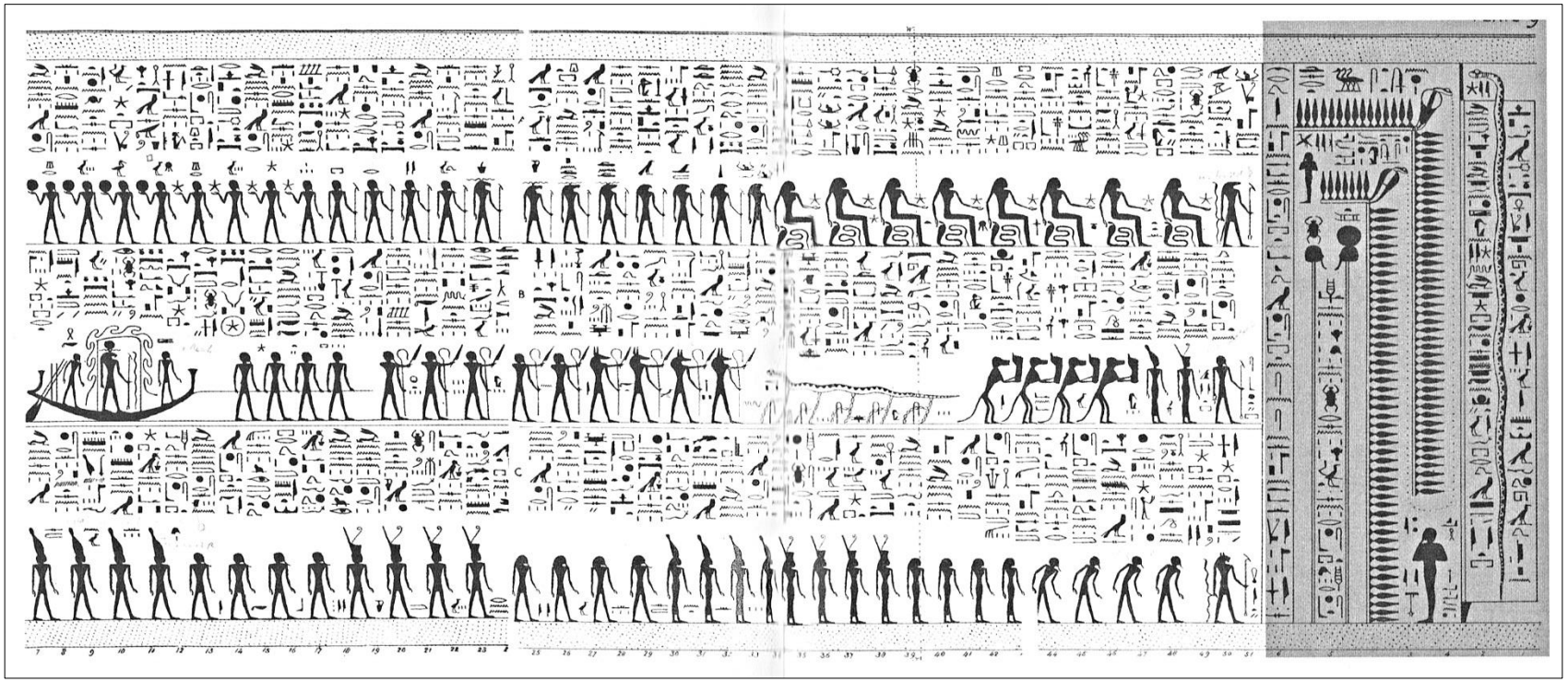


Plate 119. Book of Gates Twelfth Hour Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 408-409)

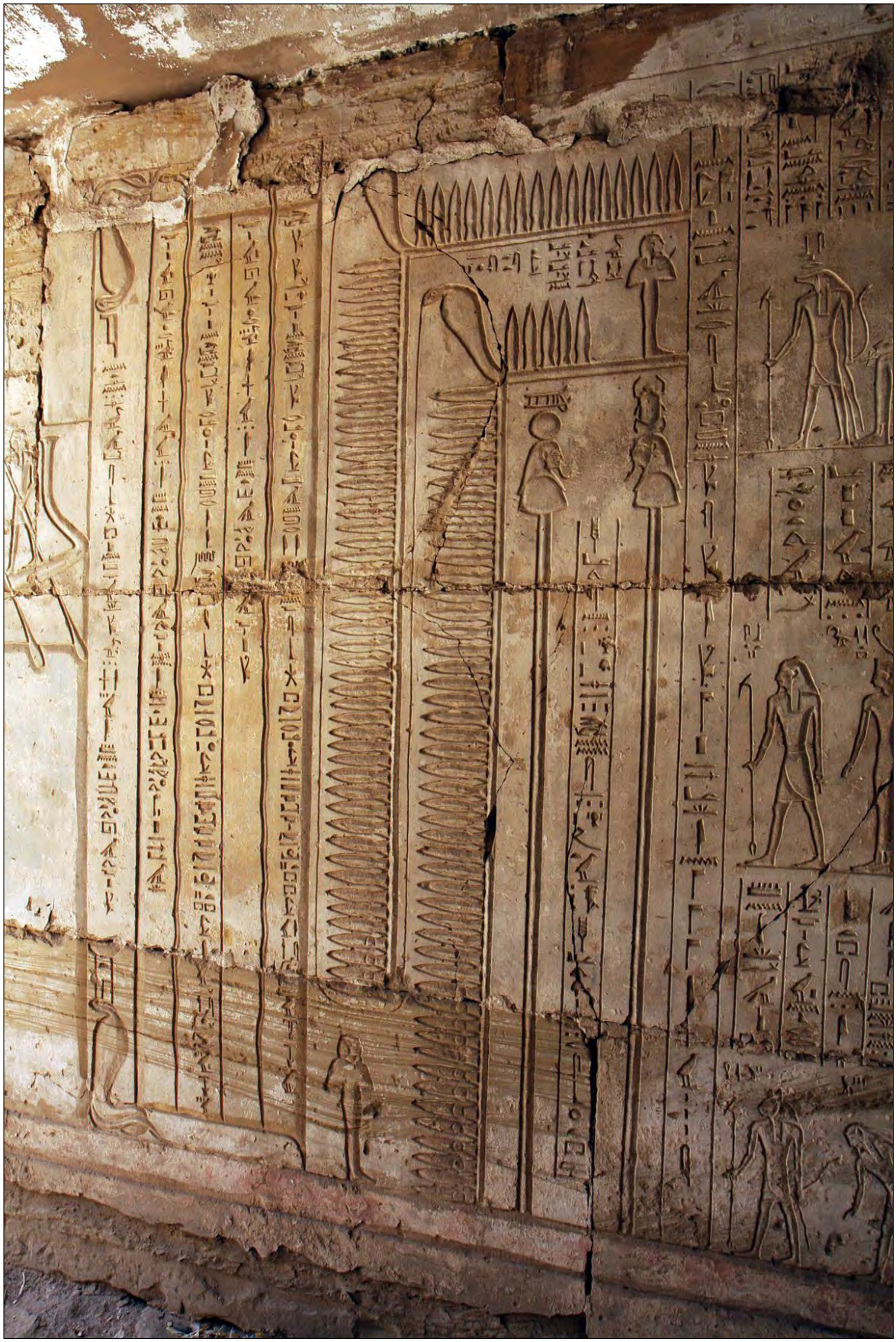


Plate 120. Book of Gates Twelfth Gate Atum and Khepri Osireion
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779793502/in/album-72157624260294383/

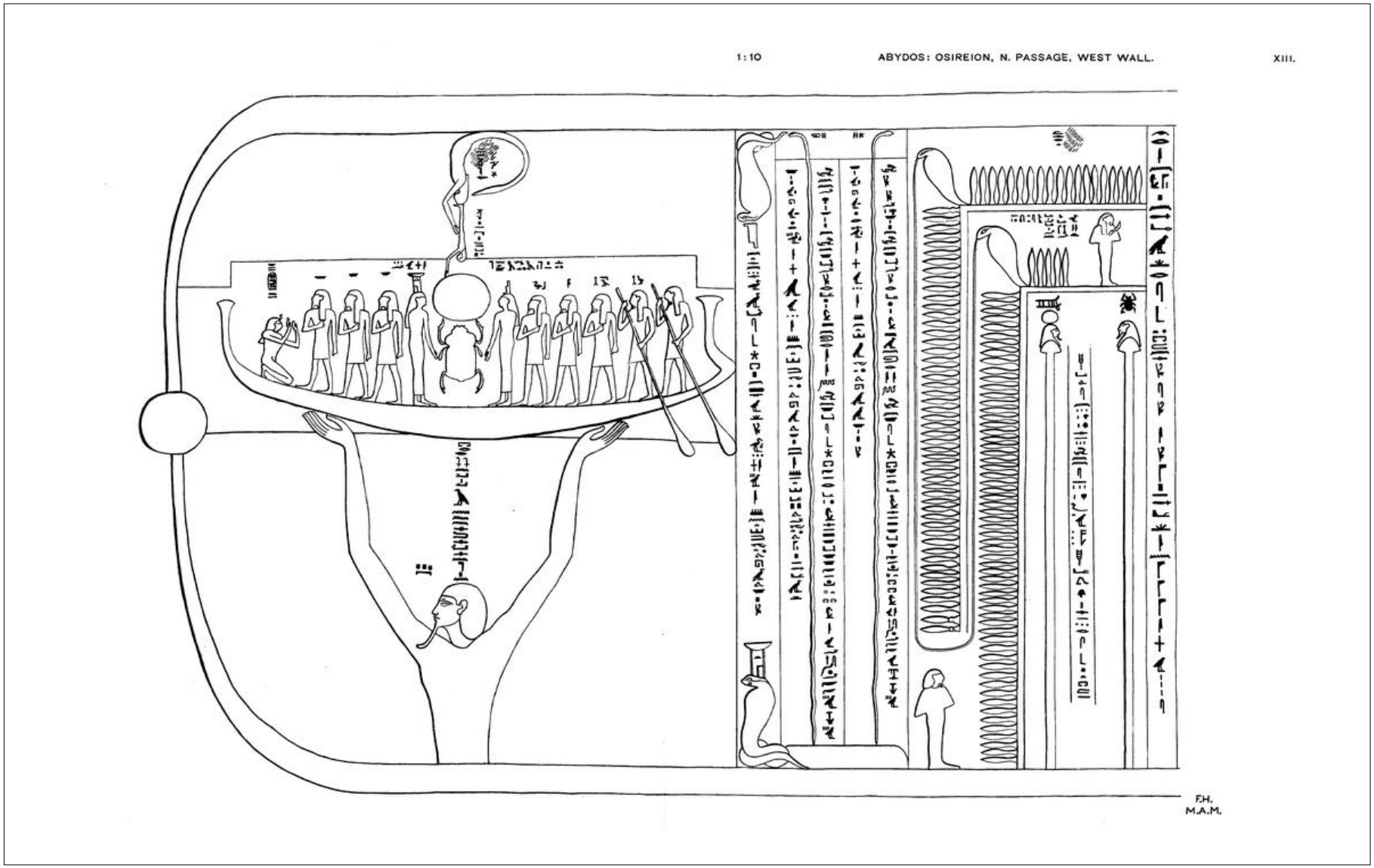


Plate 121. Book of Gates Final Scene Osireion.
(Murray 1904, plate XIII)
https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

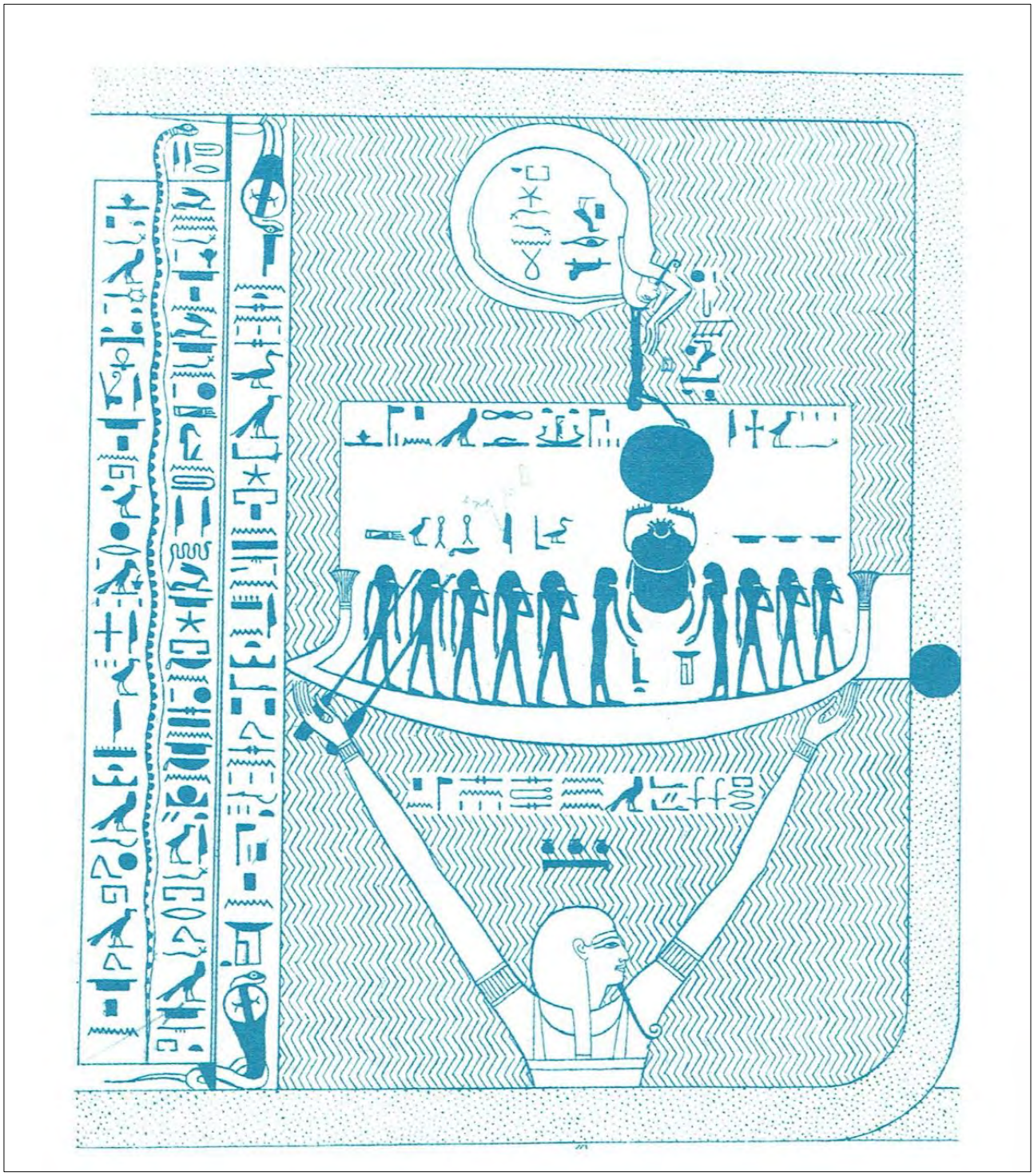


Plate 122. Book of Gates Final Scene Sarcophagus of Seti I.
(Hornung 2014, 452)

Plate 123. Book of Gates Final Scene Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779159201/in/photostream/

Plate 124. Book of Gates Final Scene detail of the Solar Barque Osireion.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779159707/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 125. Papyrus of Anhai BM 10472 Vignette of Osireion scenes.
(Budge 1899, plate 8) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/budge1899

Plate 126. Papyrus of Anhai BM 10472 Representation of the Central Hall with Eight Columns. (Budge 1899, plate 8) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/budge1899

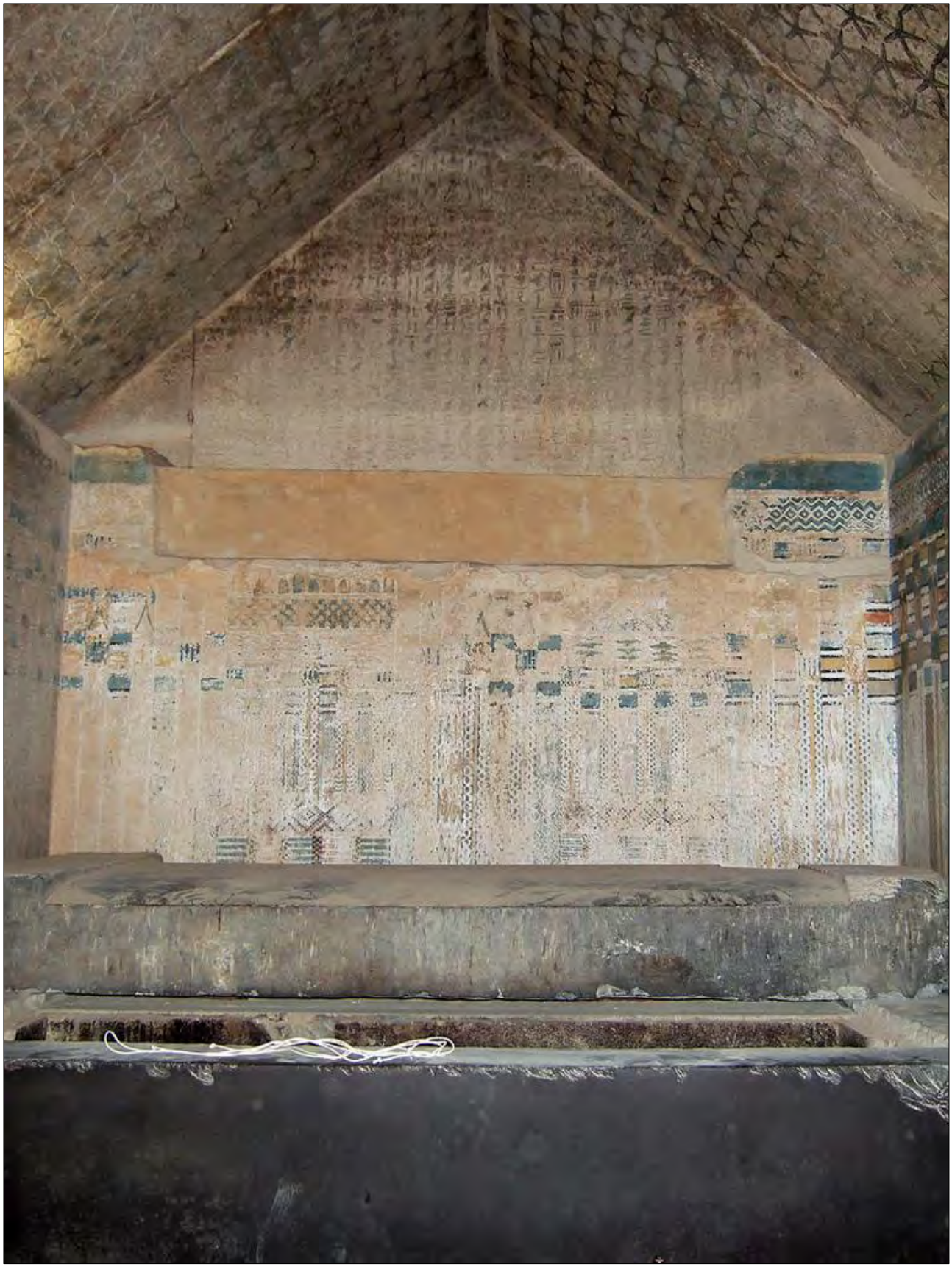
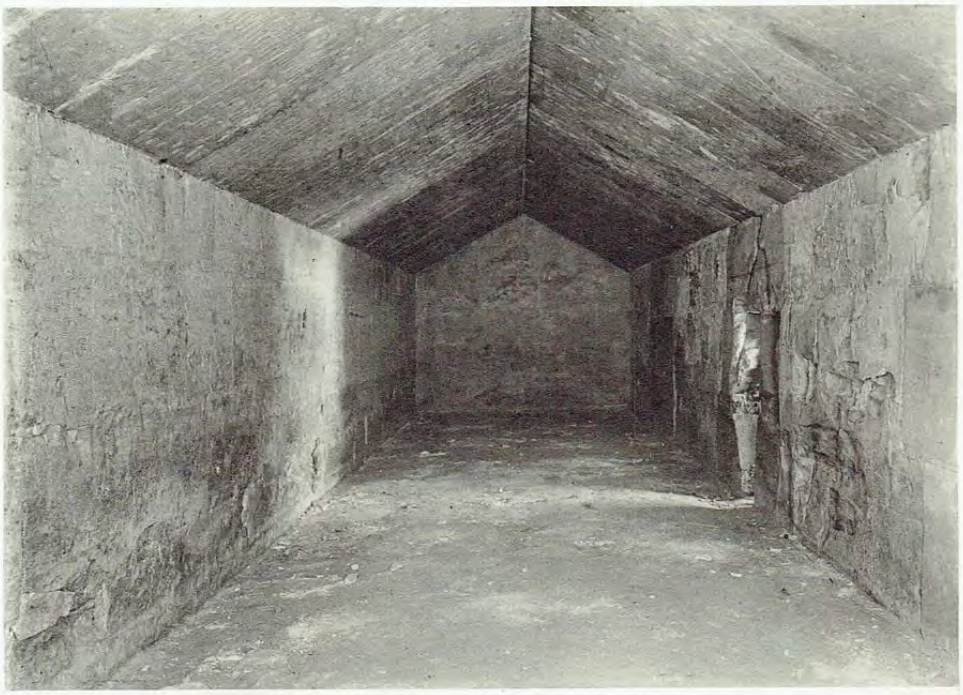


Plate 127. Unas Pyramid Sarcophagus Chamber.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Burial_chamber_in_Unas%27_pyramid.jpg

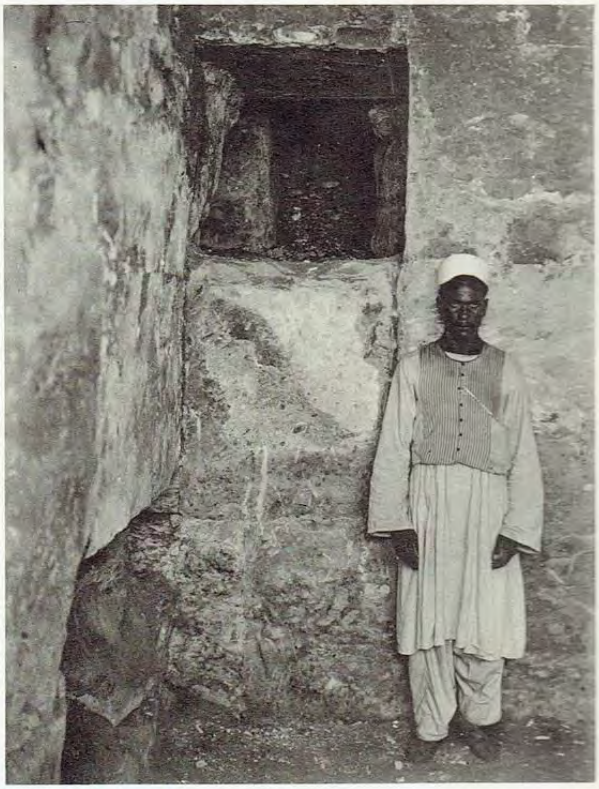
Plate 128. Entrance Passage showing pitched roof.
(Photo courtesy of Robert Hoke)

Plate XIX



1. The Sarcophagus Room, looking South

2. Looking from Sarcophagus Room into Central Hall



3. The robbers' hole in North-east corner of Sarcophagus Room

Plate 129. Second Transverse Hall and Entrance.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 19) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

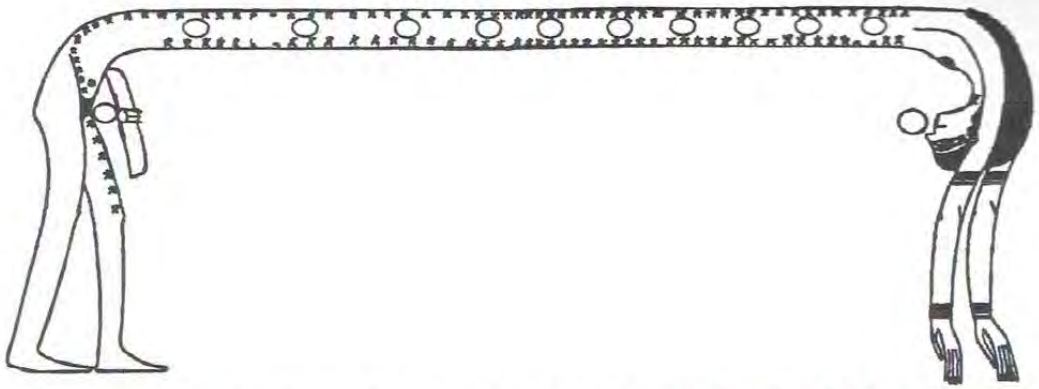


Figure 1. A line drawing showing the sky goddess Nut as a representation of the southern sky in Egypt adapted from the curved astronomical ceiling above the sarcophagus of Ramesses VI [The original painting depicts Nut in siamese-twin form. The other figure representing the northern Egyptian sky is omitted here for clarity–seenote (19), Fig. 1]. The ten sun disks within her body plus one each at the mouth and birth canal represent the 12 months it takes Re to return to his birthplace each year. [Adapted from Wells, note (19), Fig. 1.]

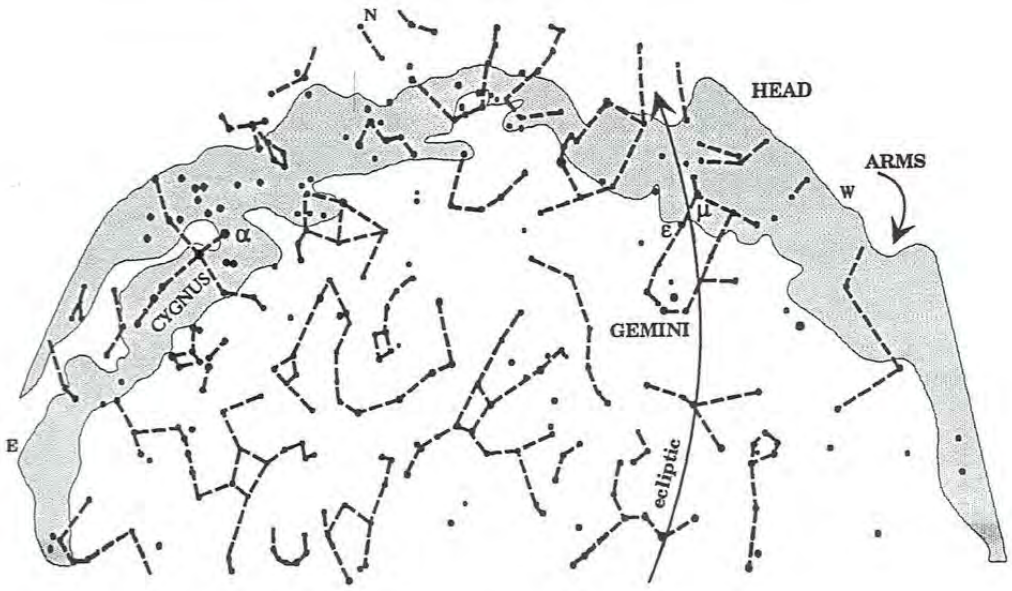


Figure 2. A sketch of the star fields forming the Milky Way as seen for northern latitudes. The constellation of Cygnus (left) is positioned at the bifurcation forming the legs, with Deneb (α Cyg) marking the birth canal exit. The constellation of Gemini is partly located in the head with one line of stars passing through the mouth area, the other through the eye socket. The ecliptic followed by the sun also passes through the mouth area. [Adapted from Wells, note (18), Fig. 2.]

Plate 130. Nut as the Milky Way.
(Wells 1994, Figures 1-2)

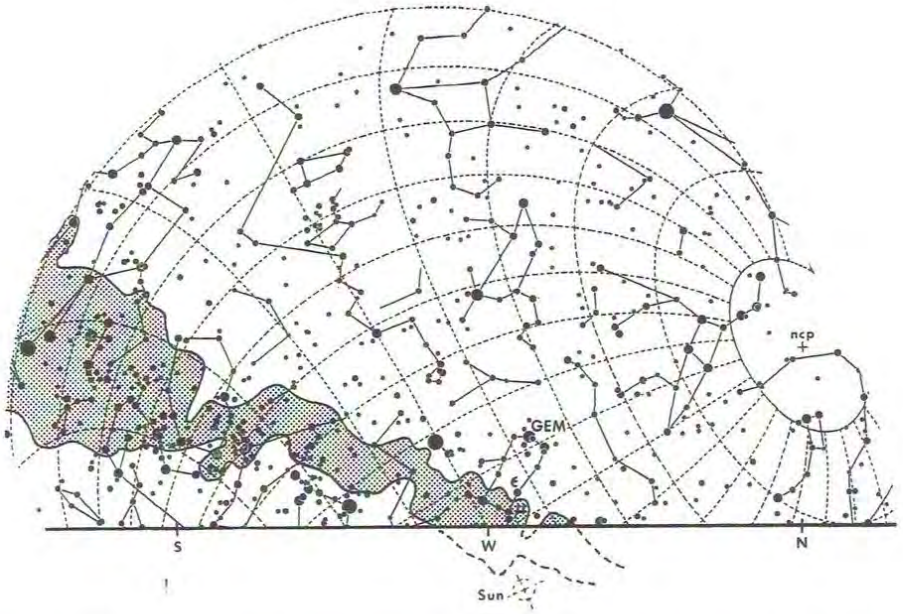


Figure 3. The appearance of the western horizon at Cairo at 7:15 p.m. on the vernal equinox (Apr. 19, 3500 B.C., jul.) when the sky is dark enough to permit the Milky Way to be seen. Gemini is just touching the horizon while part of the head of Nut has dropped below it. The position of the sun is indicated with a solar depression ca. 16°. [From Wells, note (18), Fig. 6.]

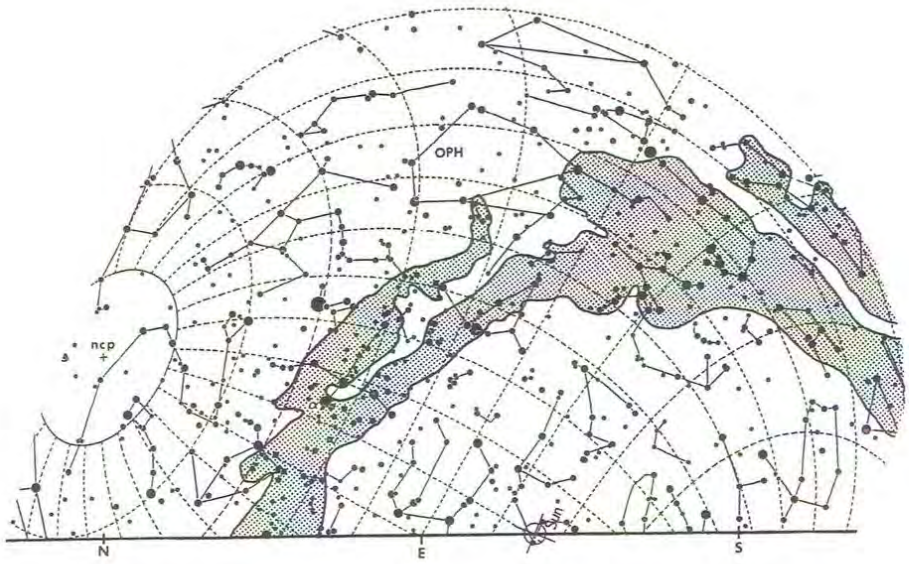


Figure 4. The appearance of the eastern horizon at Cairo at sunrise (7:05 a.m.) on the morning of the winter solstice (Jan. 16, 3500 B.C., jul.). Although stars are no longer visible, note that a line drawn from the north celestial pole (ncp, left) through the star Deneb (α Cyg) and intersecting the horizon at the sunrise point forms a great circle. The same relationship will not hold for earlier or later dates because the horizon position of the sun is to the left of the winter solstice position. [From Wells, note (18), Fig. 4.]

Plate 131. Nut as the Milky Way.
(Wells 1994, figures 3-4)

Plate 132. Book of the Day KV 9 Ramesses VI.
Posted by Gemma Ellen Smith Sep 4, 2012
https://egyptianaemporium.wordpress.com
(ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15073 and 15068, F. Dzikowski,1999)

Plate 133. Book of the Day detail Sunrise KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15072, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

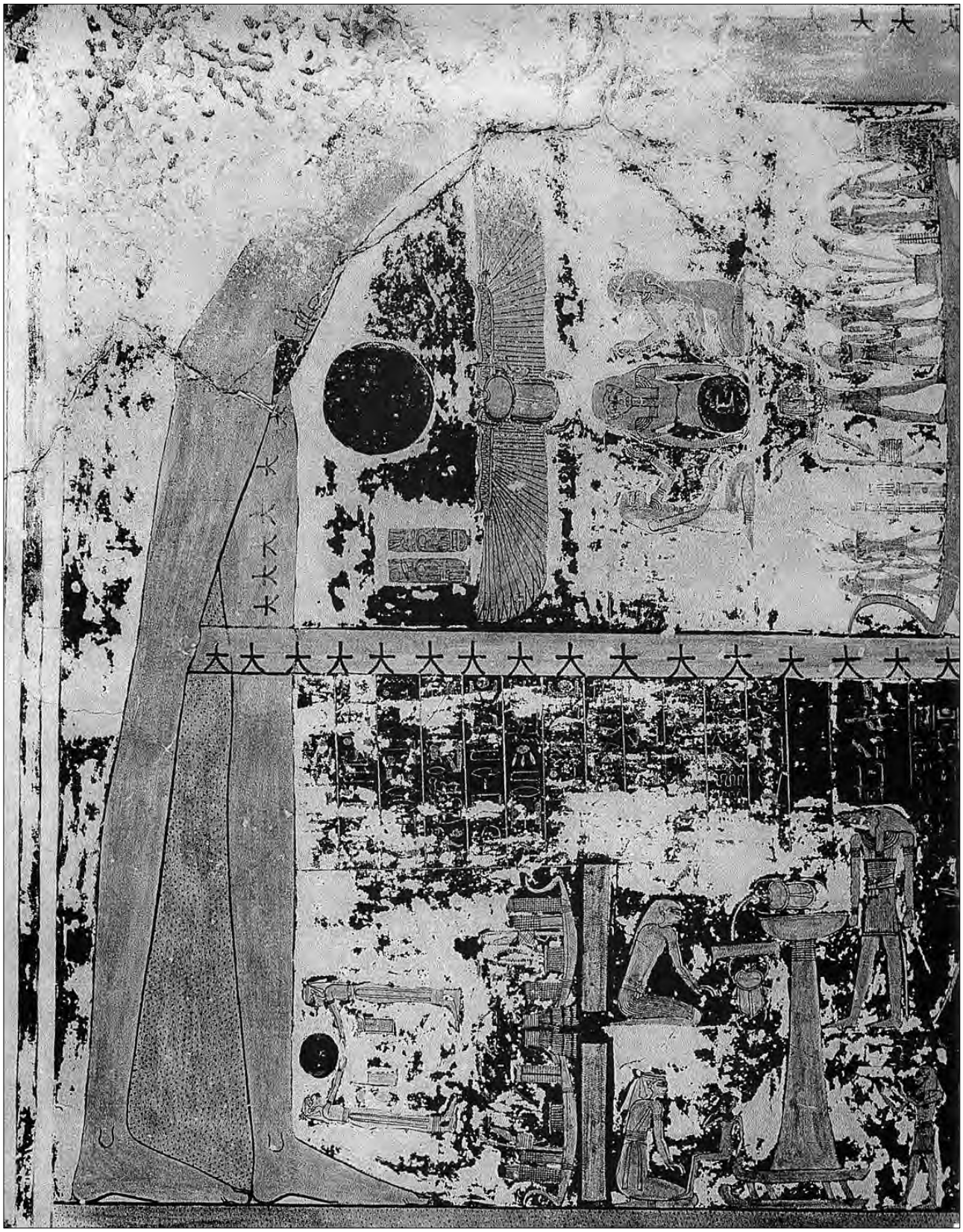


Plate 134. Book of the Day First Hour Birth of the Sun God Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI. (Piankoff 1954, plate 149)

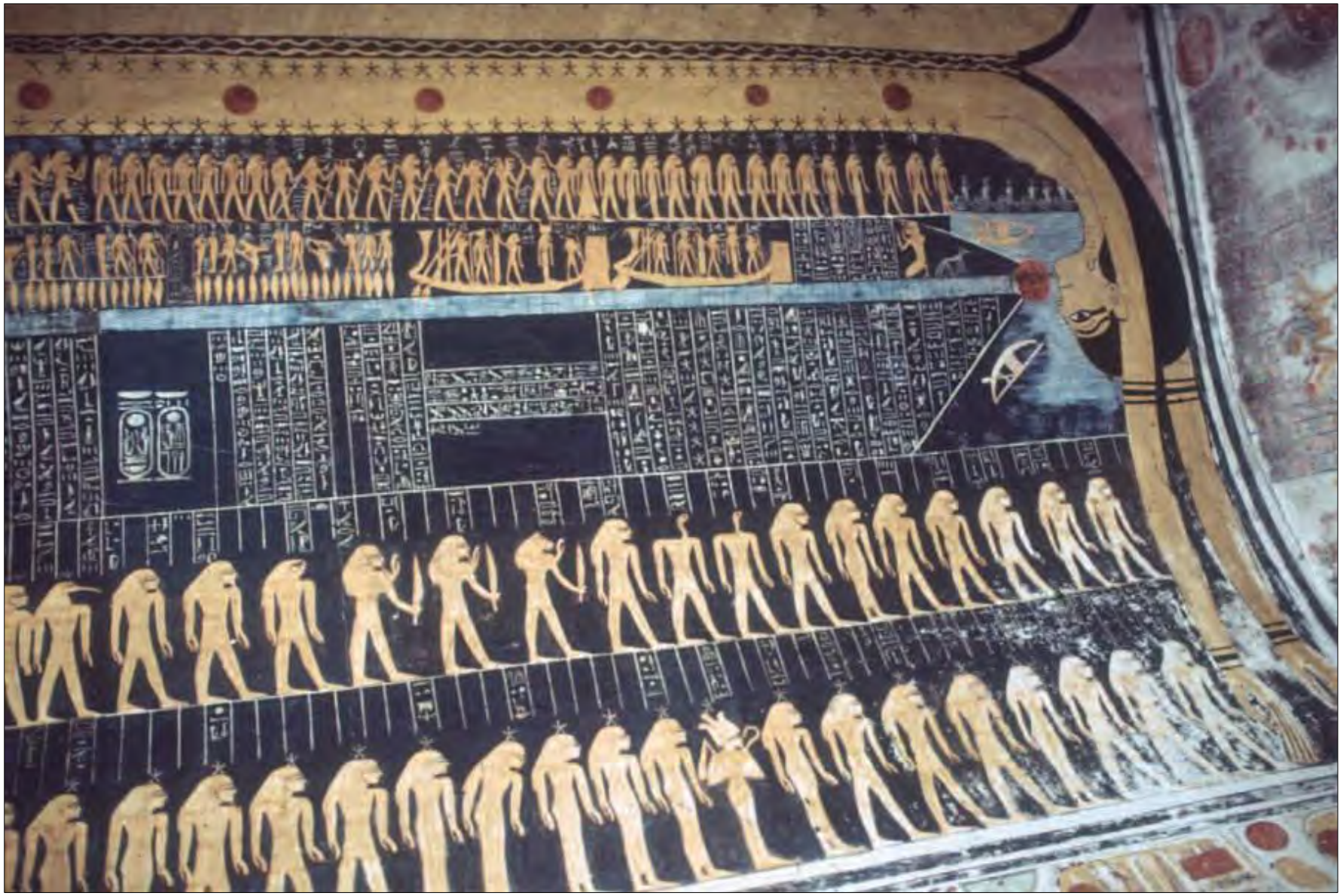


Plate 135. Book of the Day Sunset KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15068, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

Plate 136. Book of the Day detail Sunset KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 10993, F. Dzikowski 3/1998)

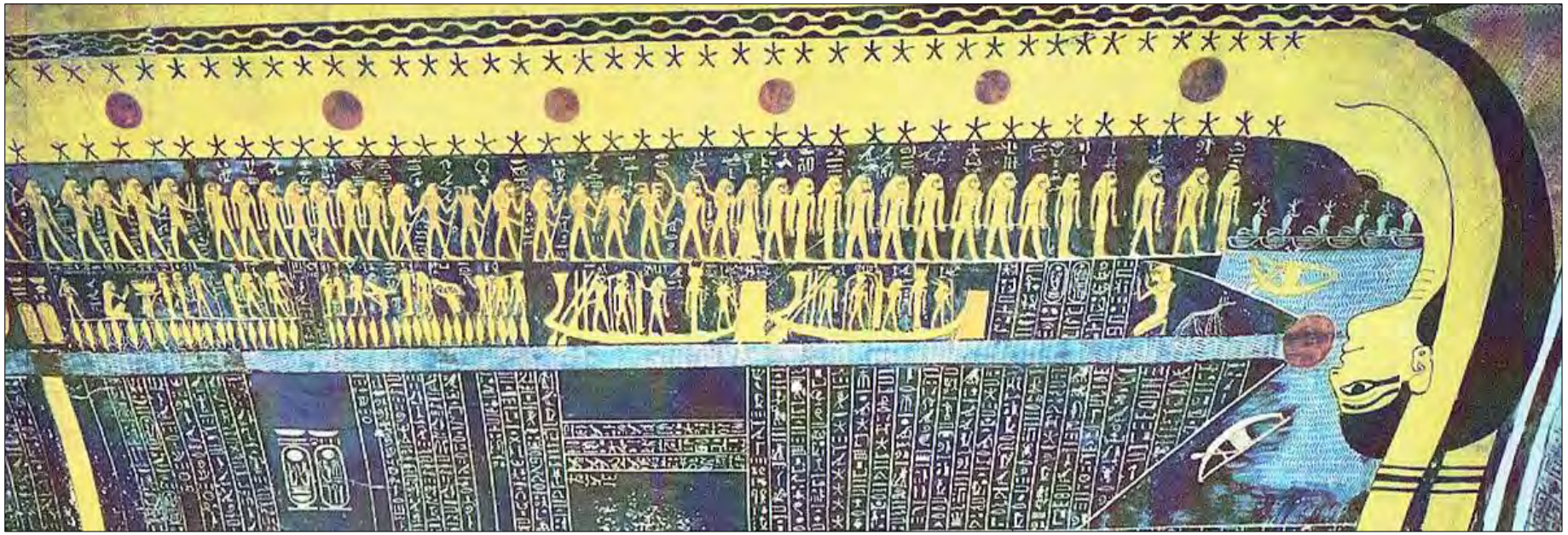


Plate 137. Book of the Day Field of Reeds KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15068, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

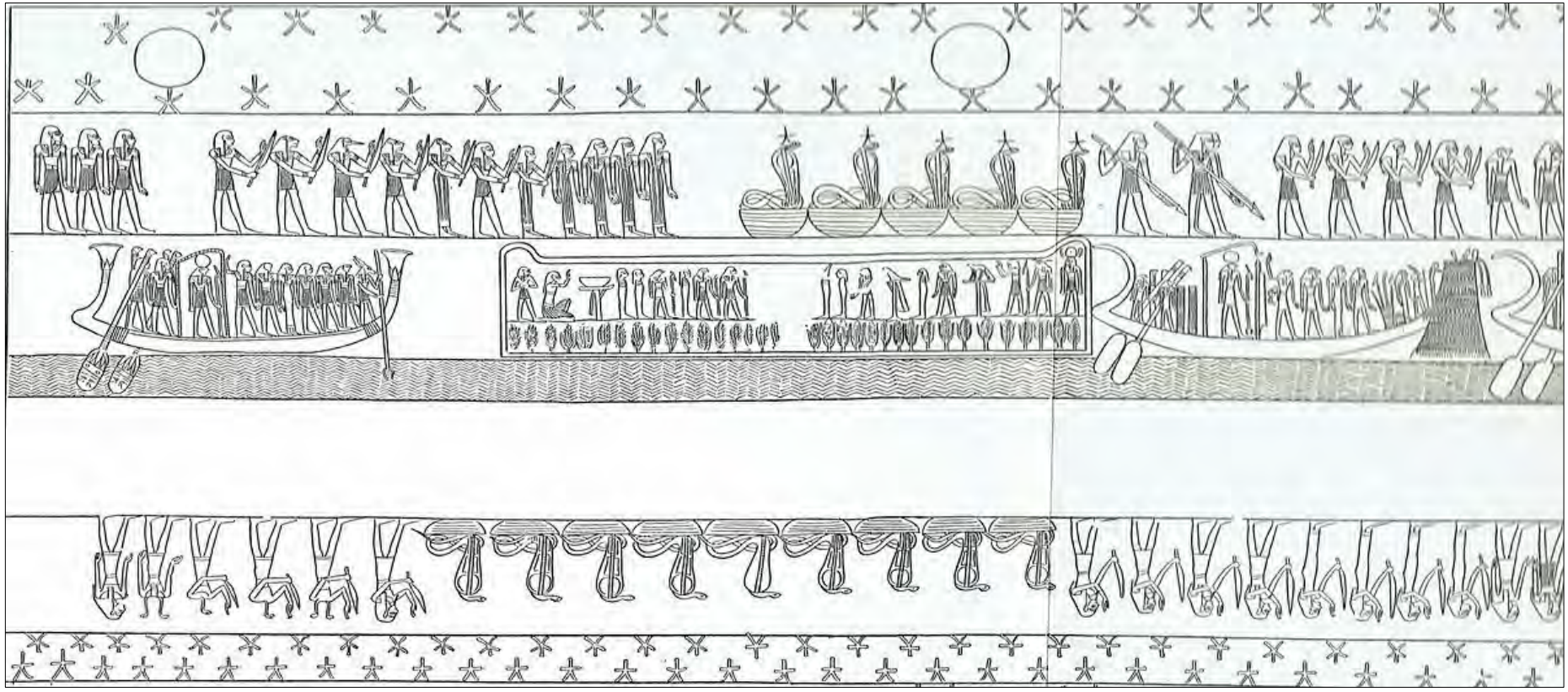


Plate 138. Book of the Day Field of Reeds detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, Fig. 133)

Plate 139. Book of the Day Field of Reeds detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 190)

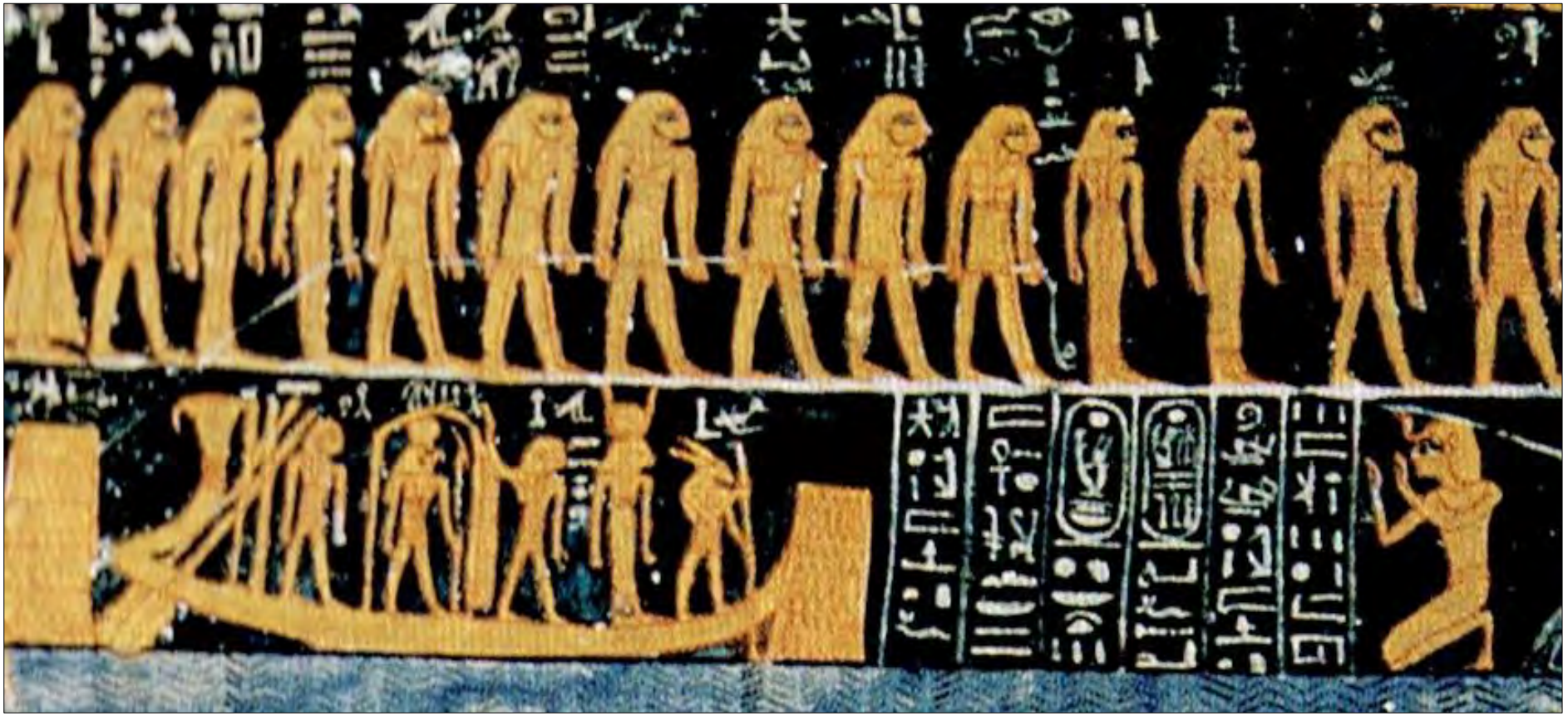


Plate 140. Book of the Day detail Falcon-headed Sun God in his Barque KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo Weeks 2001, 264)

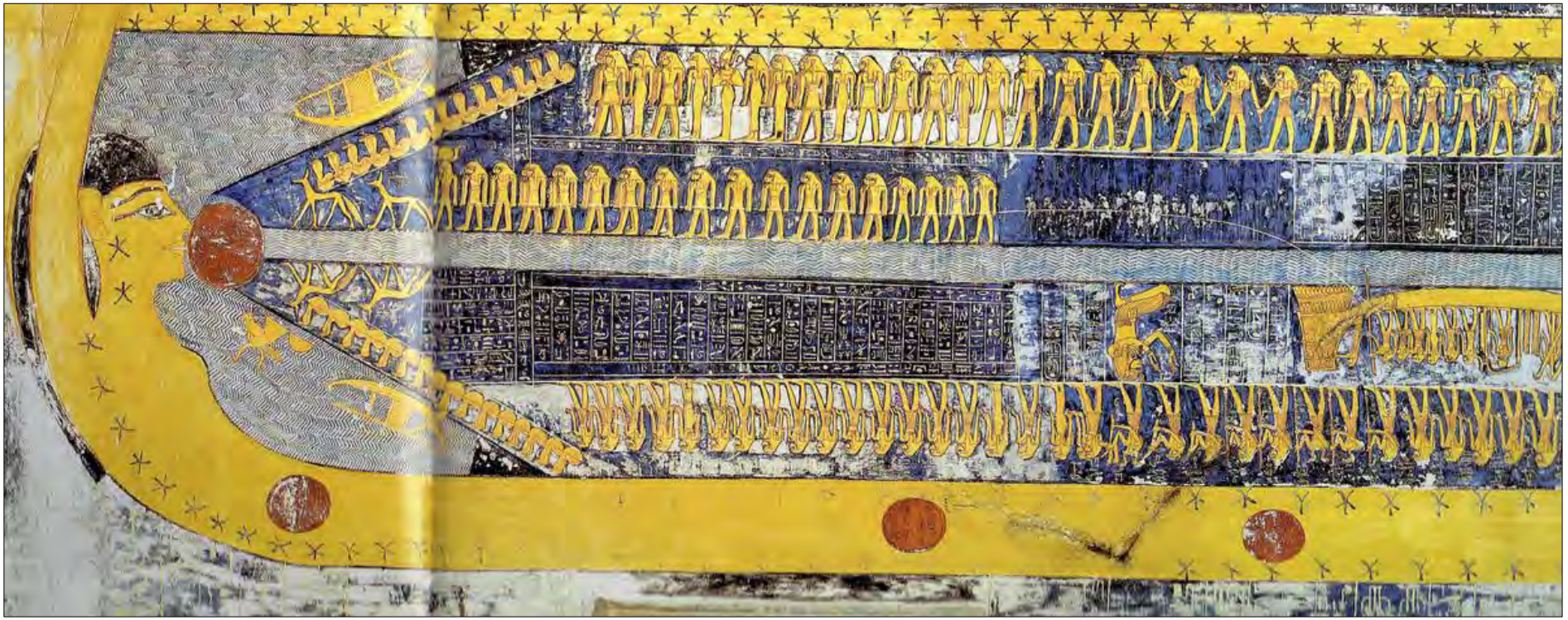


Plate 141. Book of the Day Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo Hawass 2006, 280-281)

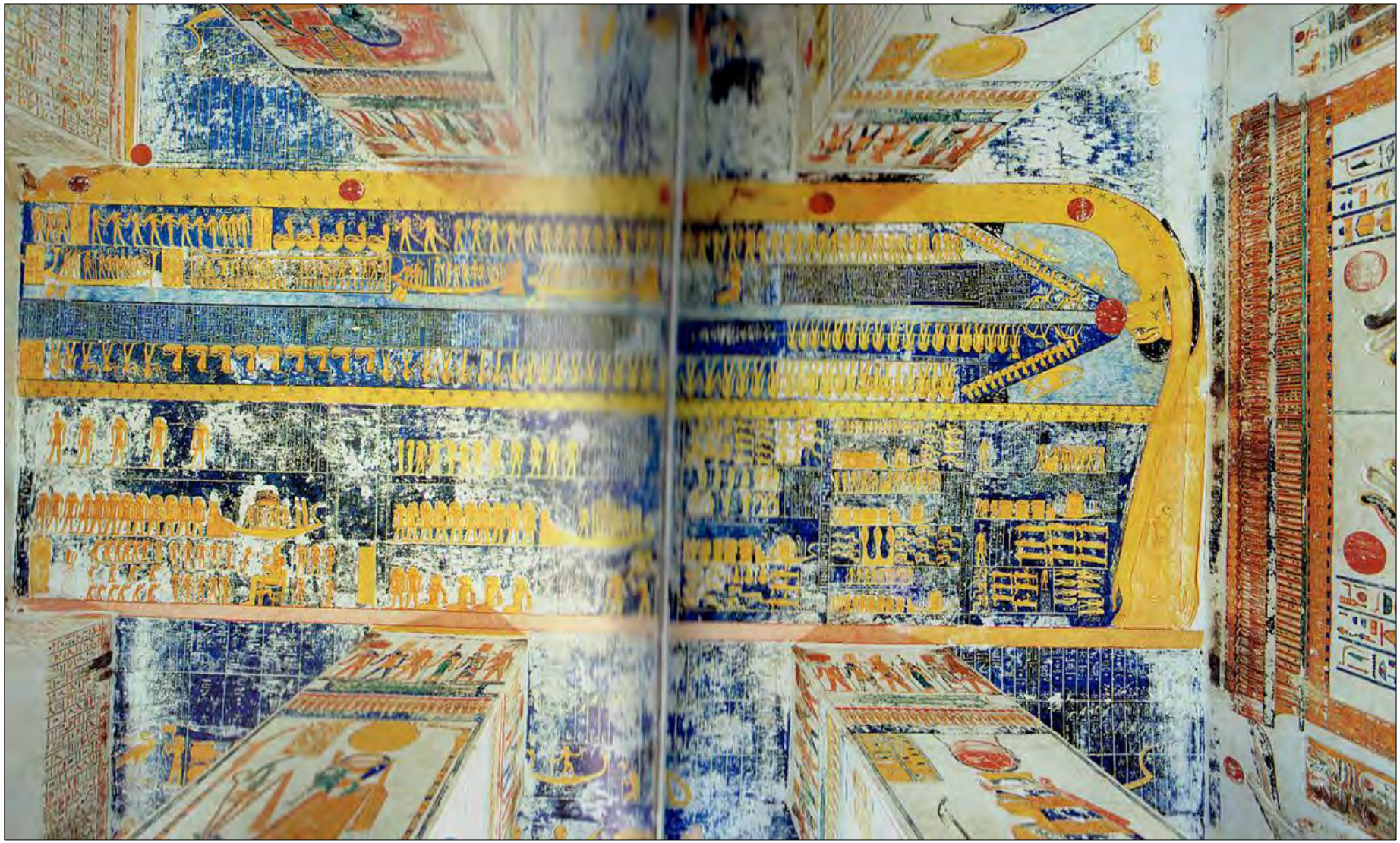


Plate 142. Book of the Day and Night Ceiling Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo Diego Delso CC-BY-SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

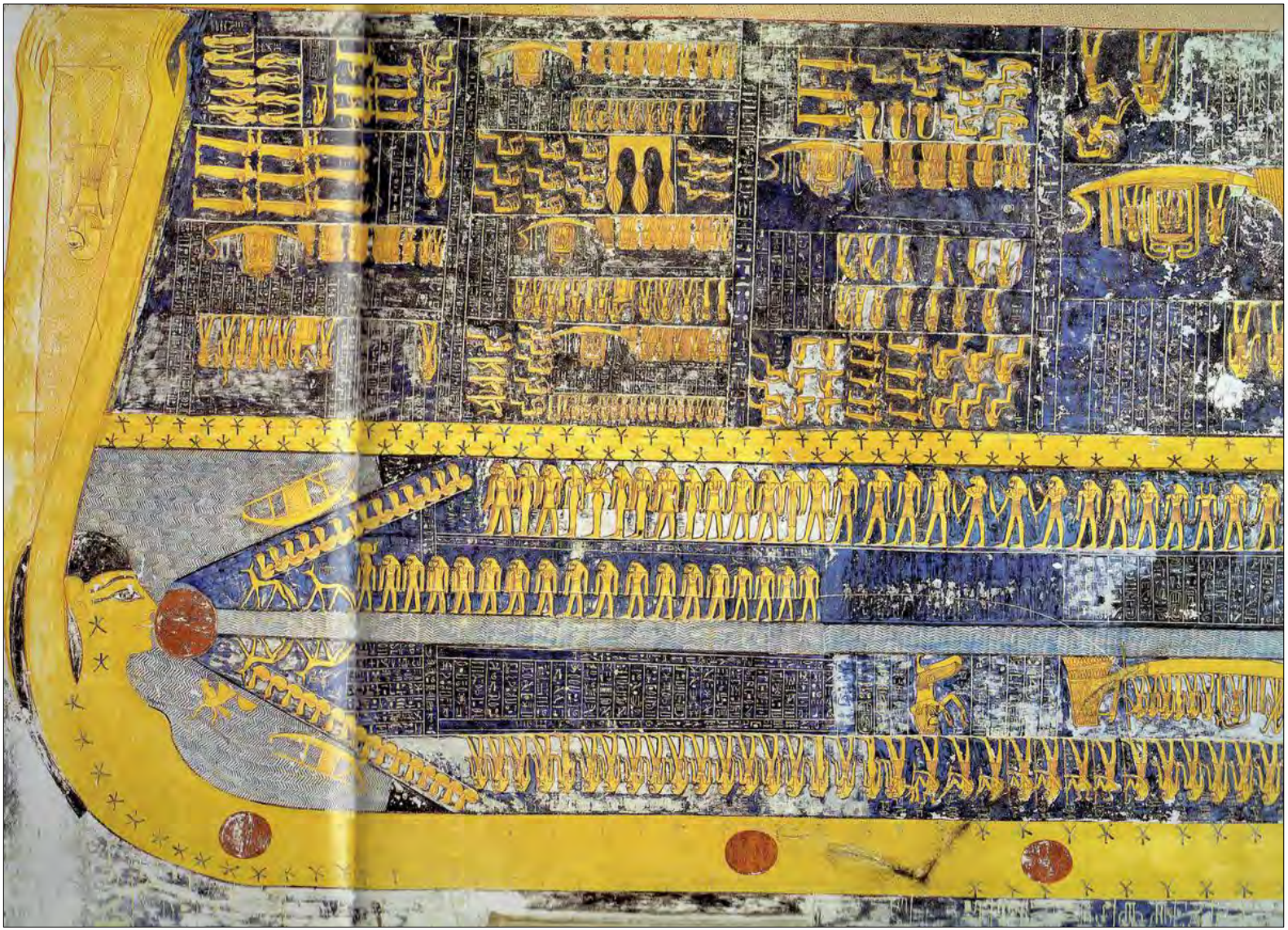


Plate 143. Books of the Day and the Night detail Ceiling Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Hawass 2006, 280-281)

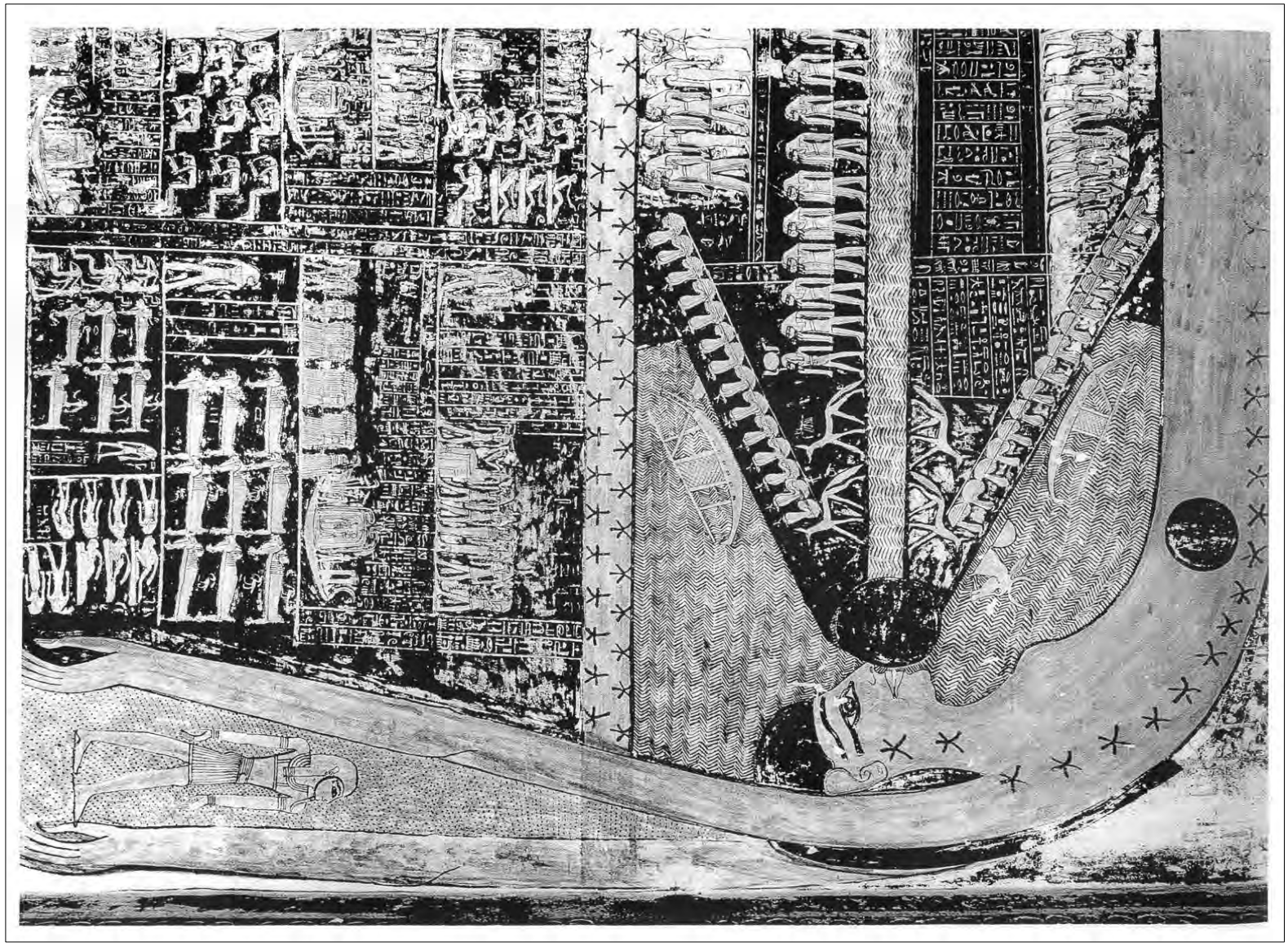


Plate 144. Books of the Day and the Night Sun God Entering the Body of Nut Corridor C KV 9 Ramesses VI. (Piankoff 1954, plate 159)

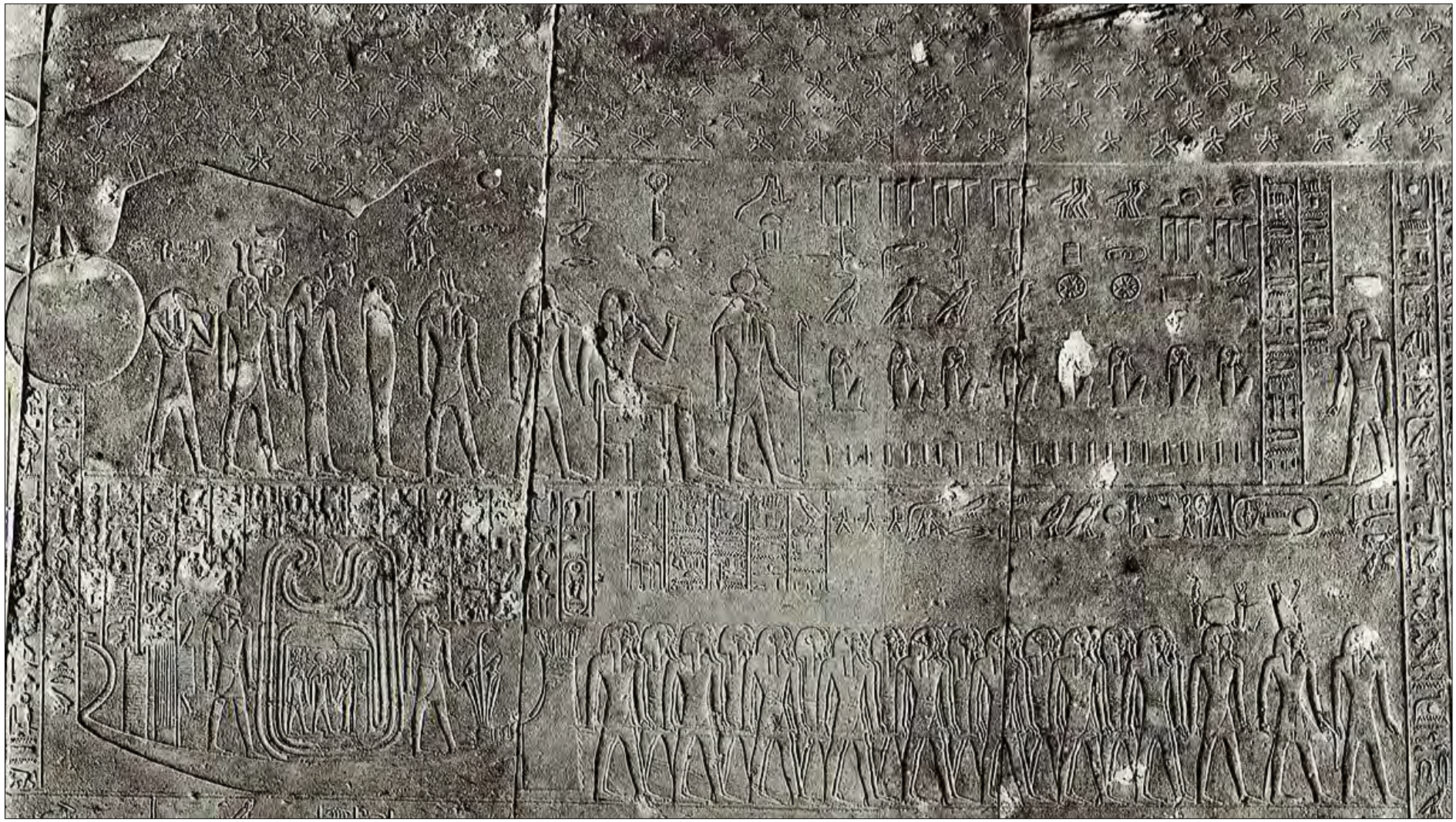


Plate 145. Book of the Night Second Hour Unwearying Stars Second Transverse Hall. (Frankfort 1933, plate 76) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

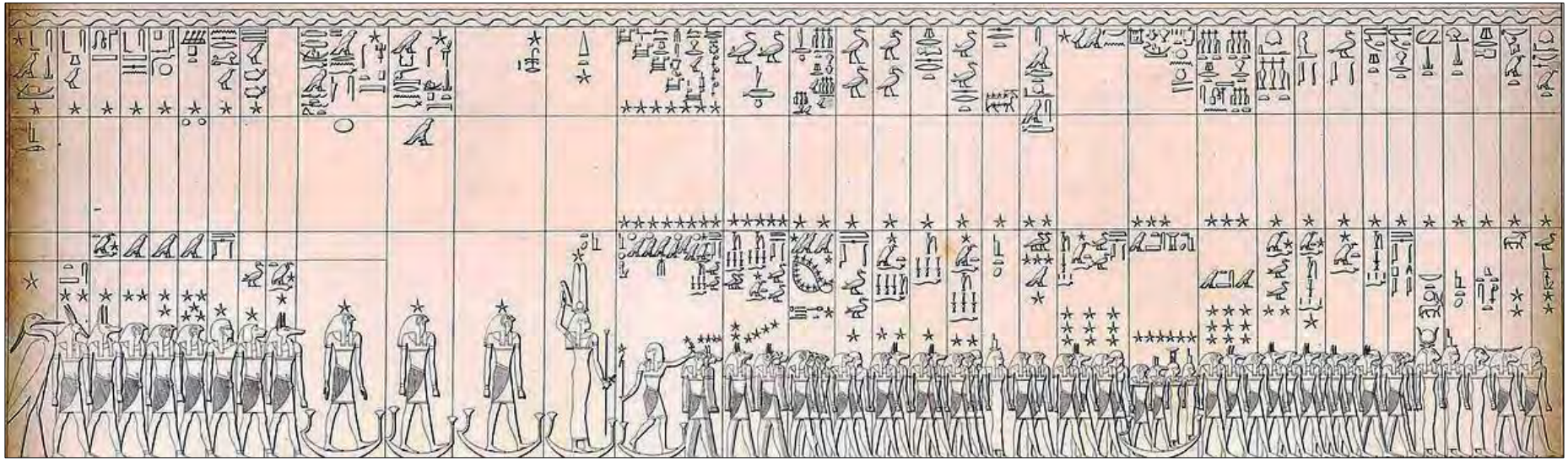


Plate 146. Astronomical Ceiling Decanal List KV 17 Seti I (Lepsius 1849 III, B1.137)
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Seti1-Lepsius-III-137-b.jpg

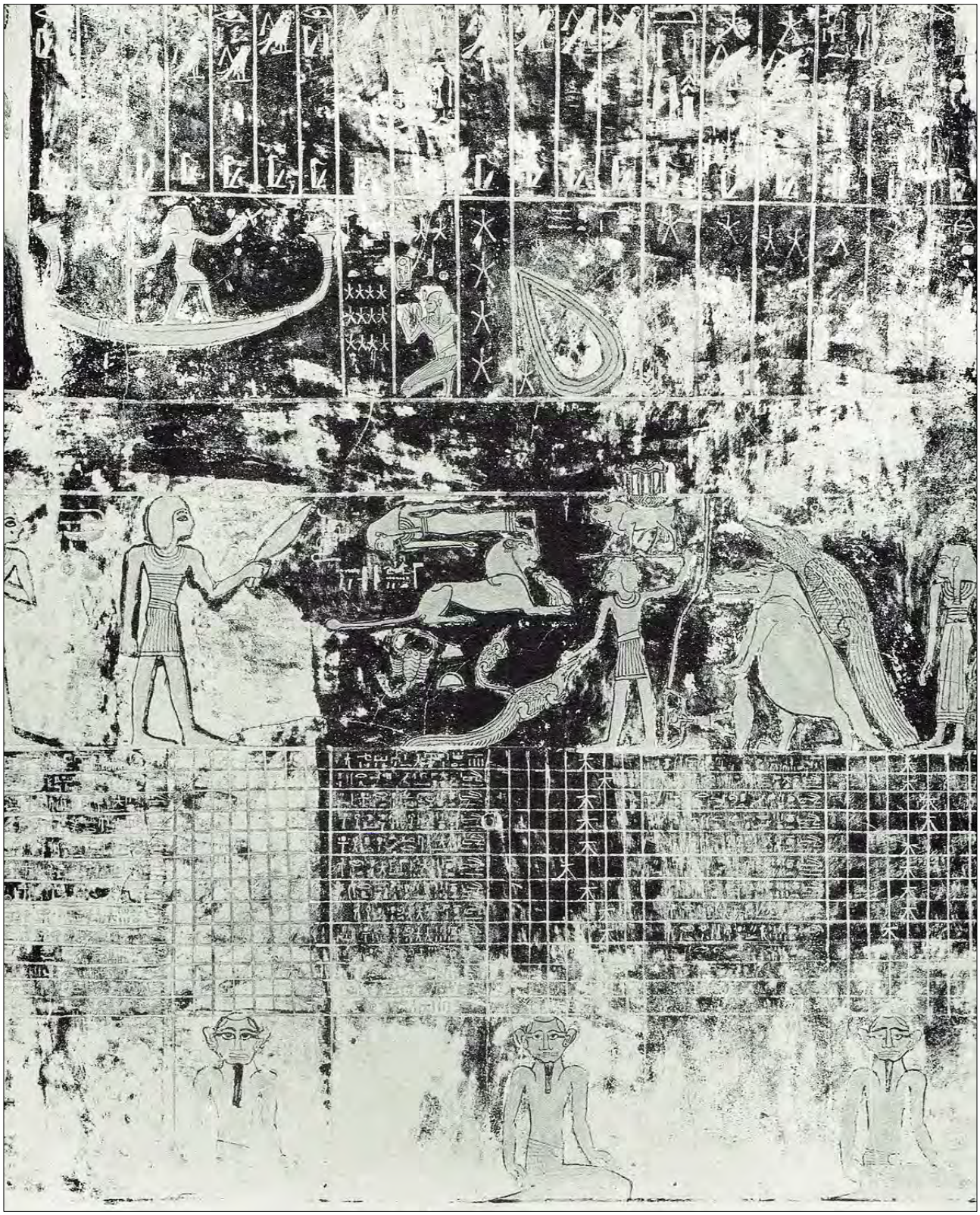


Plate 147. Astronomical Ceiling Orion Decan, Northern Constellations, Ramesside Star Tables Hall E KV 9.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 164)

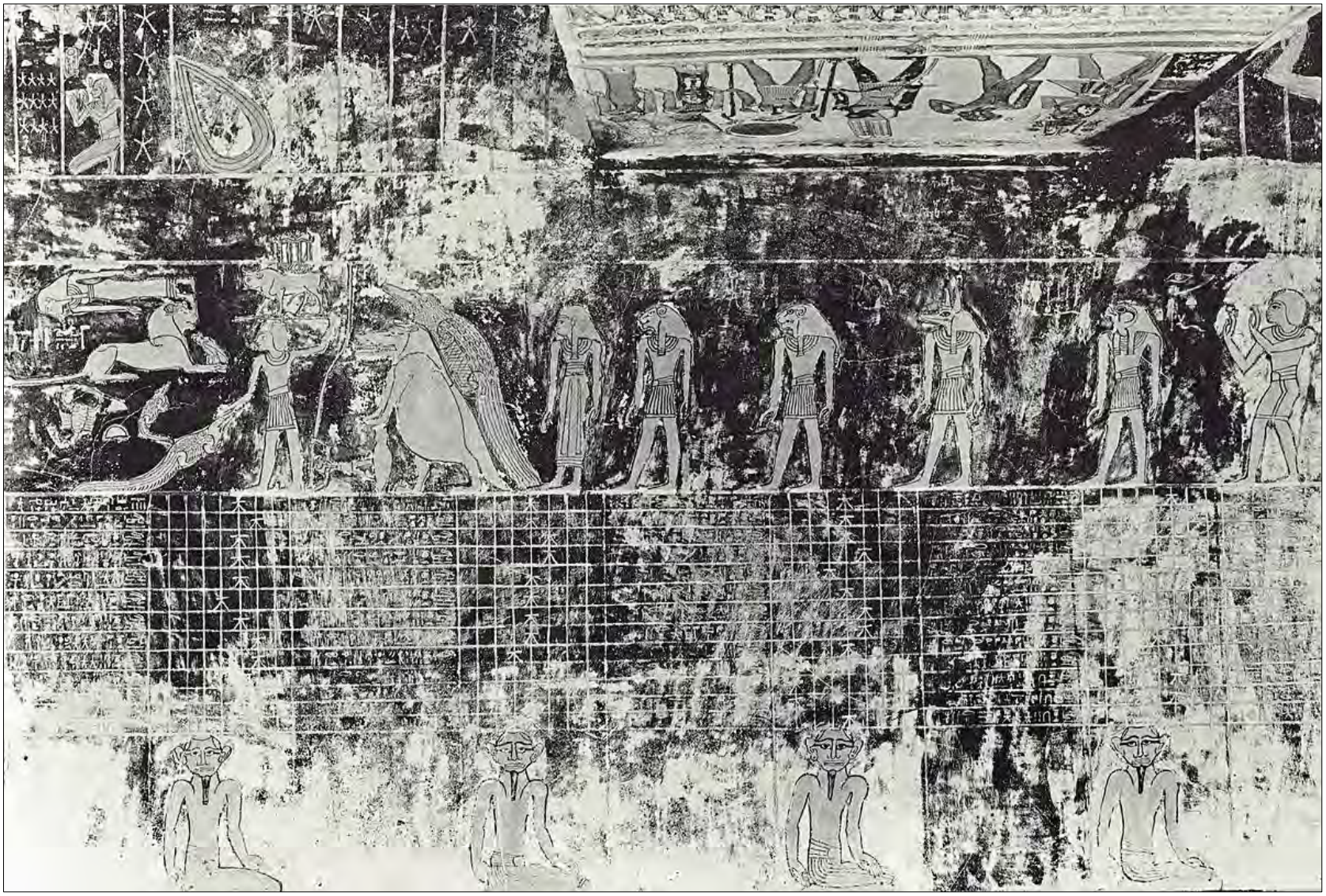


Plate 148. Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations and Ramesside Star Tables Hall E Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 165)

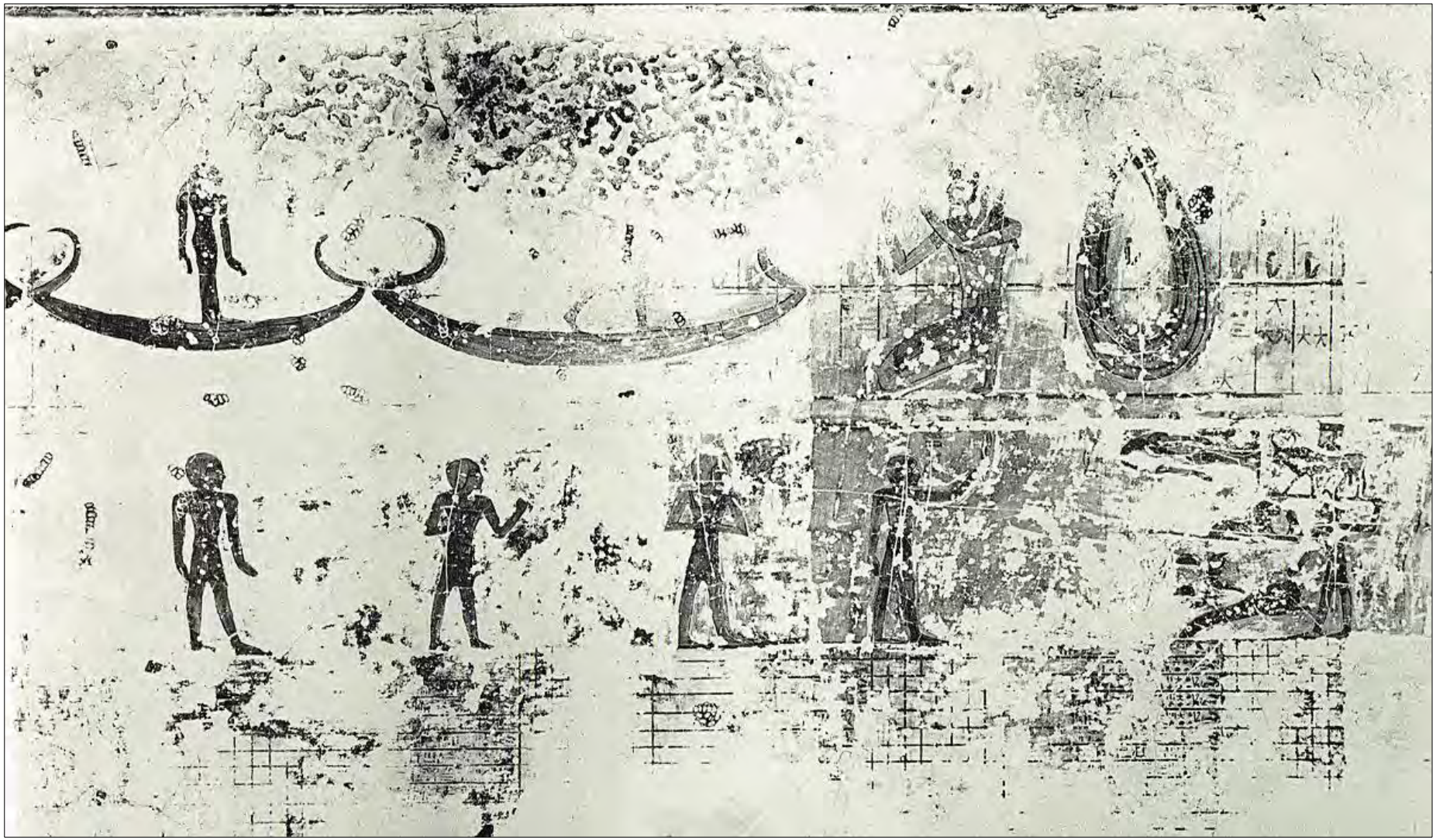


Plate 149. Northern Constellations with King arms raised in praise Corridor A KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 143)

Plate 150. Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations Bull as Foreleg Corridor B KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 147)

Plate 151. Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations detail KV 17 Seti I.
(Photo by Jean-Pierre Dalb'era, CC BY 2.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

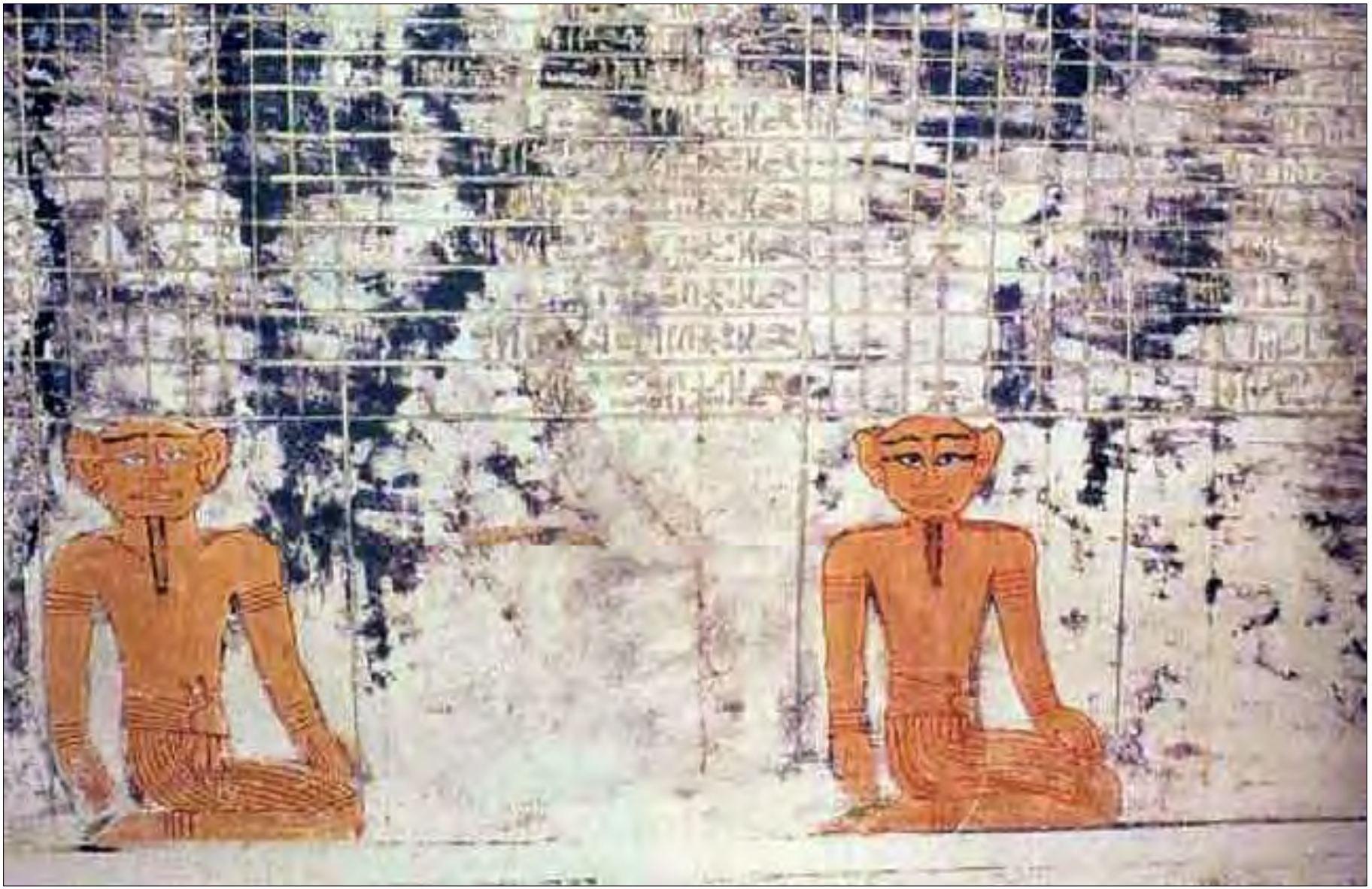


Plate 152. Ramesside Star Table detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo www.thenewtimesholler.com/archive.html 1998 Amir Bey, The Ancient Egyptian Foundations of Western Astrology).

Plate 153. Ramesside Star Table I detail Akhet 1 Ramesses IX KV 6.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Lepsius-228-III-rams%C3%A8sIX-b.jpg

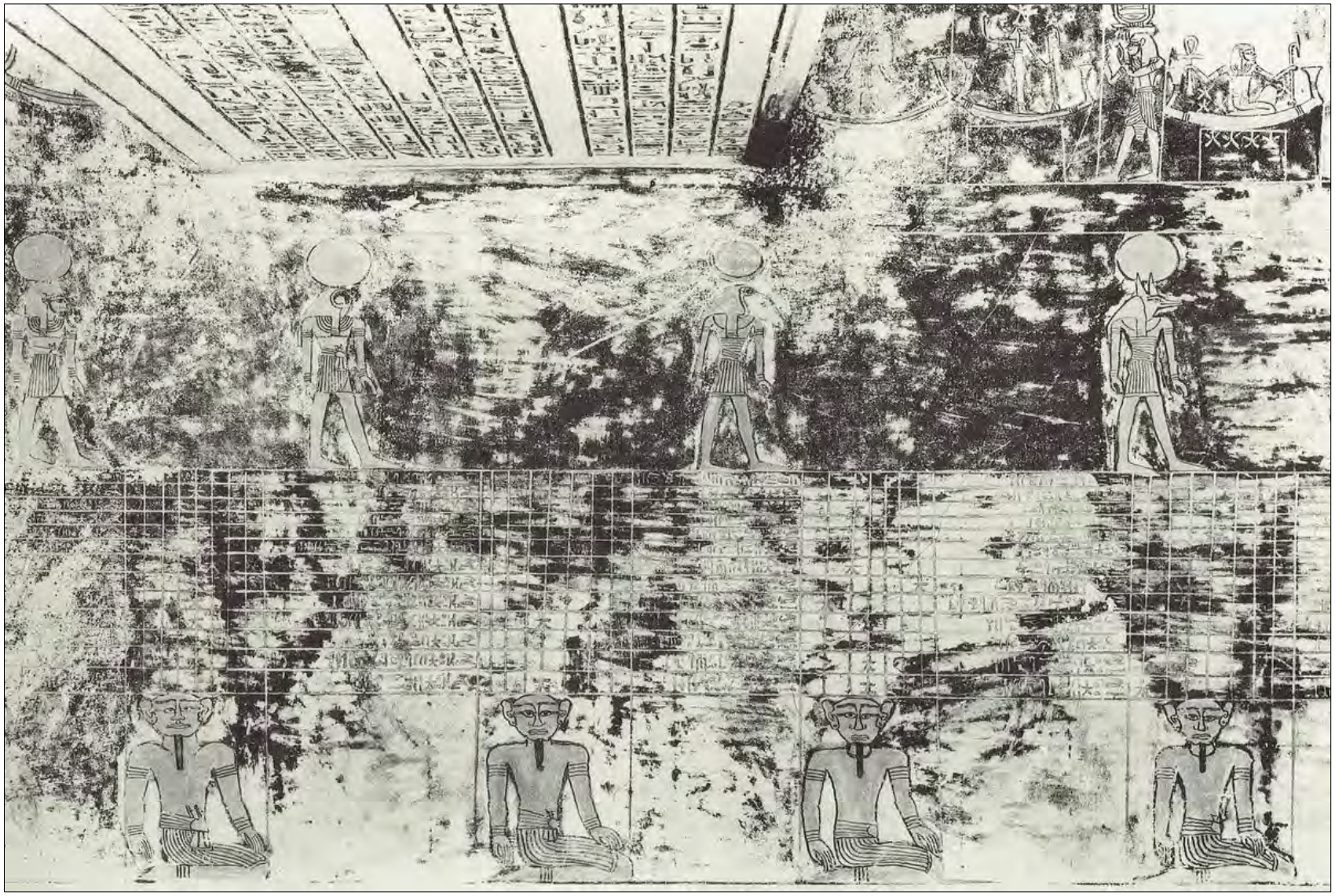


Plate 154. Astronomical Ceiling Lunar Months, Decans, Ramesside Star Tables Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 170)

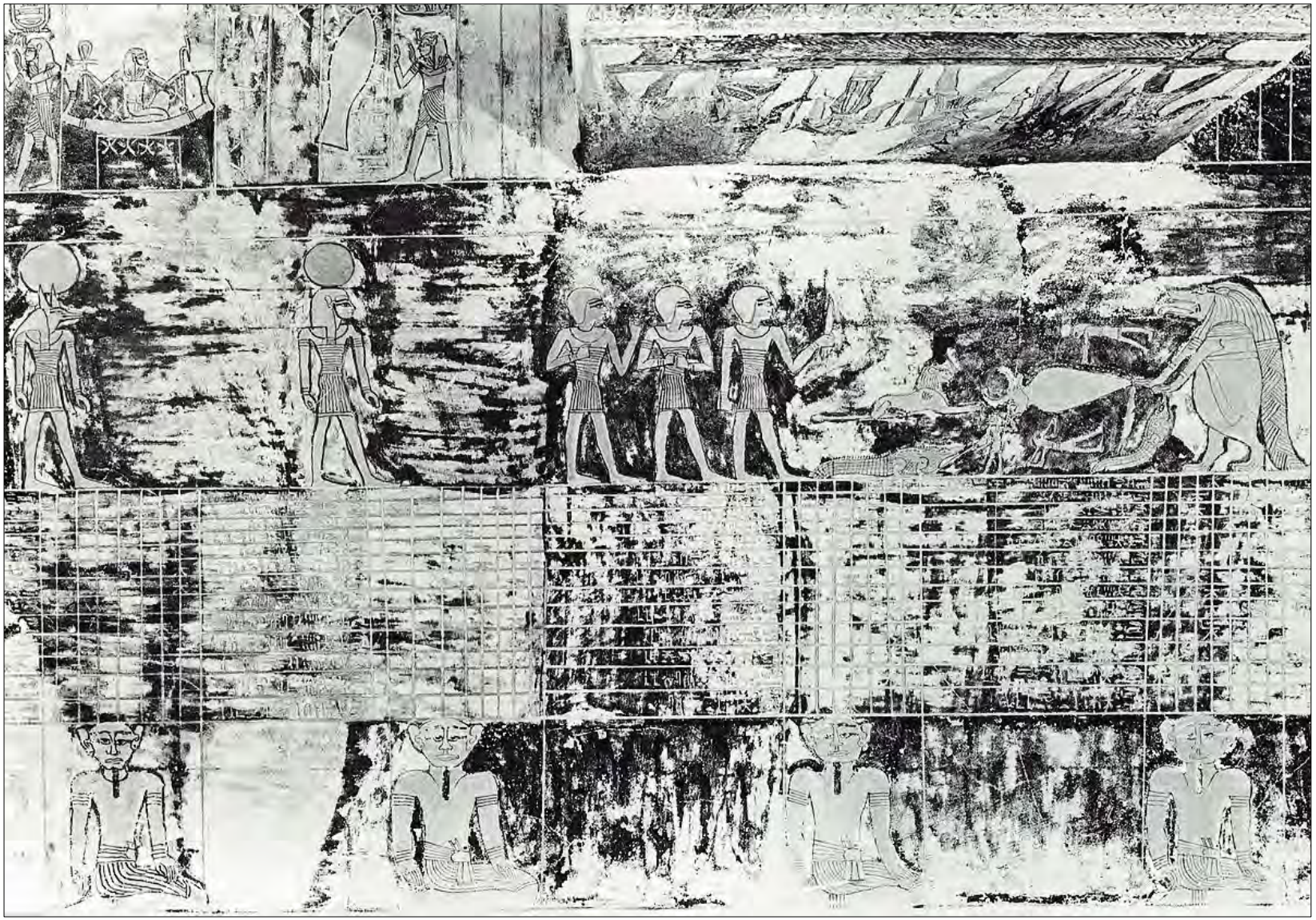


Plate 155. Astronomical Ceiling Northern Constellations Bull as Foreleg, Ramesside Star Clock Hall E KV 9.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 168)

Plate 156. Astronomical Ceiling Sothis, Orion and the Decans KV 17 Seti I.
(www.sanityquestpublishing.com/time/2k-1k/Egypt/NK/html Photo by Jean-Pierre Dalb'era, CC BY 2.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

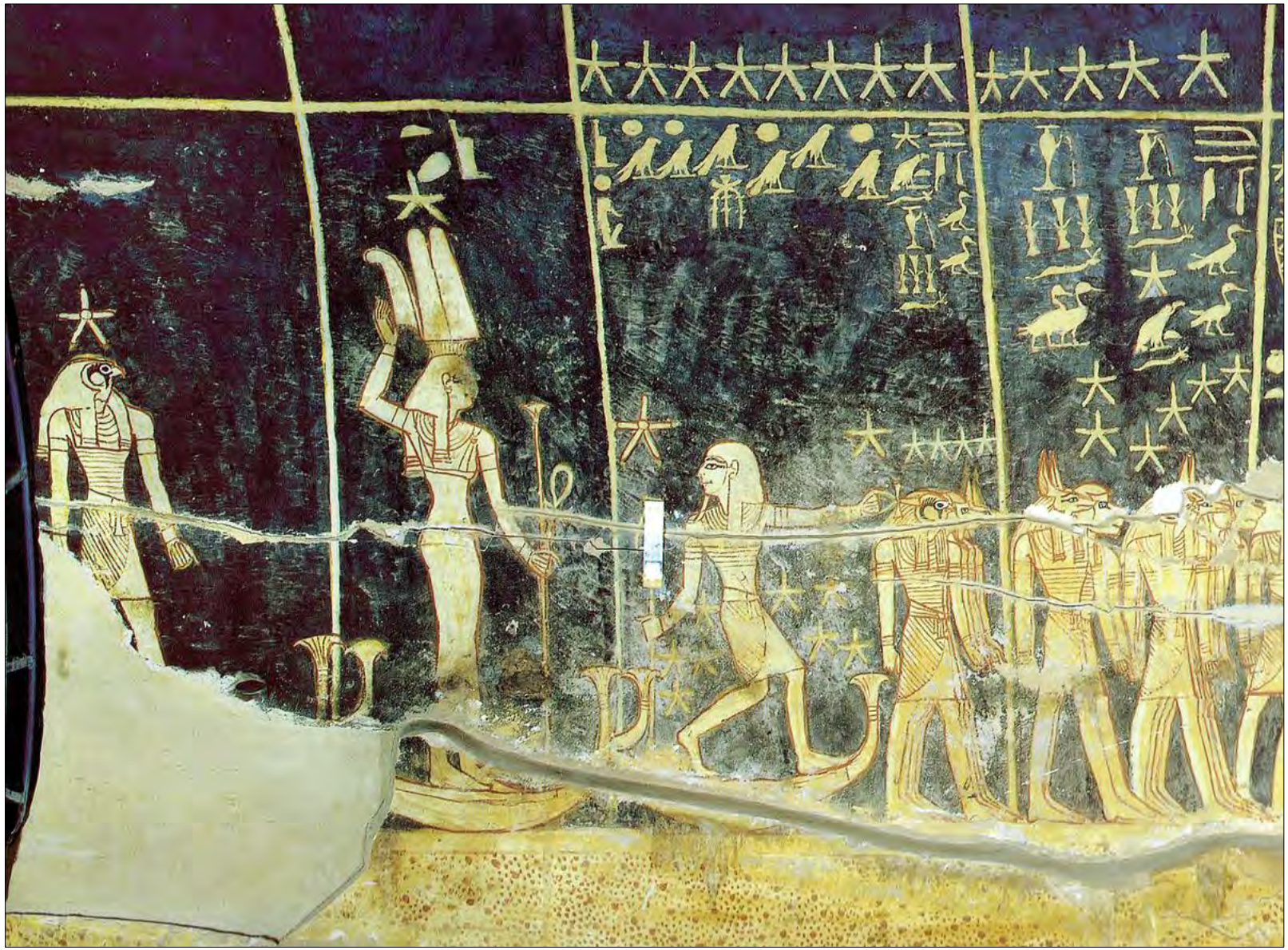
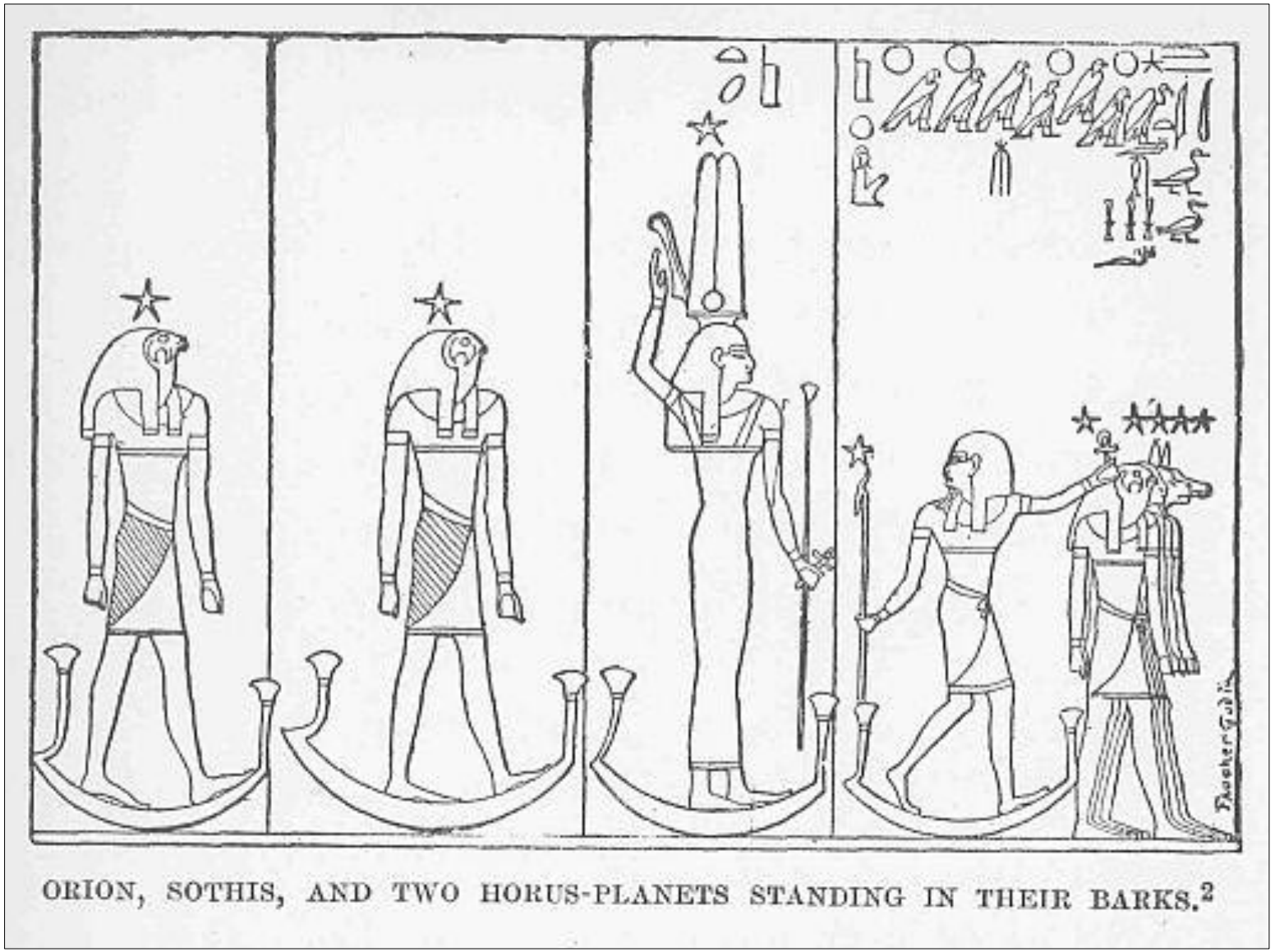


Plate 157. Astronomical Ceiling detail Sothis and Orion KV 17 Seti I.
(Photo Hawass 2006, 287)



ORION, SOTHIS, AND TWO HORUS-PLANETS STANDING IN THEIR BARKS.[2]

Plate 158. Astronomical Ceiling detail Striding Orion Facing Standing Sothis.
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/19400/19400-h/19400-h.htm#linklinkBimage-0018

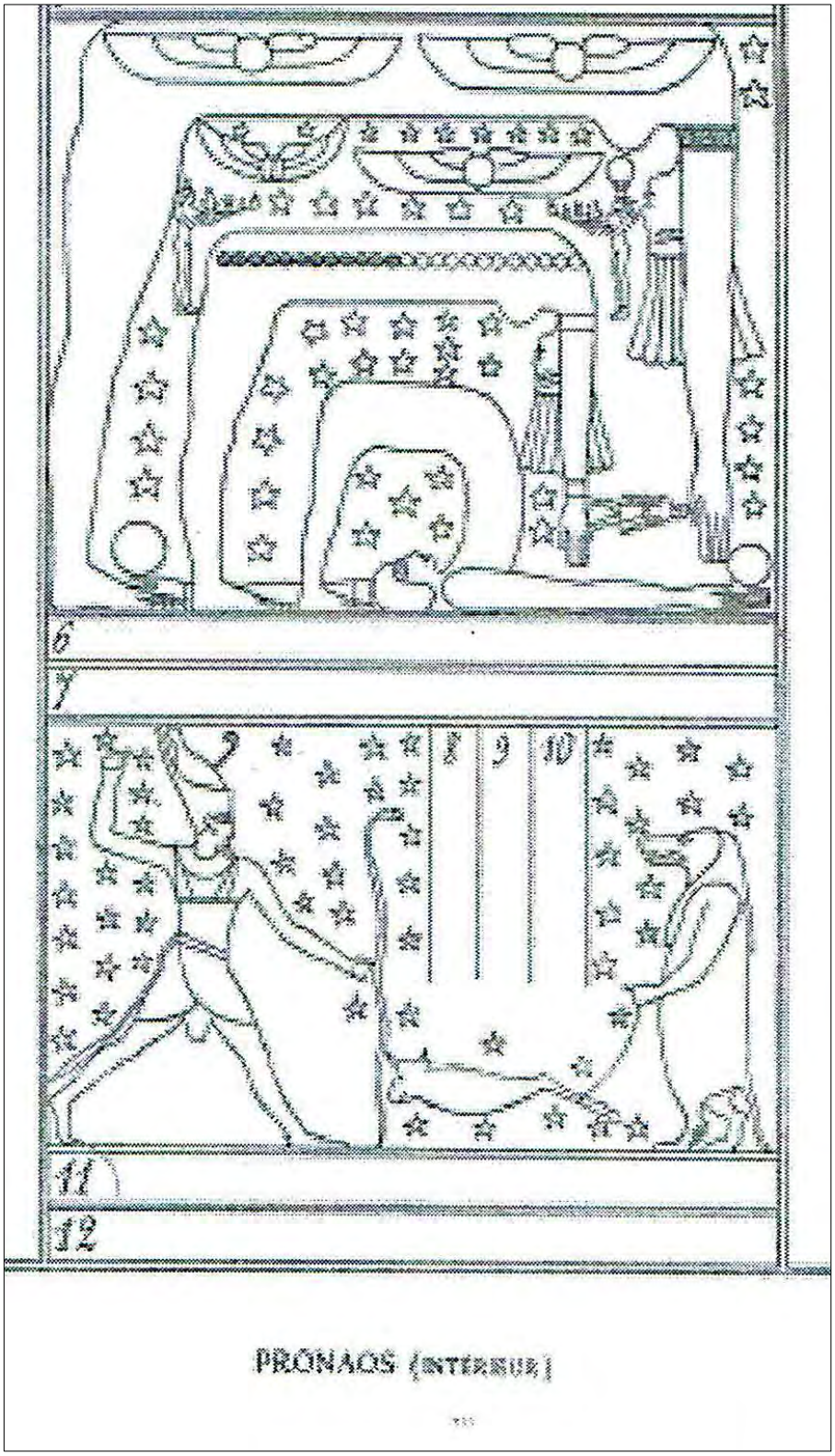


Plate 159. Astronomical Ceiling Pronaos Temple of Isis Philae (Benedite 1893, plate 50)

Seti I temple - Qurna
alignment to southern standstill Moon rise
alignment from axis of Karnak temple
Image © 2007 DigitalGlobe
Google
Pointer 25°43'56.39" N 32°37'42.84" E elev 80 m
Streaming 100%
Eye alt 341 m

Plate 160. Astronomical Alignments Gurna Mansion of Millions of Years Seti I.
(Furlong 2007, plan 5) www.davidfurlong.co.uk/pdf/egyptian_temple_orientation.pdf

Plate 161. Astronomical Alignments Karnak Temple Complex.
(Furlong 2007, plan 1) www.davidfurlong.co.uk/pdf/egyptian_temple_orientation.pdf

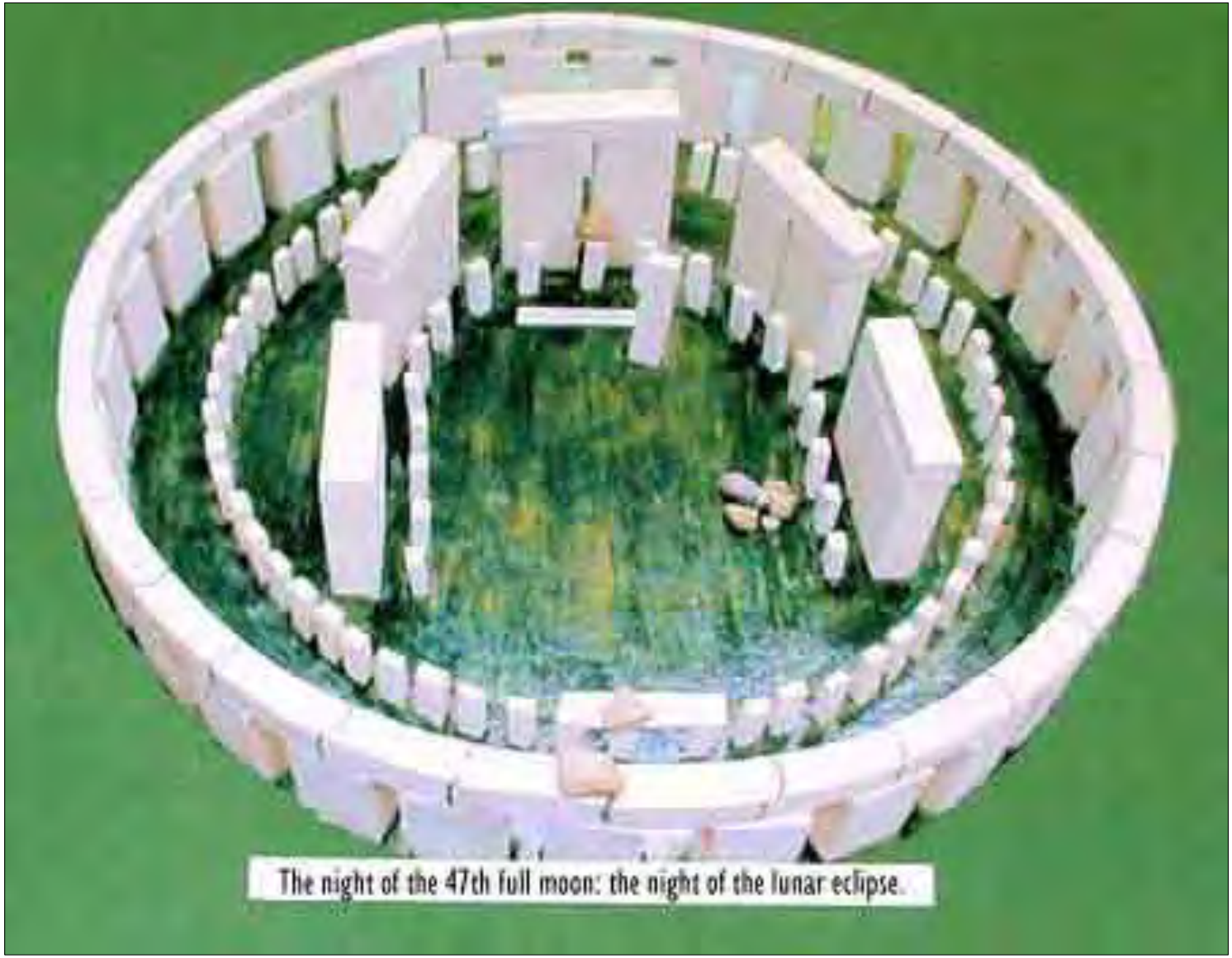


Plate 162. Astronomical Alignments Stonehenge Bluestone Horseshoe Lunar Eclipse Cycle
(Drawing https://www.angelfire.com/ab6/gem1506k/eclipses.htm)

Plate 163. Solar Eclipse scene Tomb of Sennedjem TT 1
(Shedid 1994, 104)

Table 1. Three Sample Saros Series

Cycle	Date	Magnitude	Δ Magnitude	Local Time	Δ Local Time
1	−746 Feb 6	0.92		2.37	
2	−728 Feb 17	0.86	−0.06	9.80	7.43
3	−710 Feb 27	0.77	−0.09	17.13	7.33
4	−692 Mar 10	0.67	−0.10	0.33	7.20
5	−674 Mar 21	0.56	−0.11	7.43	7.10
6	−656 Mar 31	0.44	−0.11	14.44	7.01
1	−536 Oct 17	1.50		5.70	
2	−518 Oct 28	1.48	−0.02	13.82	8.12
3	−500 Nov 7	1.47	−0.01	22.03	8.21
4	−482 Nov 19	1.47	−0.00	6.29	8.26
5	−464 Nov 29	1.46	−0.01	14.55	8.26
6	−446 Dec 11	1.46	−0.00	22.80	8.25
1	−218 Sep 12	0.78		10.56	
2	−200 Sep 22	0.73	−0.05	18.35	7.79
3	−182 Oct 4	0.69	−0.04	2.31	7.96
4	−164 Oct 14	0.66	−0.03	10.40	8.09
5	−146 Oct 25	0.64	−0.02	18.62	8.22
6	−128 Nov 5	0.62	−0.02	2.90	8.28

Eclipse predictions in the Assyrian and Babylonian letters and reports

Plate 164. Eclipse Prediction in Mesopotamia
(Steele 2000, 425)

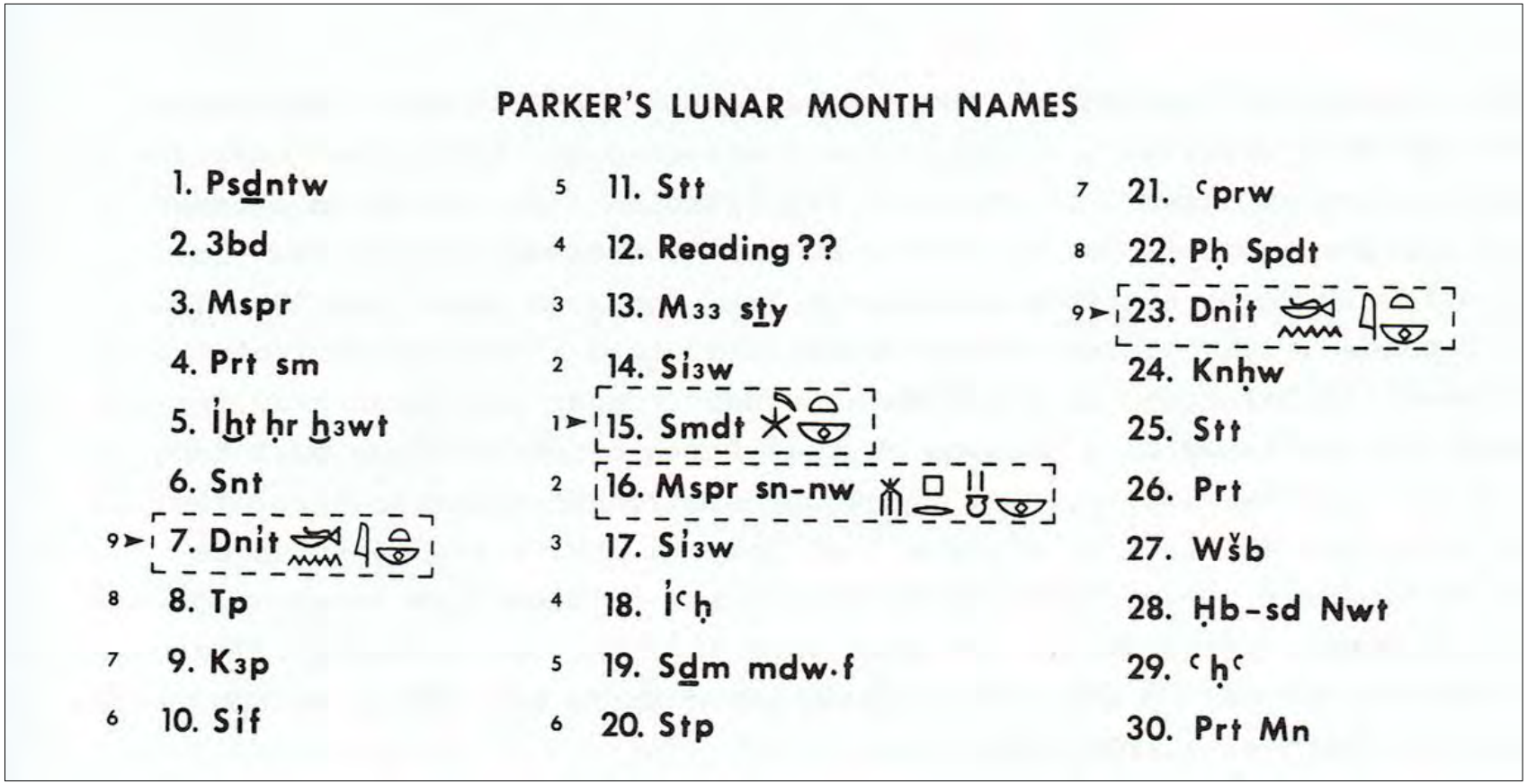


Plate 165. Parker's Lunar Month Names.
(Wells 1990, 111)

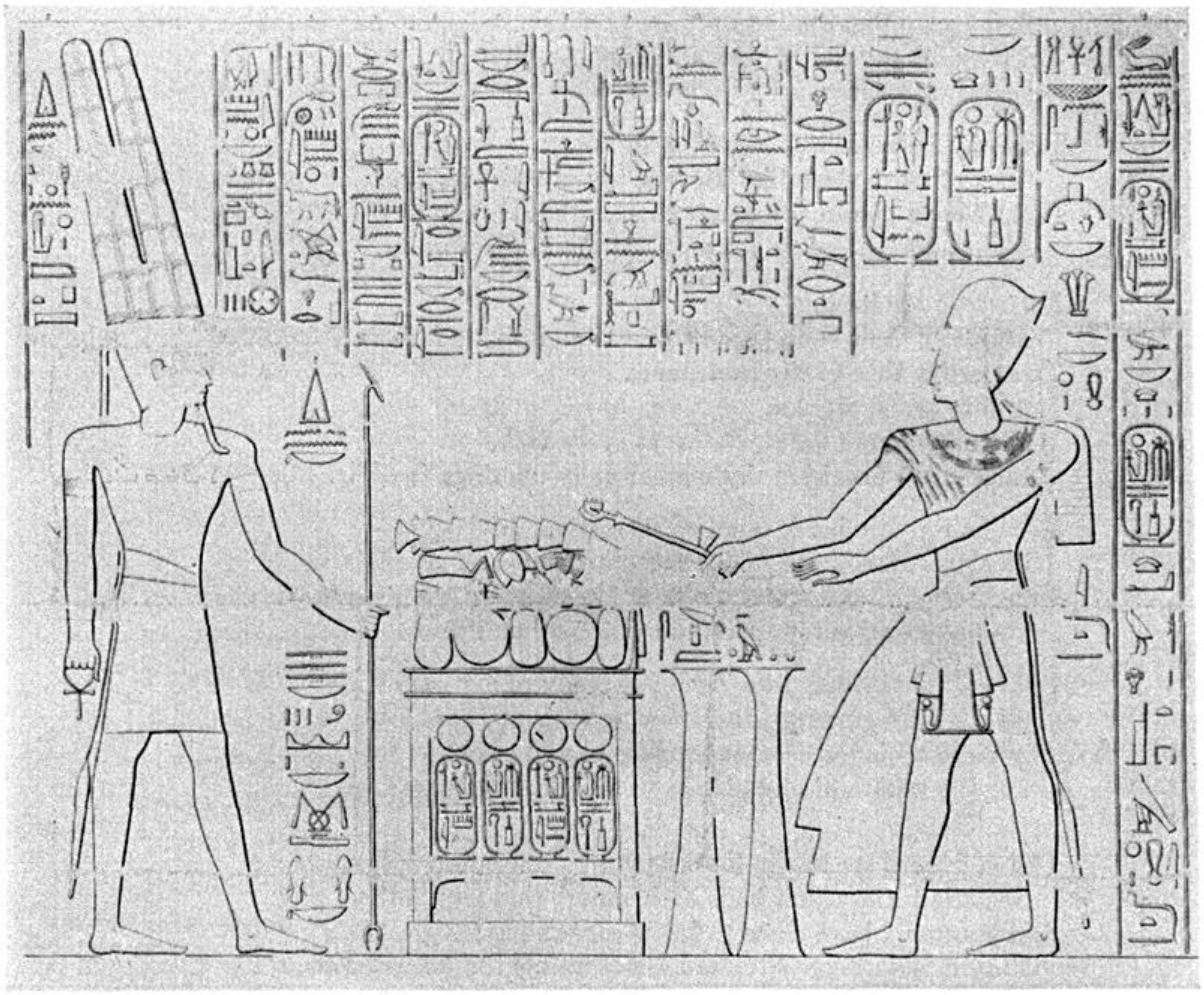


FIG. 8.—Ramses III officiating at the New Moon Feast. The inscription above contains the formula which is being uttered by the king on the occasion of the feast as he performs the rites in the temple. Before him is an altar on which are, first, loaves of bread of various kinds—apparently, to judge from the shape, *psn*-bread and *šʿt*-bread. Above these are the traces of a row of *byt*-bread. Next above come parts of a slaughtered animal—a haunch, a liver, and some ribs. Just below the latter and above the bread are two fruits, seemingly pomegranates. On the top of all is a formal bouquet laid across the altar. Directly in front of the king are two stands or small altars such as held trays of offerings or jars of liquid. Over all the king waves his censer in one hand and gesticulates with the other as he utters the prescribed words. Over the two small stands is the inscription: "Leading the New Moon Feasts." It is such acts as this that are meant when the king says: "I am a feast leader, pure of hands." From the north wall of the first court of Medinet Habu.

Plate 166. Ramesses II performing the New Moon Rites First Court Medinet Habu. (Nelson 1934, Fig. 8)

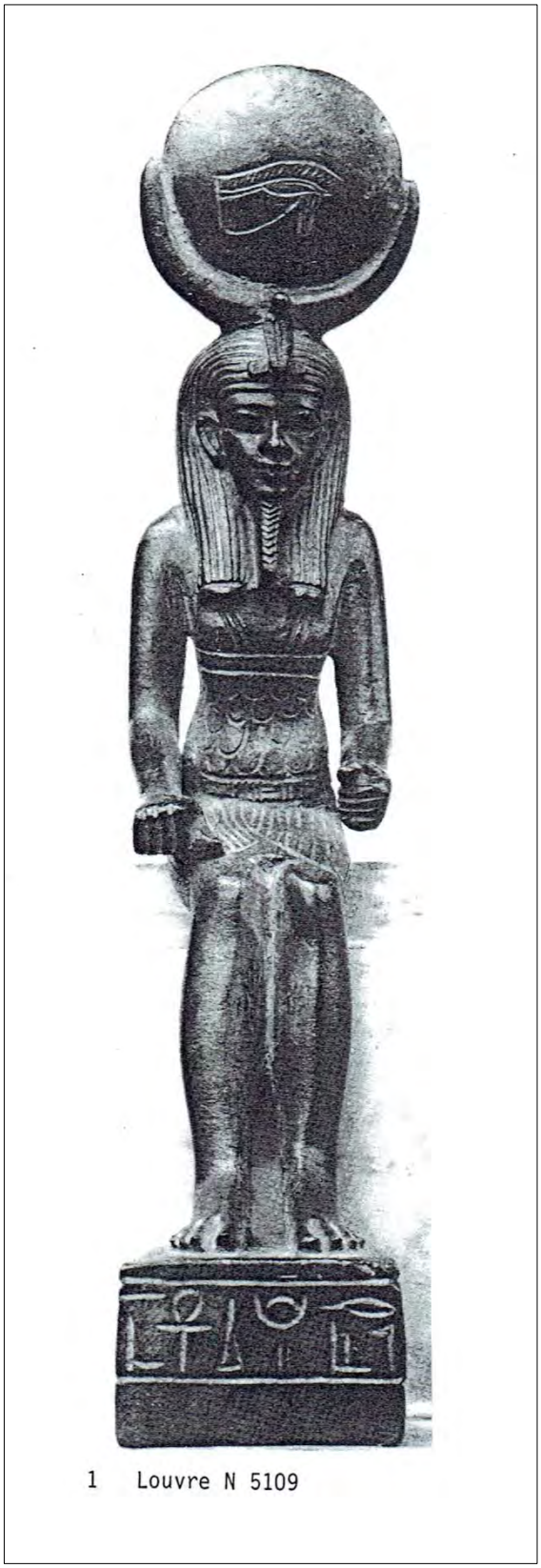


Plate 167. Osiris-Moon Statue.
(Image Louvre N 5109 Ziegler 1988, plate 9)

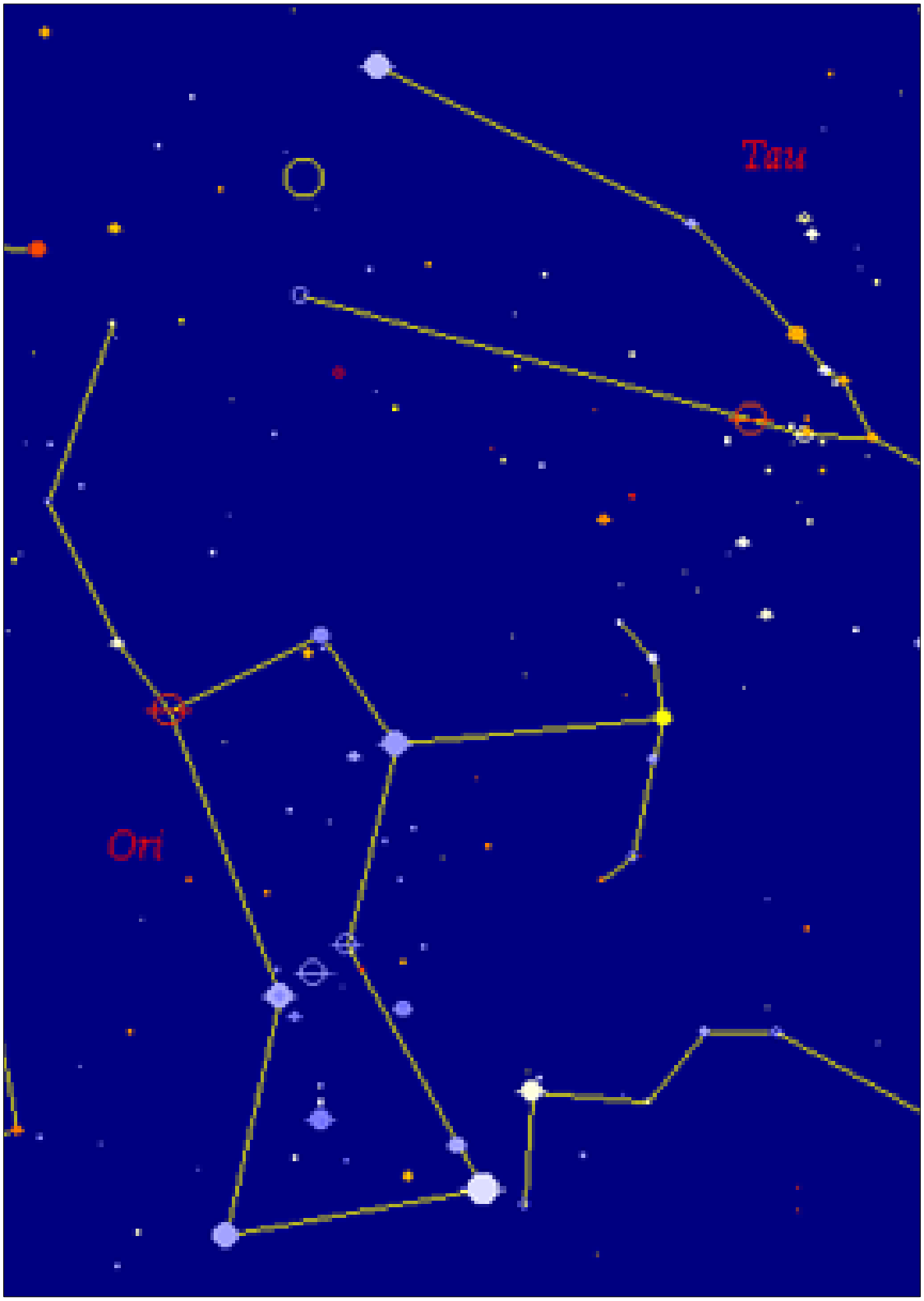


Plate 168. Full Moon above Orion's Head Nearest the Winter Solstice:
Start and End of the 19 Year Metonic Cycle see Appendix B
https://www.mythicalireland.com/blogs/astronomy/metonic-cycle-the-19-year-cycle-of-the-moon/

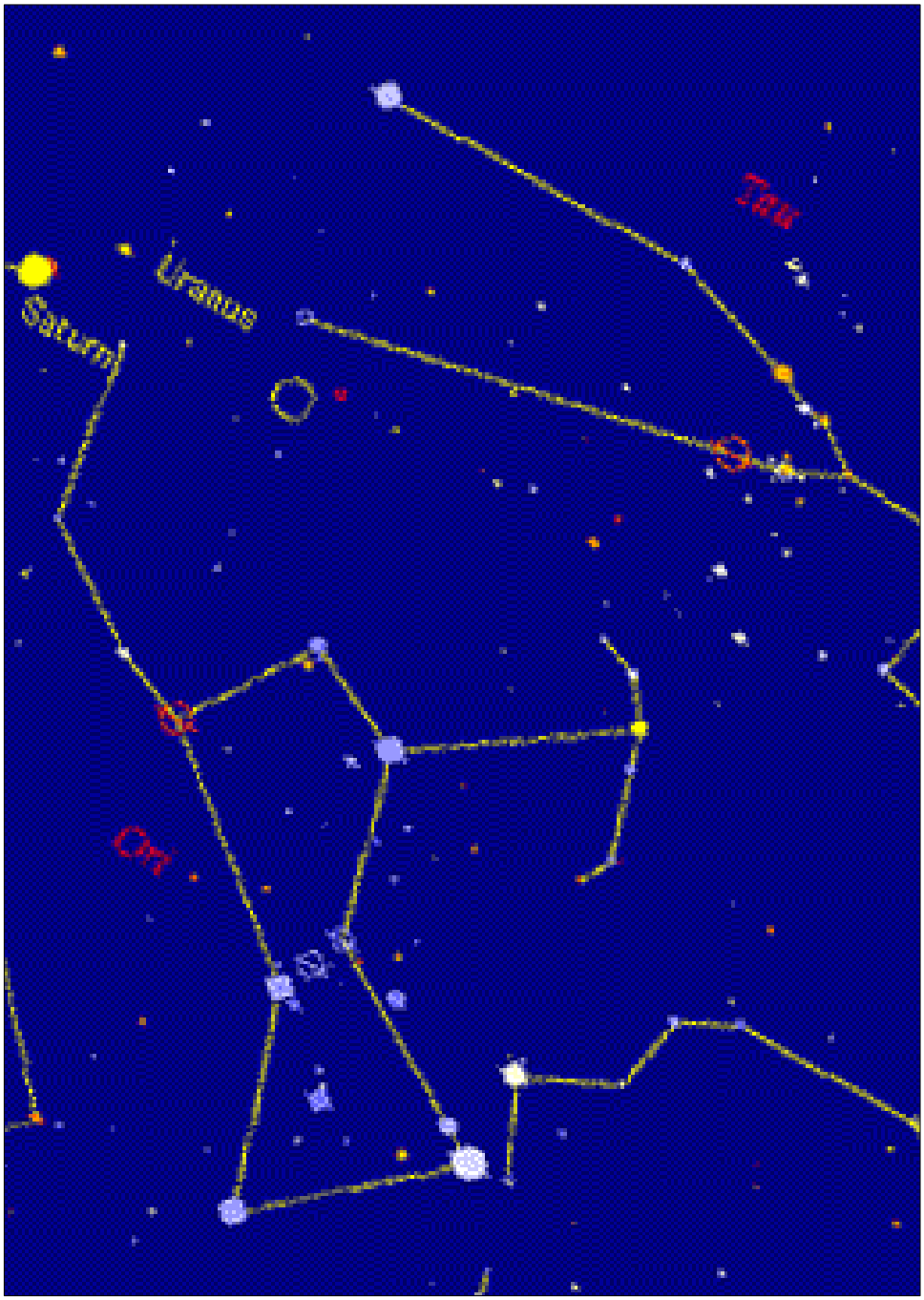


Plate 169. Moon above Orion's Head again at the 11 Year Interval of the 19 Year Metonic Cycle
https://www.mythicalireland.com/blogs/astronomy/metonic-cycle-the-19-year-cycle-of-the-moon/

Plate 170. United Re-Osiris Second Shrine of Tutankhamun
(Photo www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/tut-scans/taa_i_3_25_32.jpg)

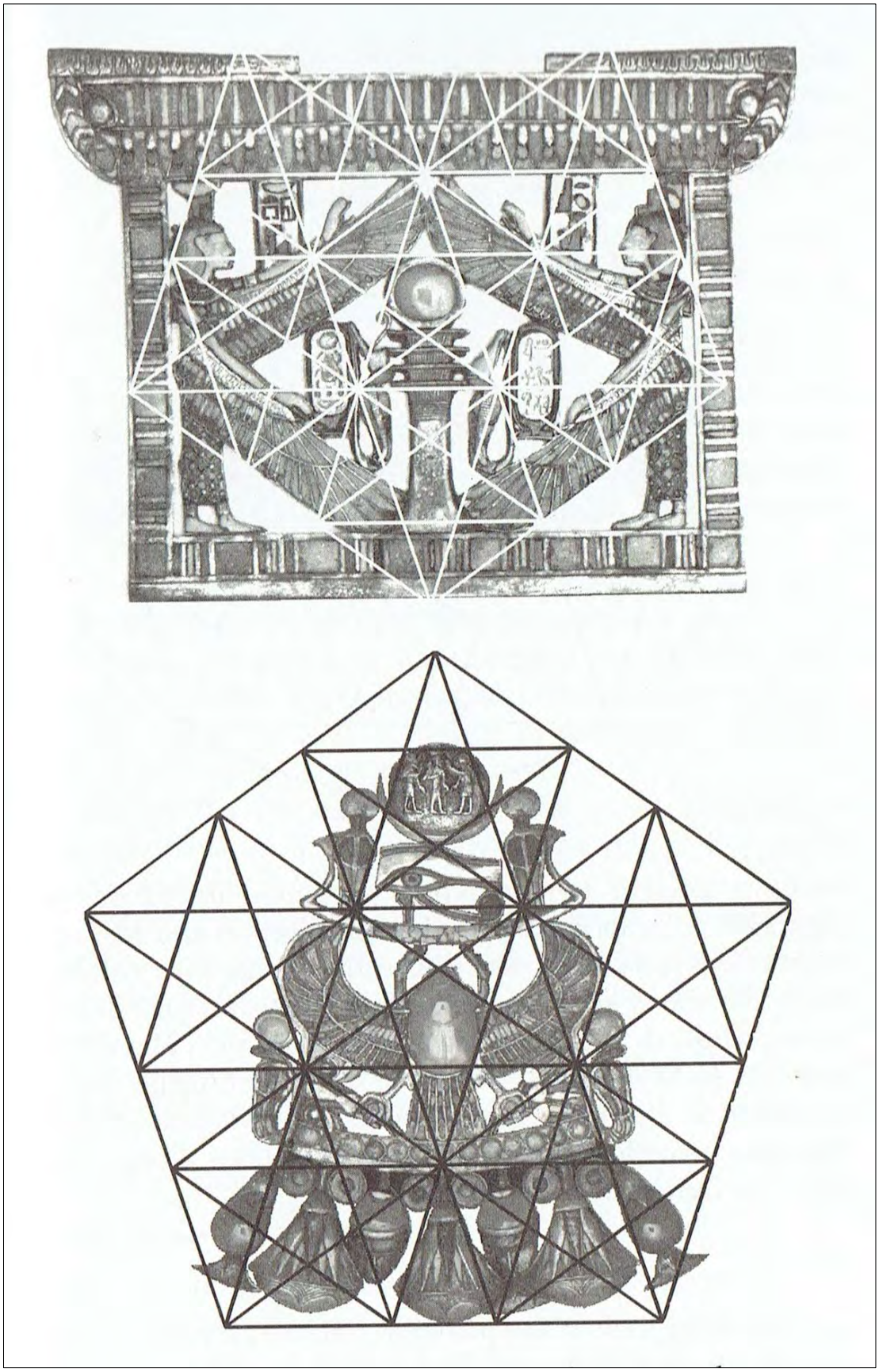


Plate 171. Pentagonal Symmetry Use in Ancient Egyptian Designs
(Schneider 1994, 137)

Plate 172. Sarcophagus of Tutankhamun.
https://twitter.com/ceninvoncatlien/status/1297834796094296065?lang=fr 08/24/2020

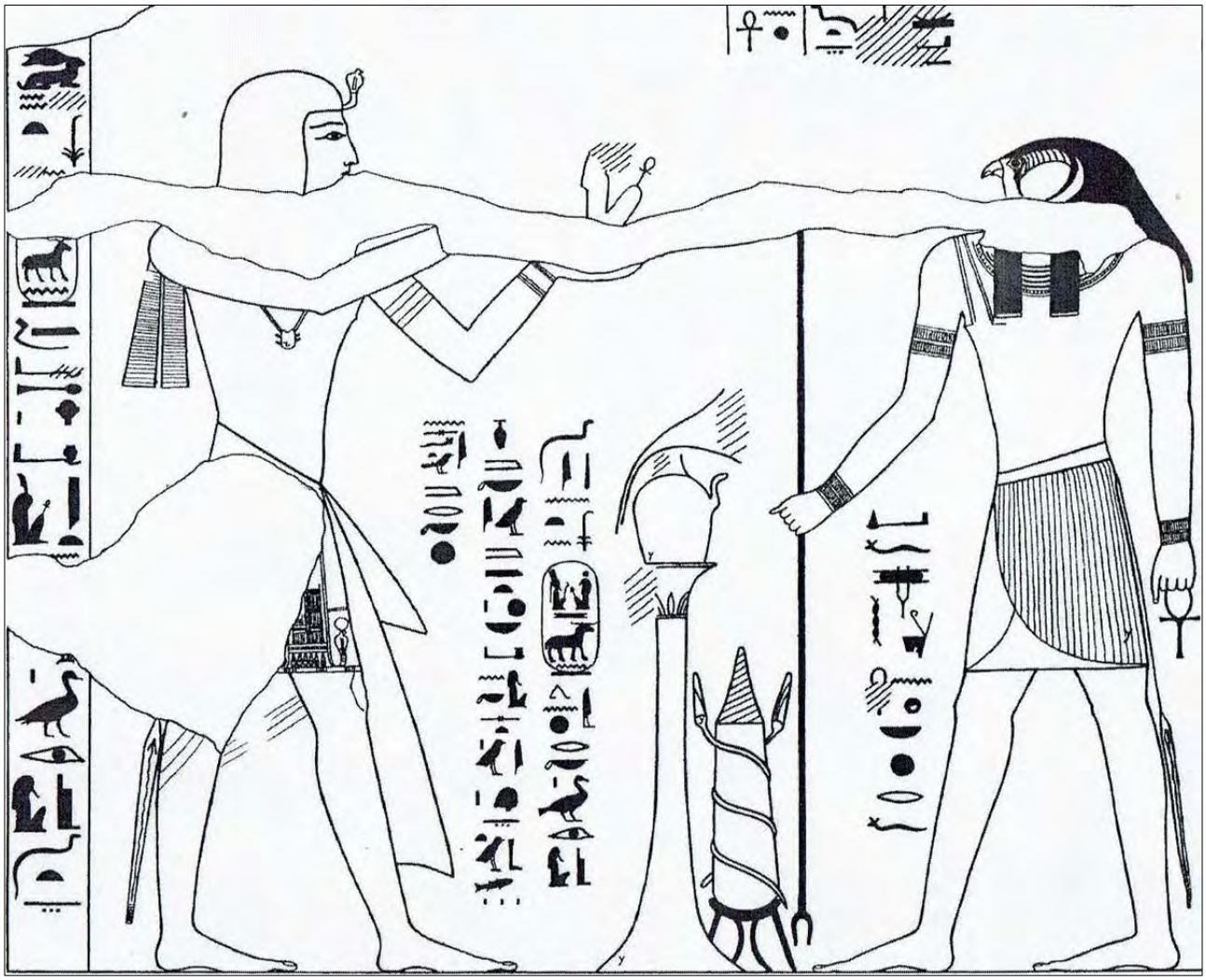


Plate 173. Entrance Passage Opening Scene Rites for the New Moon.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 22) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

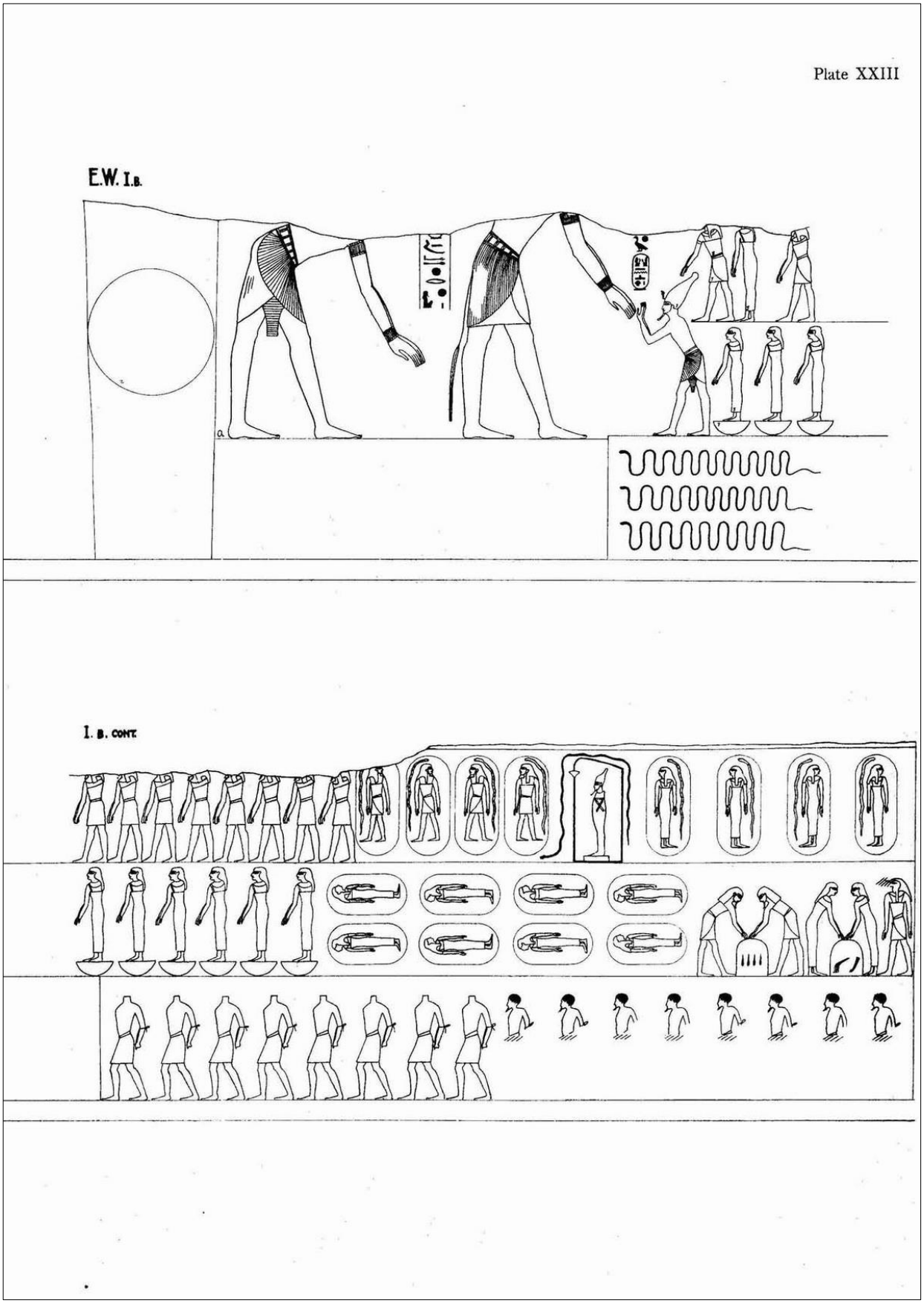


Plate 174. Book of Caverns Opening Scene
(Frankfort 1933, plate 23) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 175. Book of Caverns First Division detail Osiris-King greeting Atum-Re
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779163105/in/album-72157624260294383/

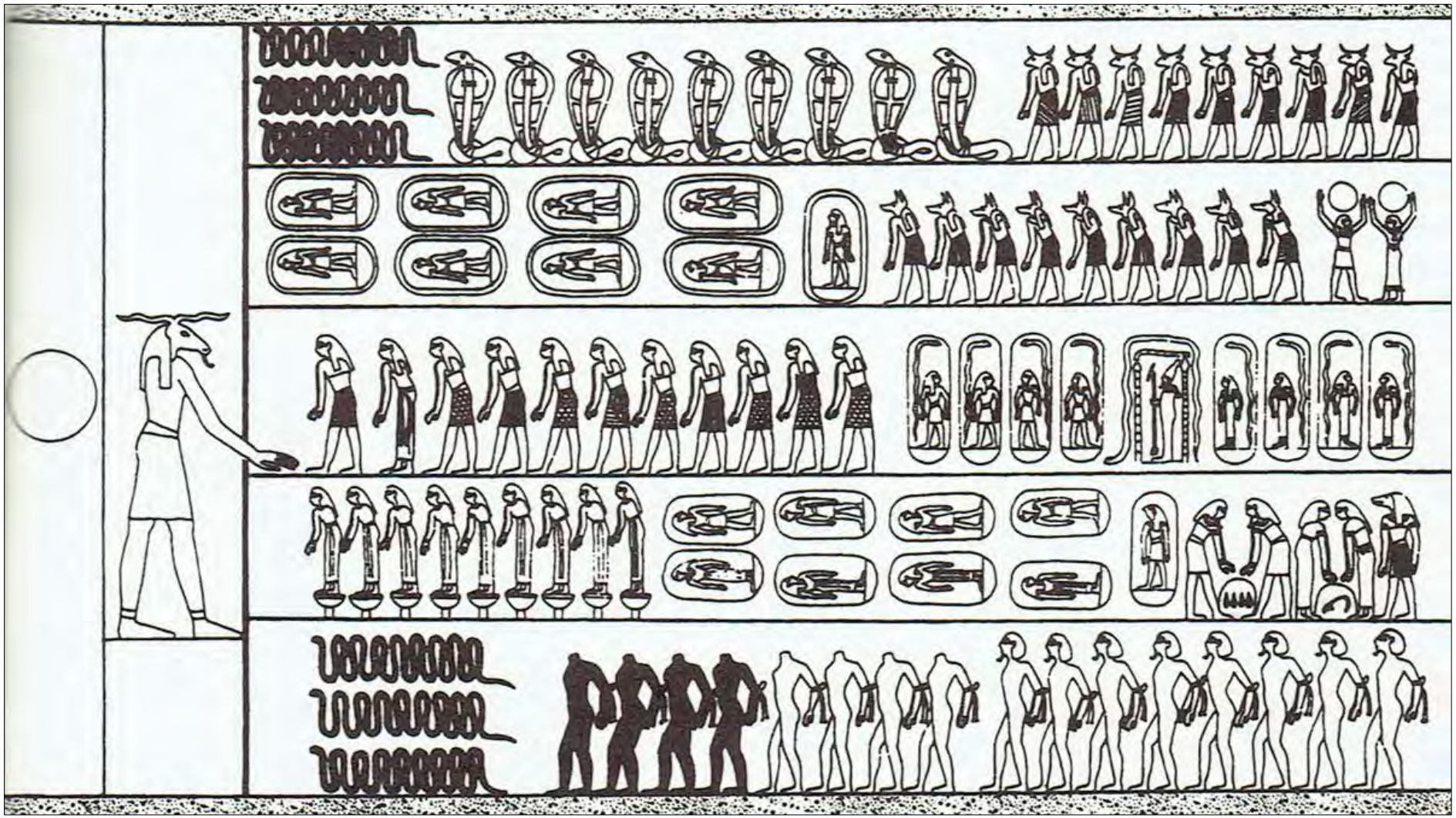


Plate 176. Book of Caverns First Division Drawing.
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 47)

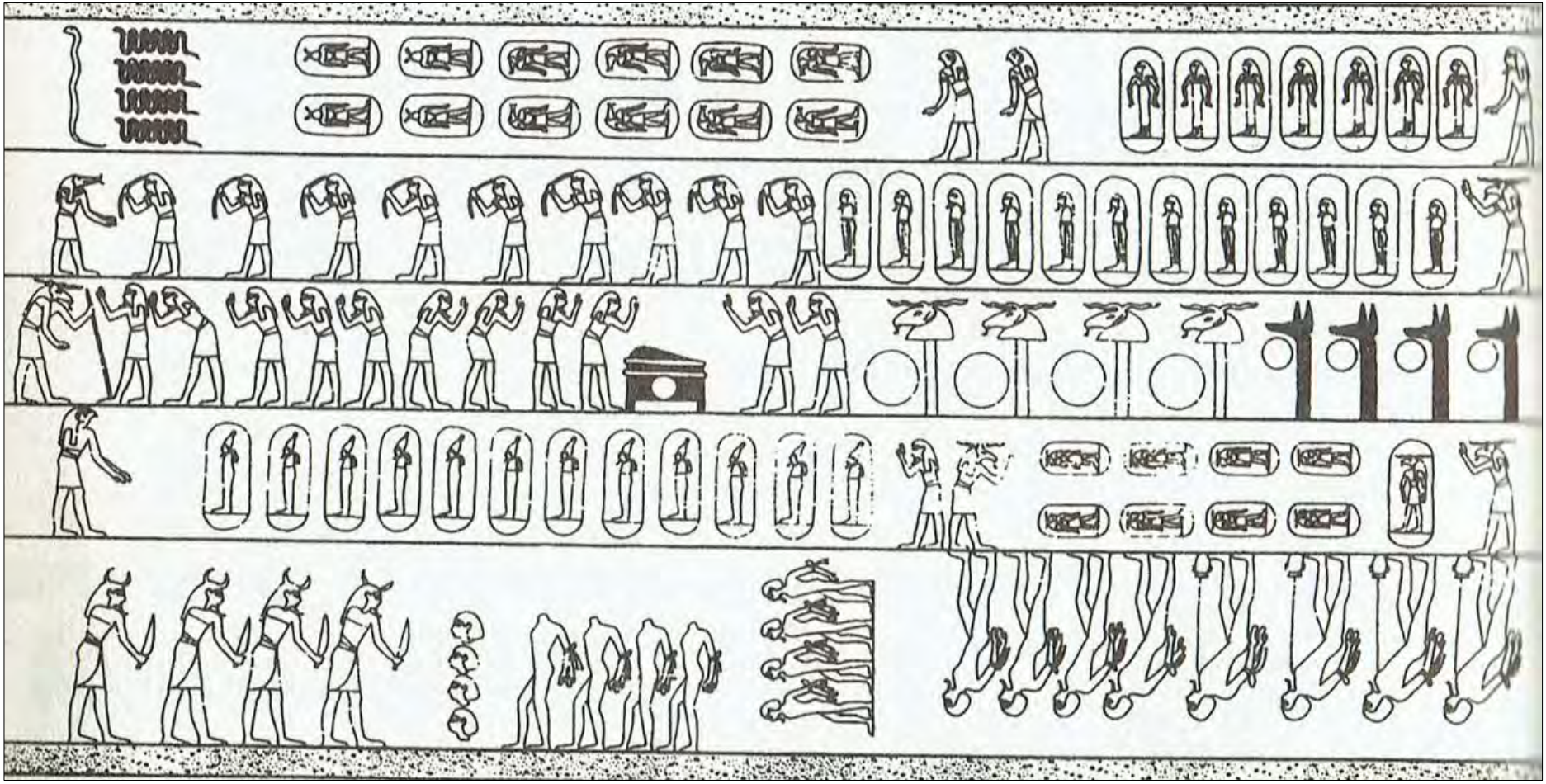


Plate 177. Book of Caverns Second Division Drawing.
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 48)

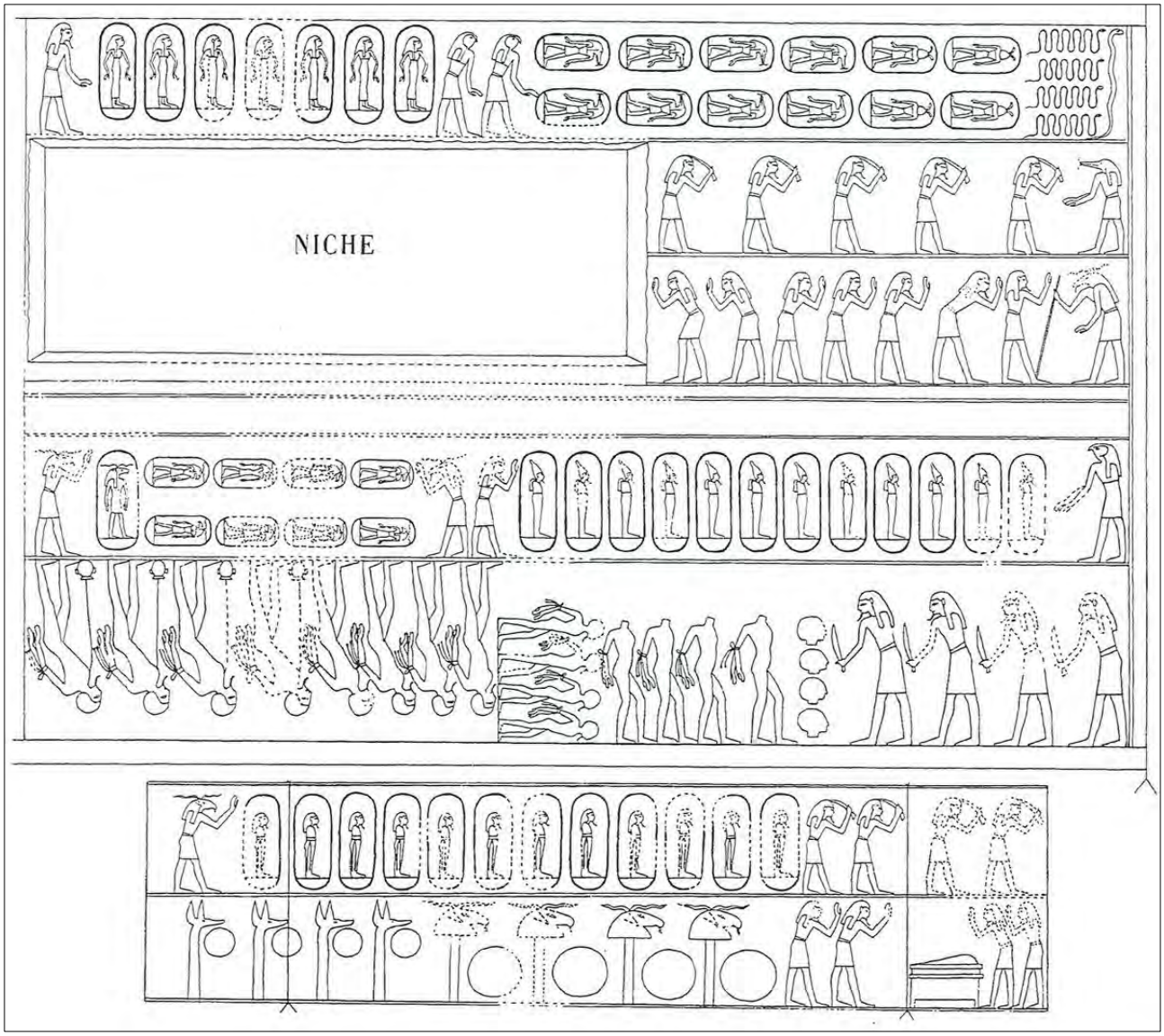


Plate 178. Book of Caverns Second Division Line Drawing Tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1944, plate 10)

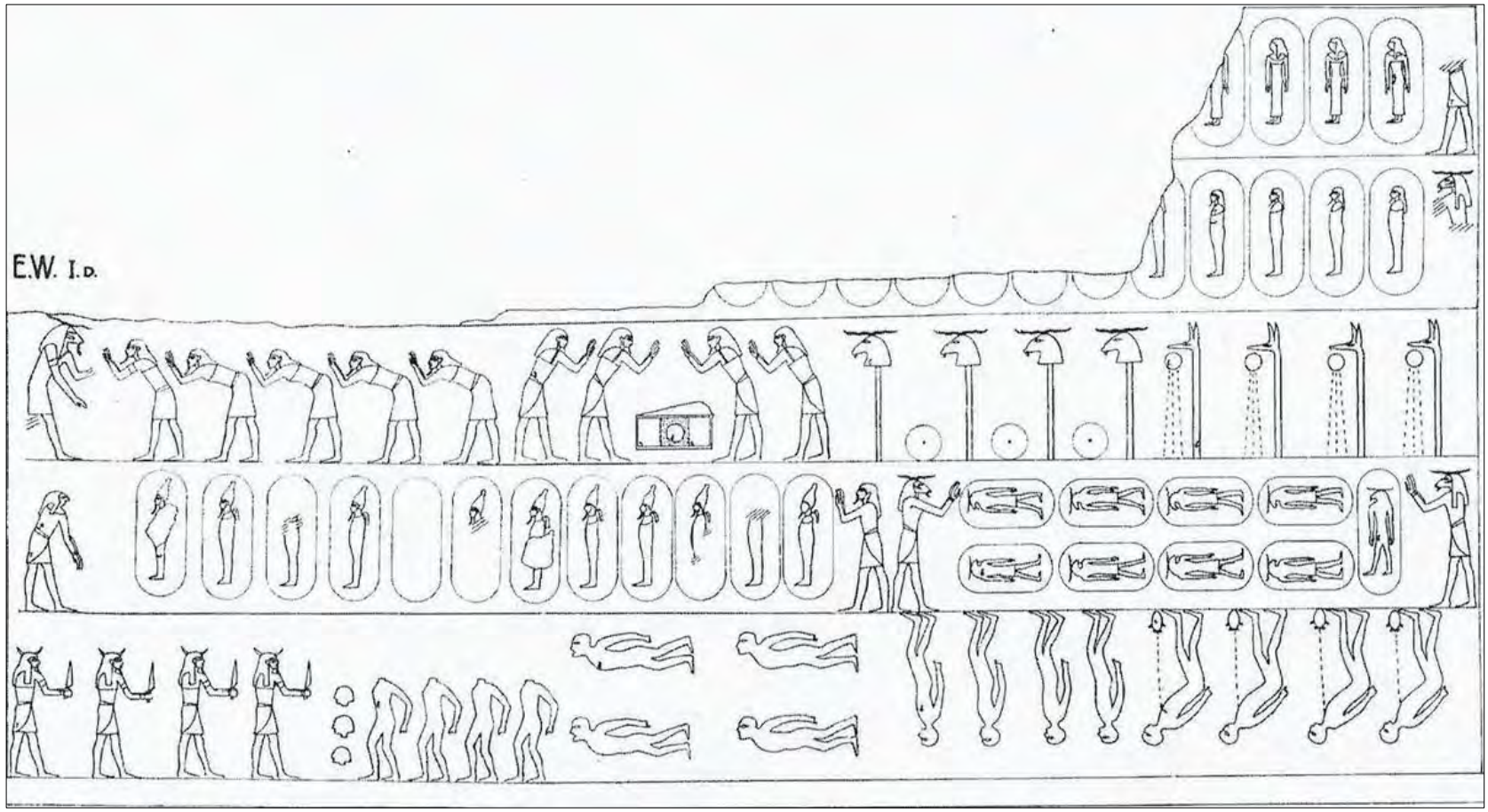


Plate 179. Book of Caverns Second Division.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 25) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

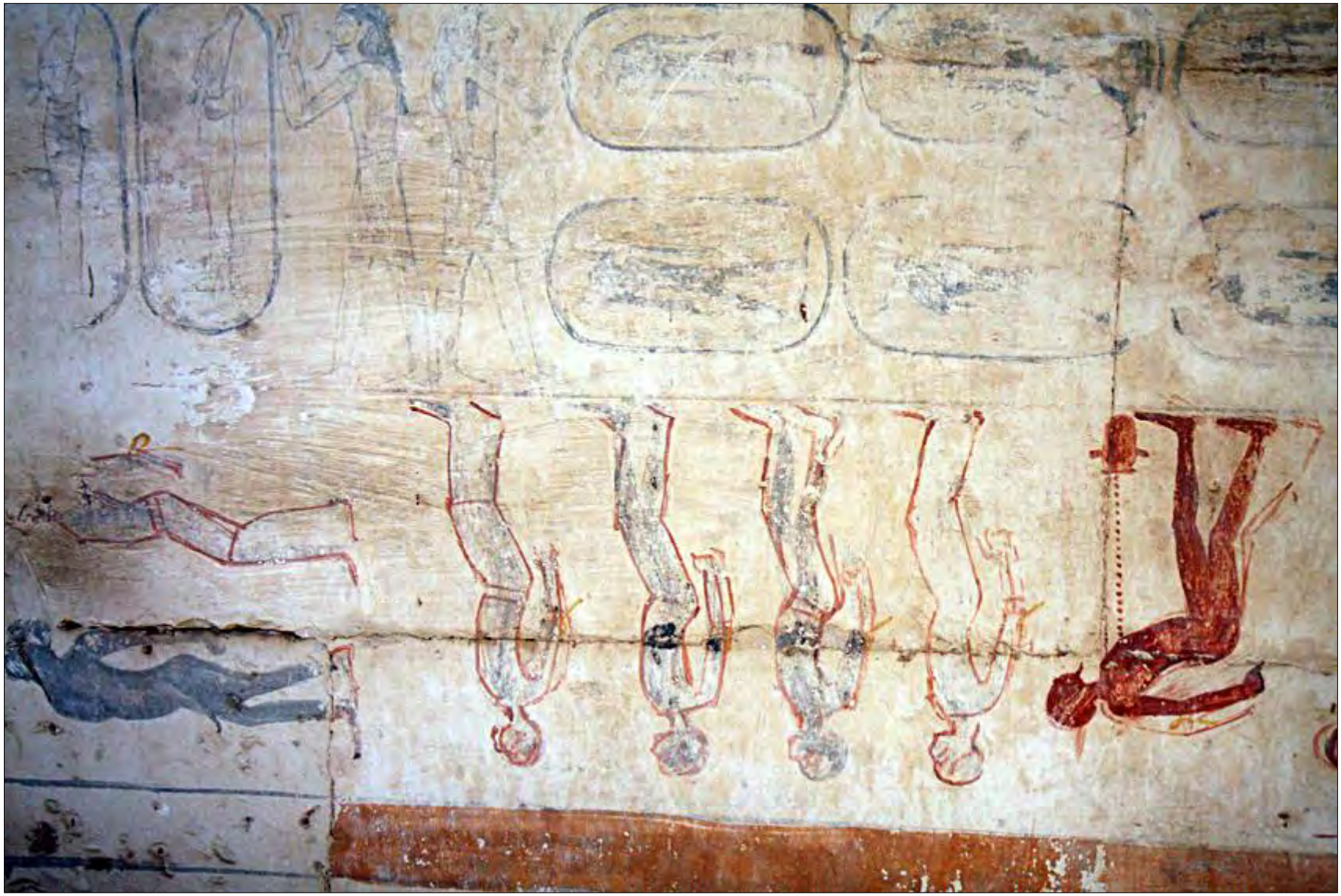


Plate 180. Book of Caverns Second Division bottom register Enemies.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779167787/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 181. Book of Caverns Second Division third register detail Chest of Osiris.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779800038/in/album-72157624260294383/

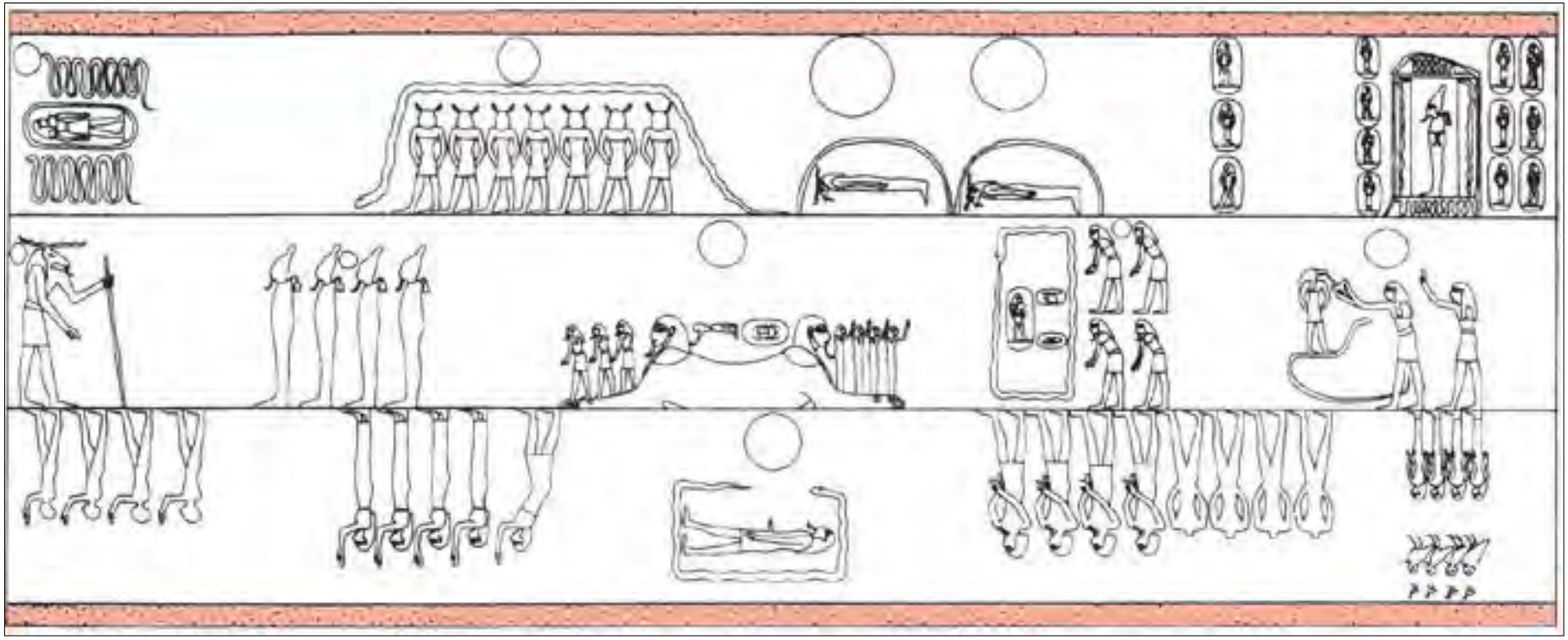


Plate 182. Book of Caverns Third Division Line Drawing.
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 49)

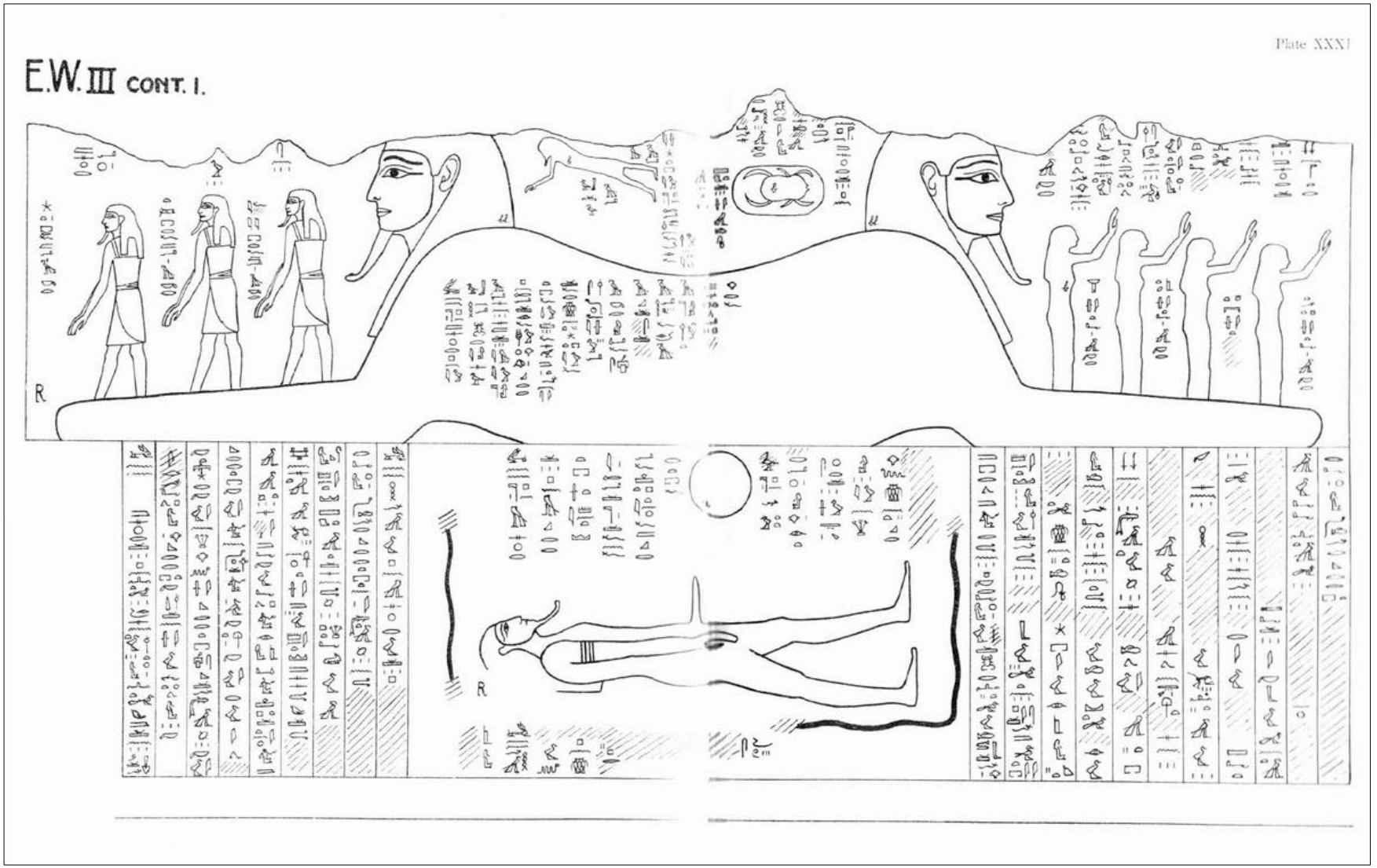


Plate 183. Book of Caverns Third Division.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 31) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

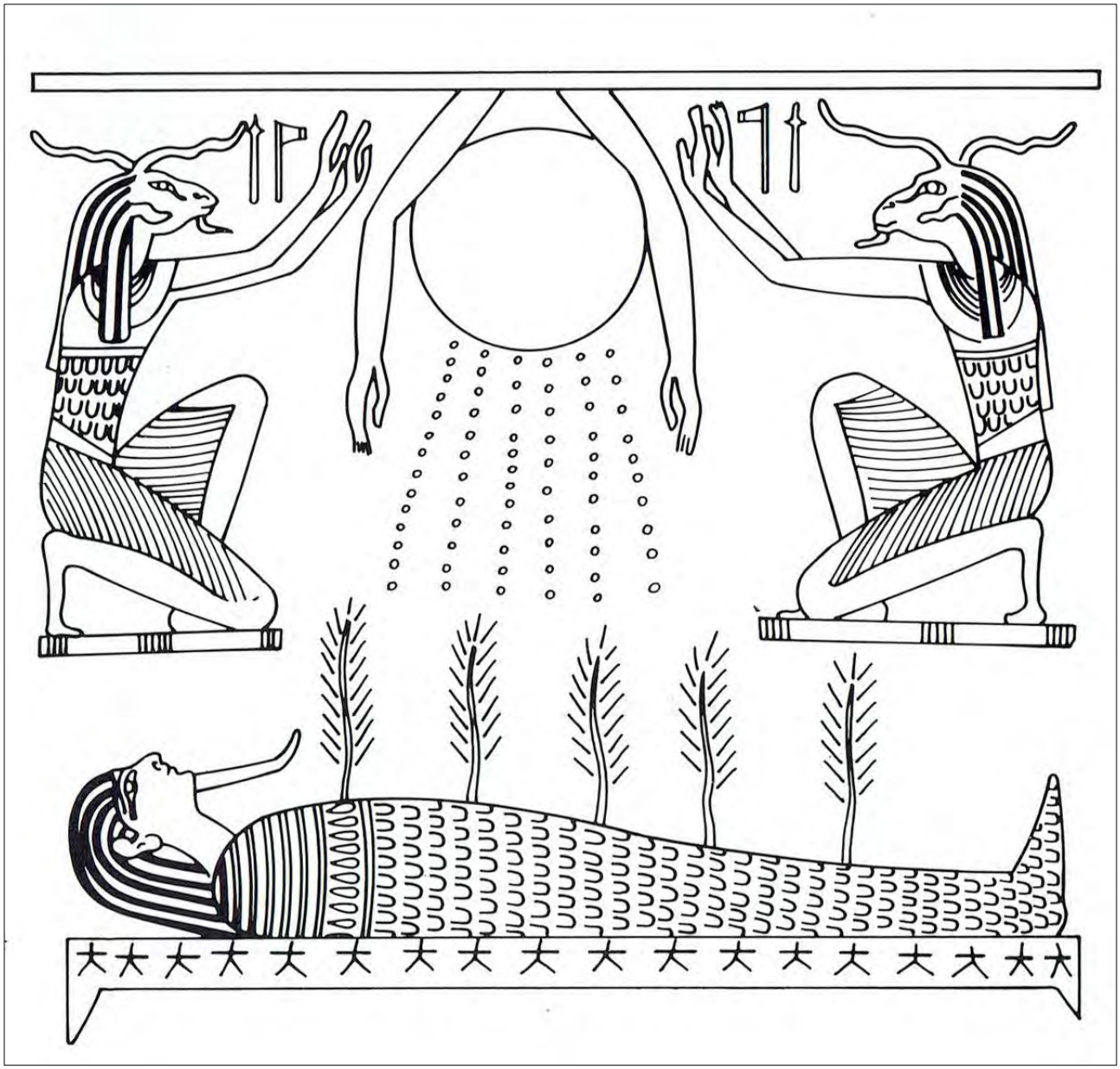


Plate 184. Osiris Sprouting New Life Coffin Fitzwilliam Museum.
(Hornung 1990, 119)

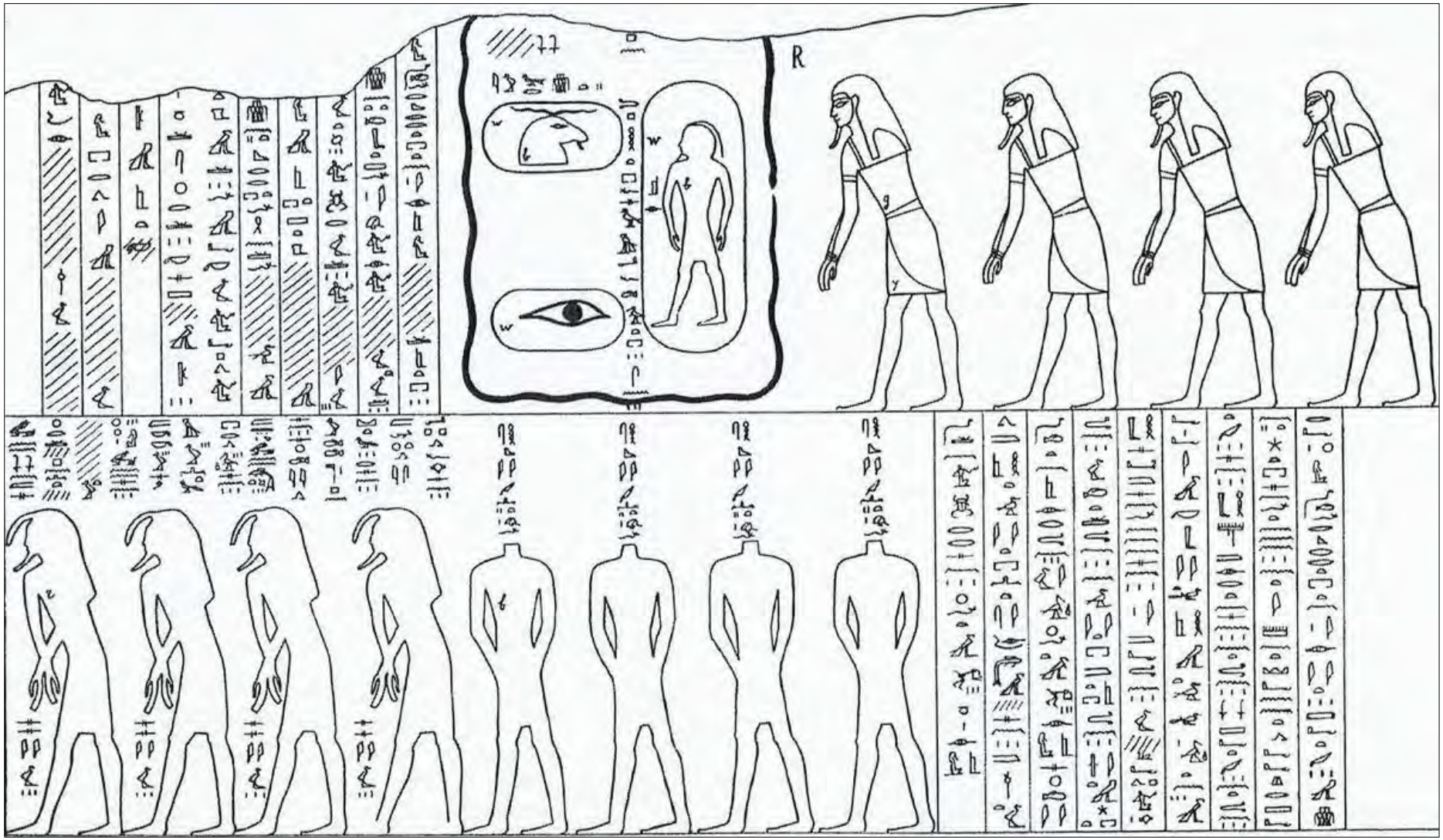


Plate 185. Book of Caverns Third Division.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 32) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

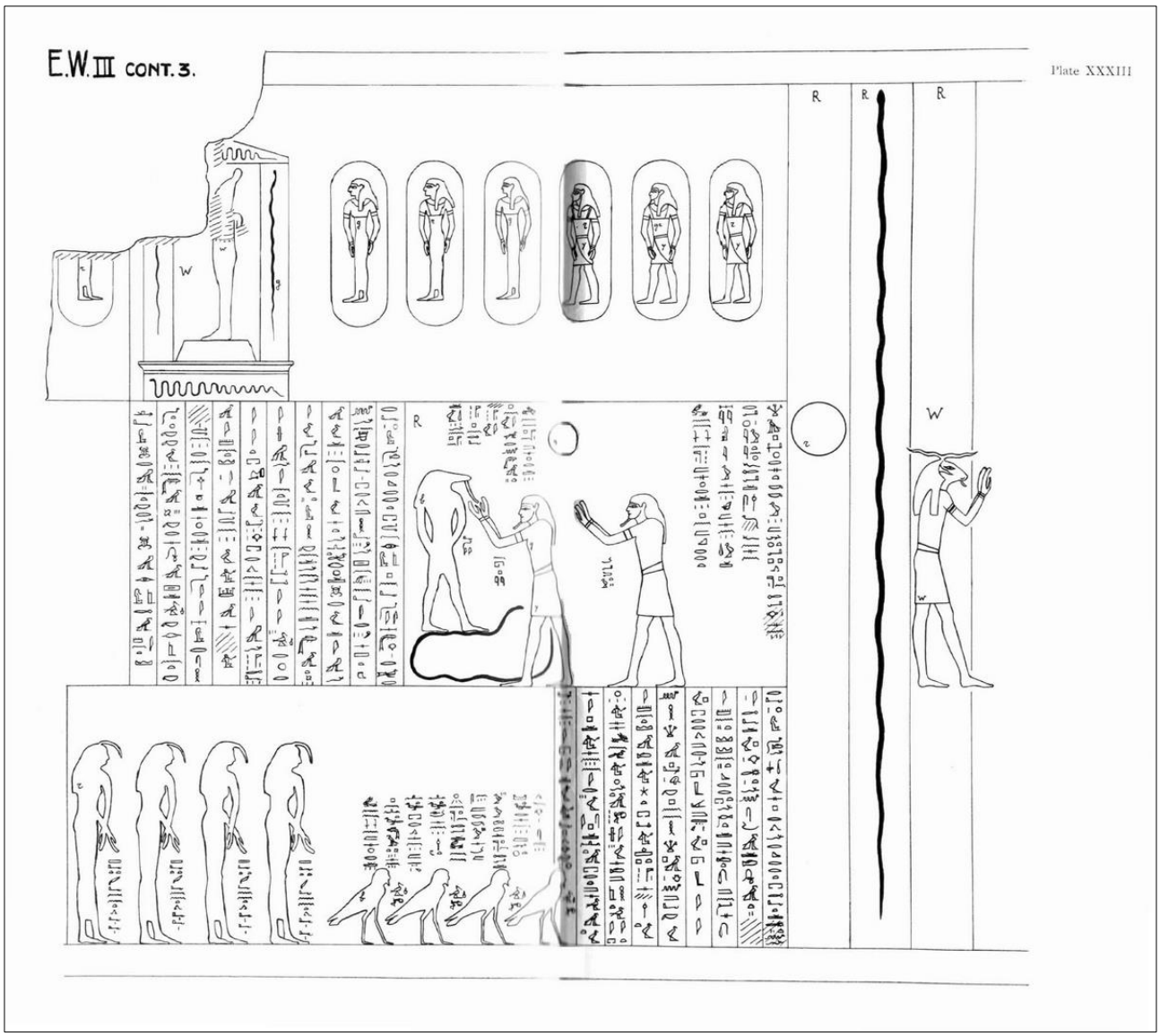


Plate 186. Book of Caverns Third Division detail end.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 33) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

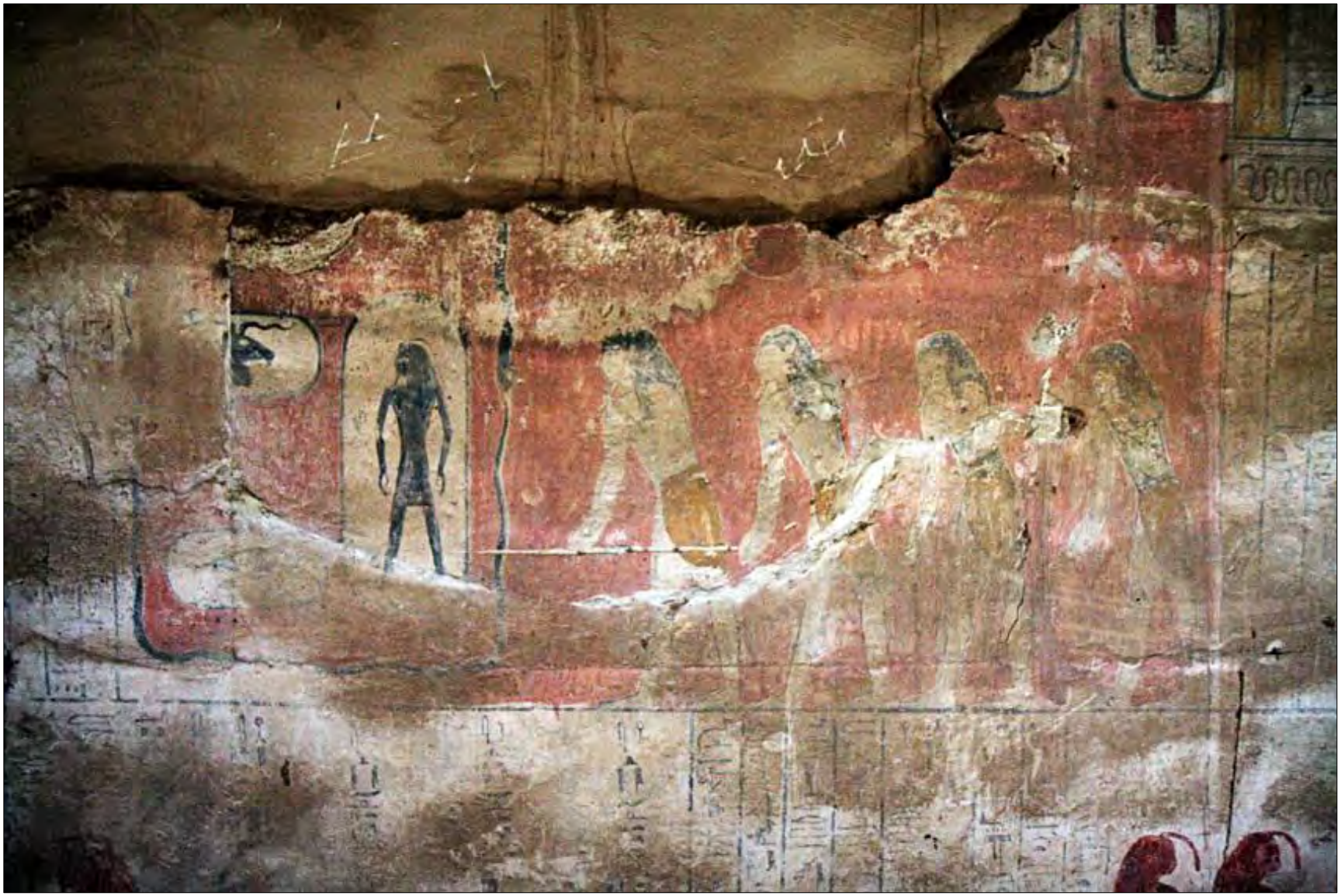


Plate 187. Book of Caverns Third Division middle register detail.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779170529/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 188. Book of Caverns Third Division middle register end.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779804006/in/album-72157624260294383/

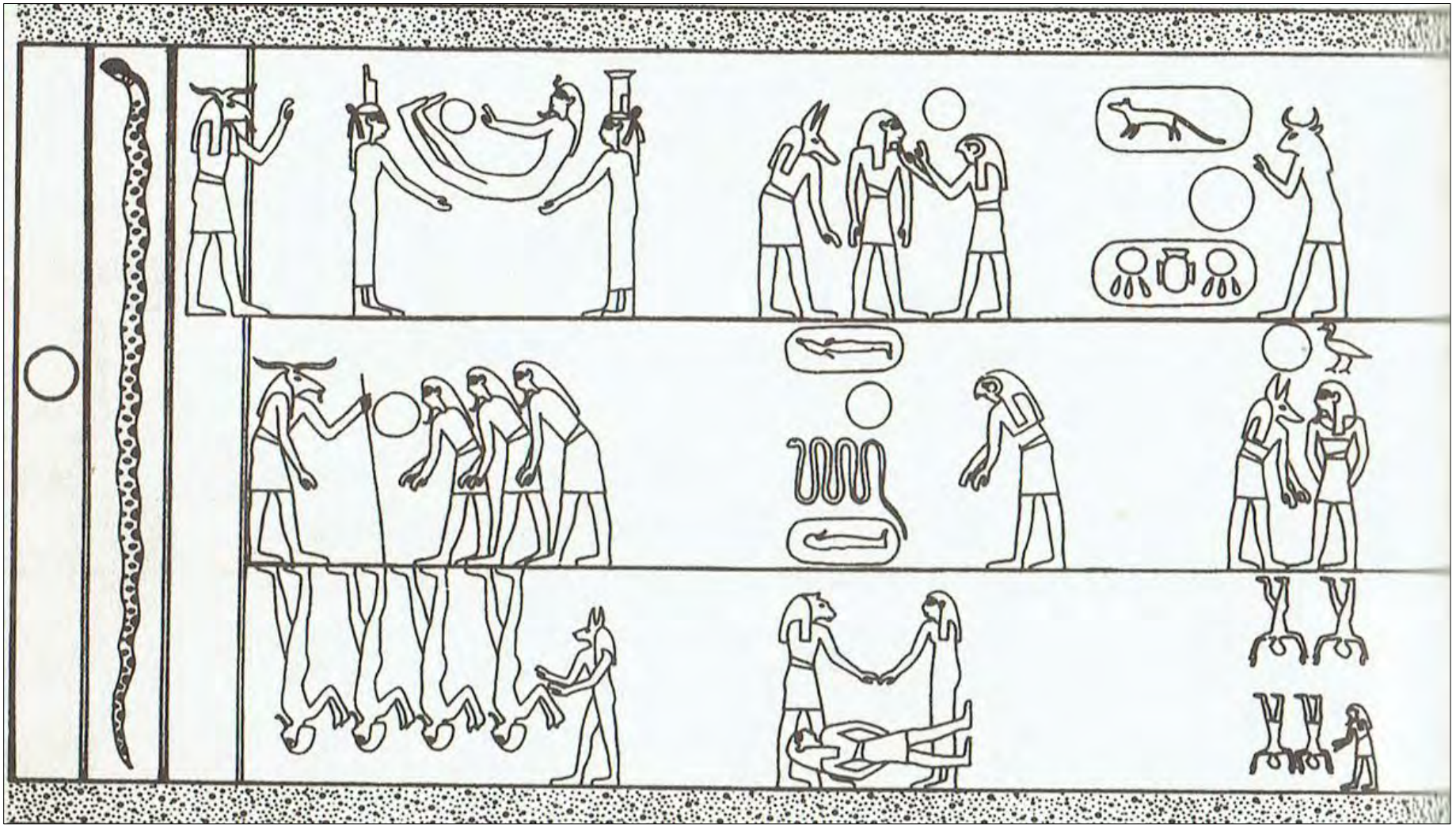


Plate 189. Book of Caverns Fourth Division Drawing.
(Shedid in Hornung 1990, Fig. 50)

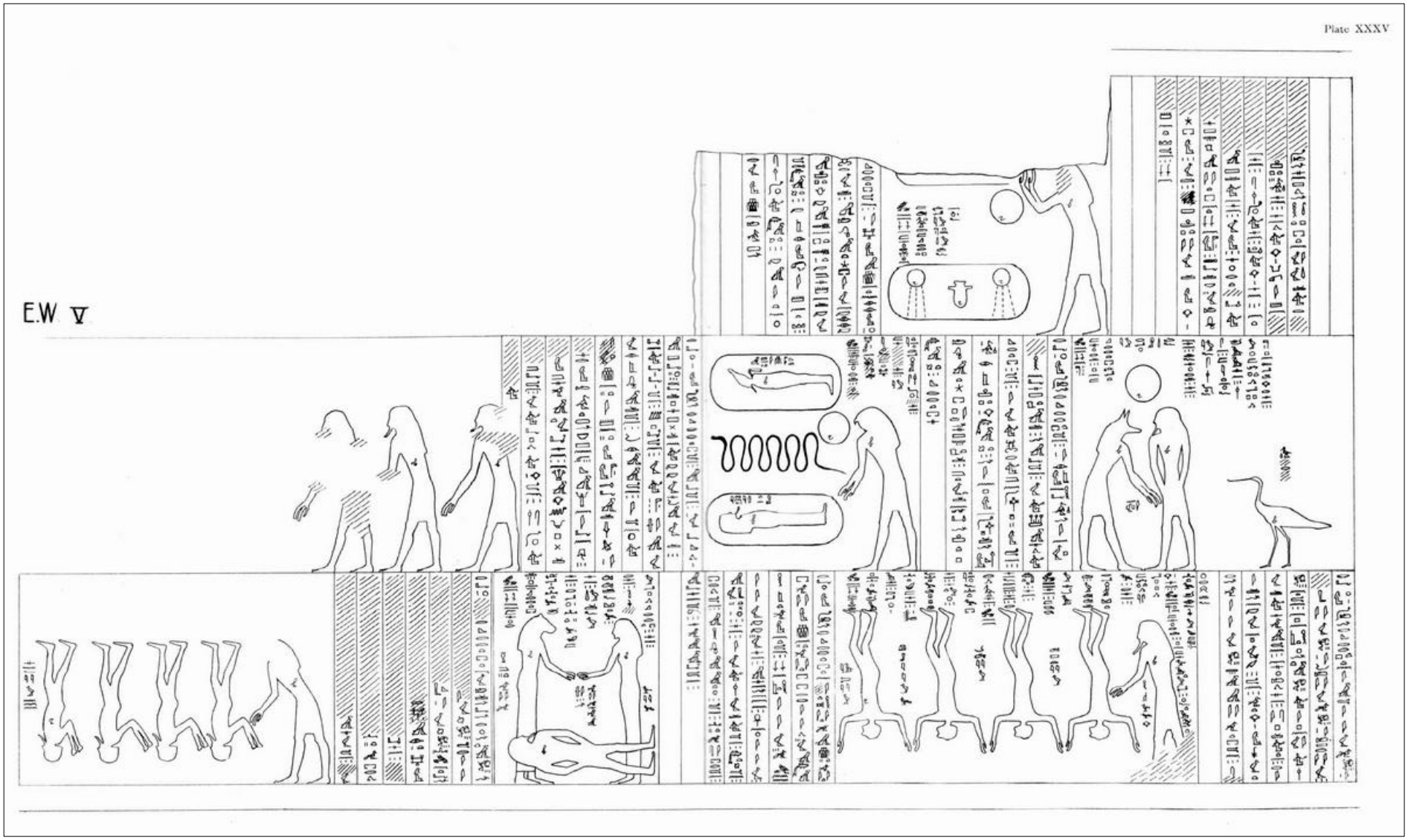


Plate 190. Book of Caverns Fourth Division.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 35) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 191. Book of Caverns Fourth Division top register Two Radiant Eyes and Heart of Horus the Elder.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6815935817/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 192. Book of Caverns Fourth Division detail.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779174623/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 193. Book of Caverns Fourth Division third register second scene Destructive One, a Cat God.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779807660/in/album-7 2157624260294383 /

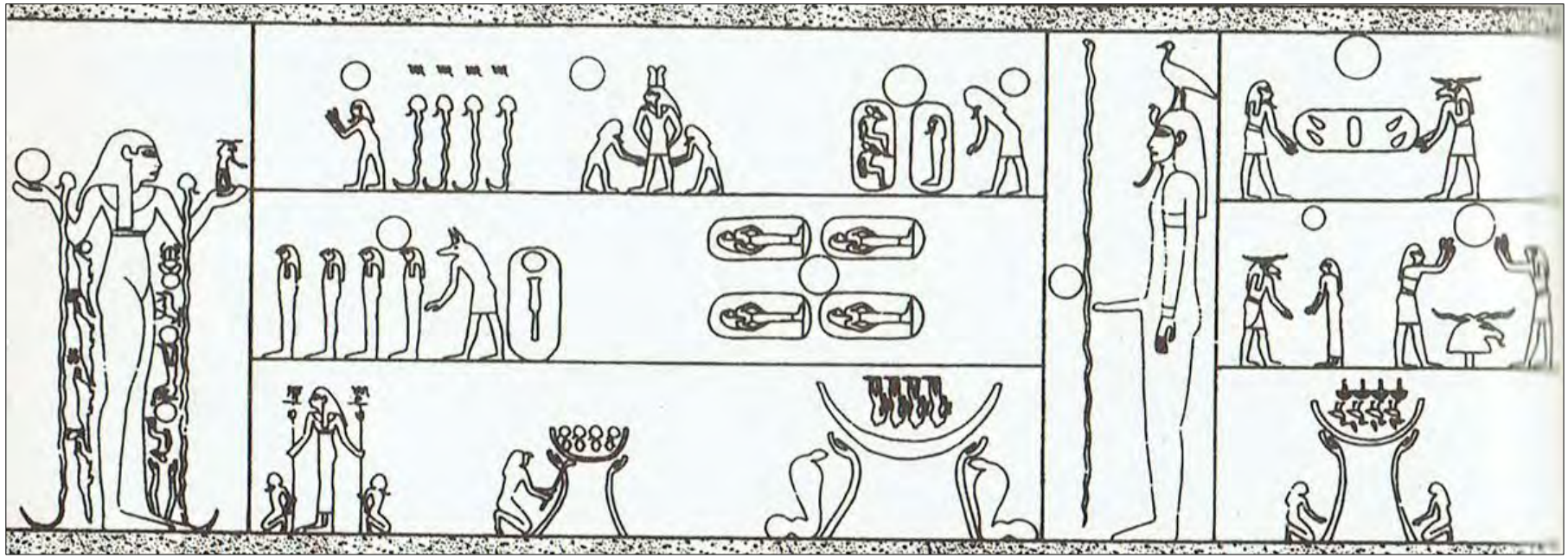


Plate 194. Book of Caverns Fifth Division Drawing.
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 51)

Plate 195. Book of Caverns Fifth Division KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15153, F. Dzikowski 12/1999)

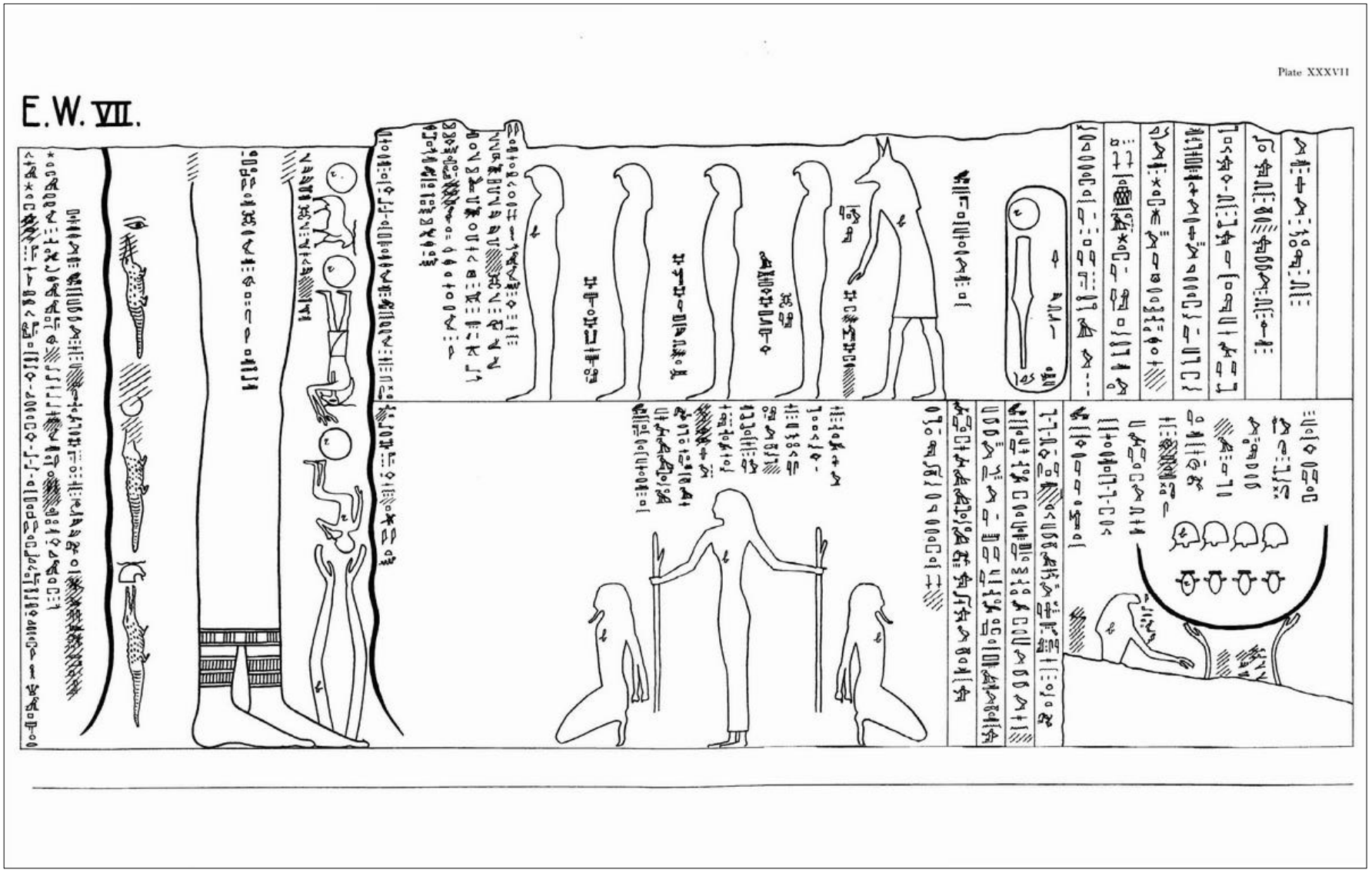


Plate 196. Book of Caverns Fifth Division Mysterious Lady Nut.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 37) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

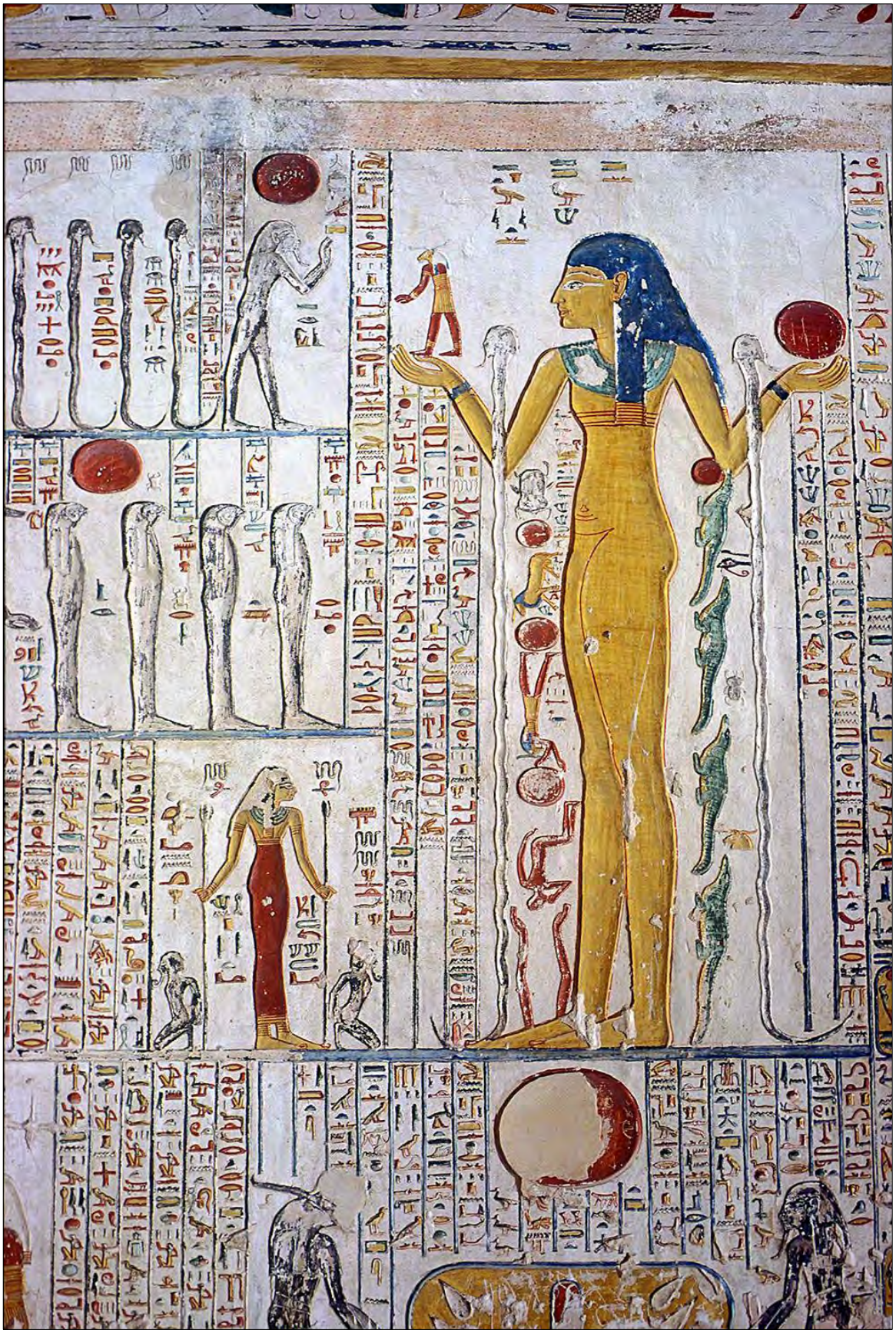


Plate 197. Book of Caverns Fifth Division detail Mysterious Lady KV 9 Ramesses VI. (Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15083, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

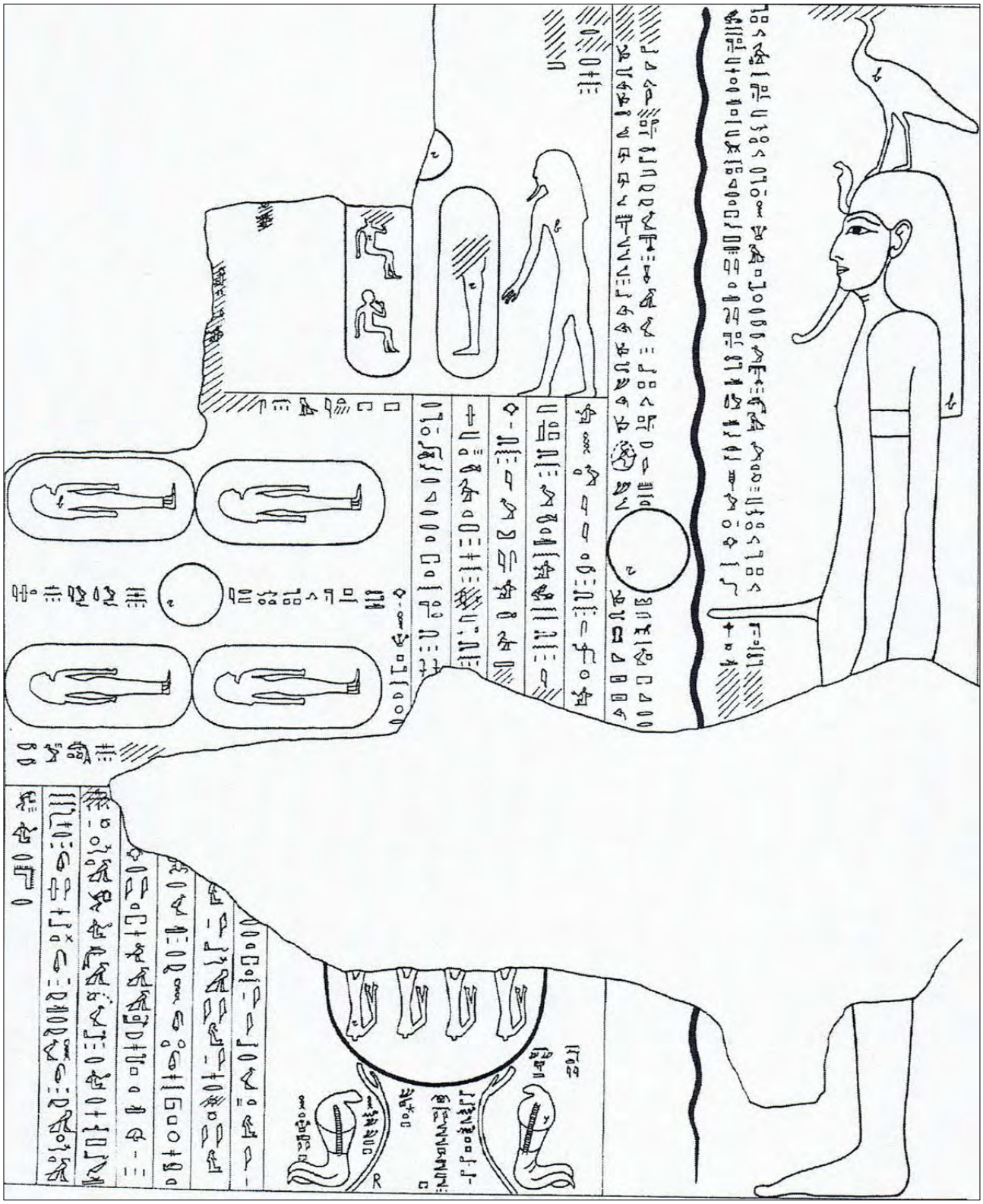
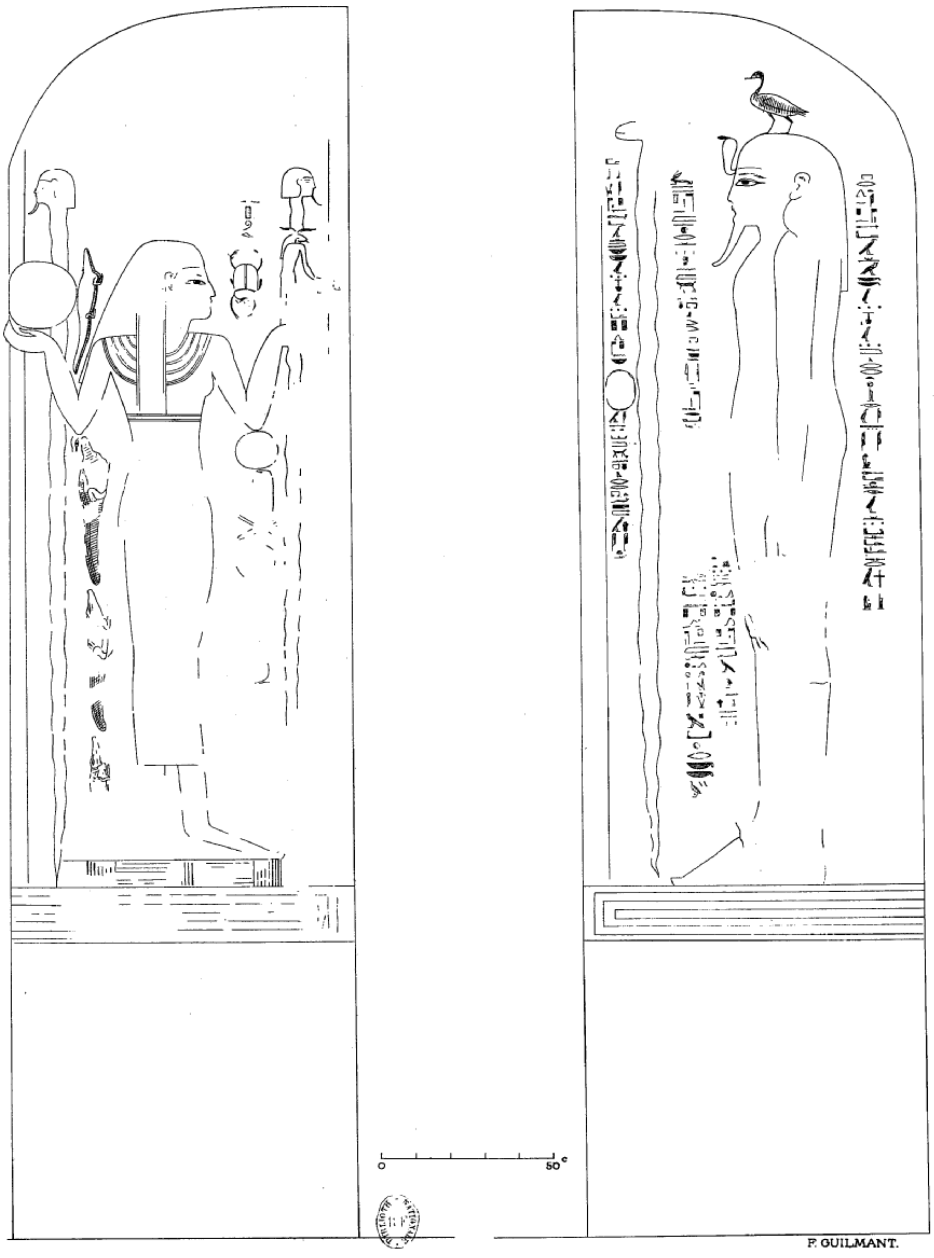


Plate 198. Book of Caverns Fifth Division Ithyphallic Osiris Kamutef.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 38) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 199. Book of Caverns Fifth Division detail Ba of Osiris.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0530)



Dernière salle. Paroi du côté de l'entrée (à gauche et à droite de la porte).

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Plate 200. Mysterious Lady and Kamutef KV 6 Ramesses IX
(Guilmant 1907, plate 89)

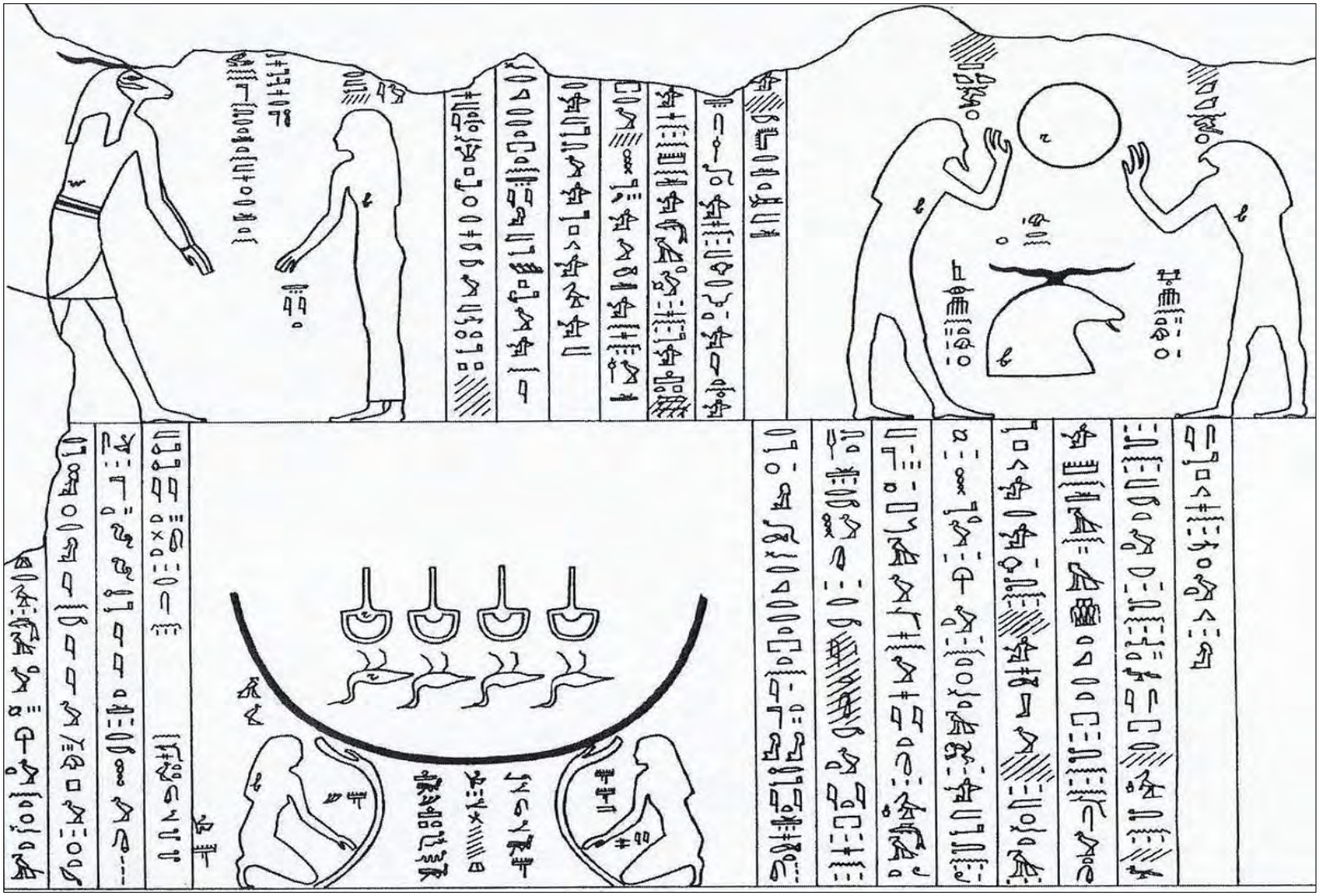


Plate 201. Book of Caverns Fifth Division detail end
(Frankfort 1933, plate 39)
https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 202. Book of Caverns Fifth Division lower register final scene.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779796418/in/photostream /

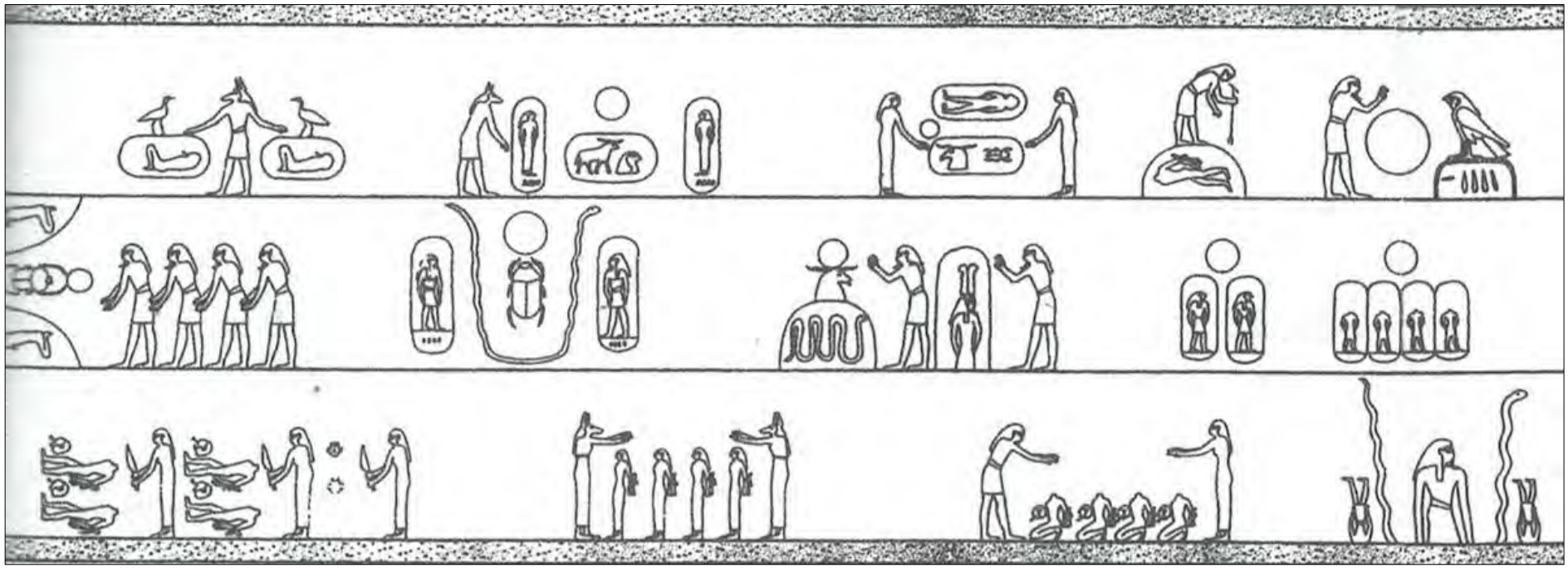


Plate 203. Book of Caverns Sixth Division Drawing.
(Shedid in Hornung 1999, Fig. 52)

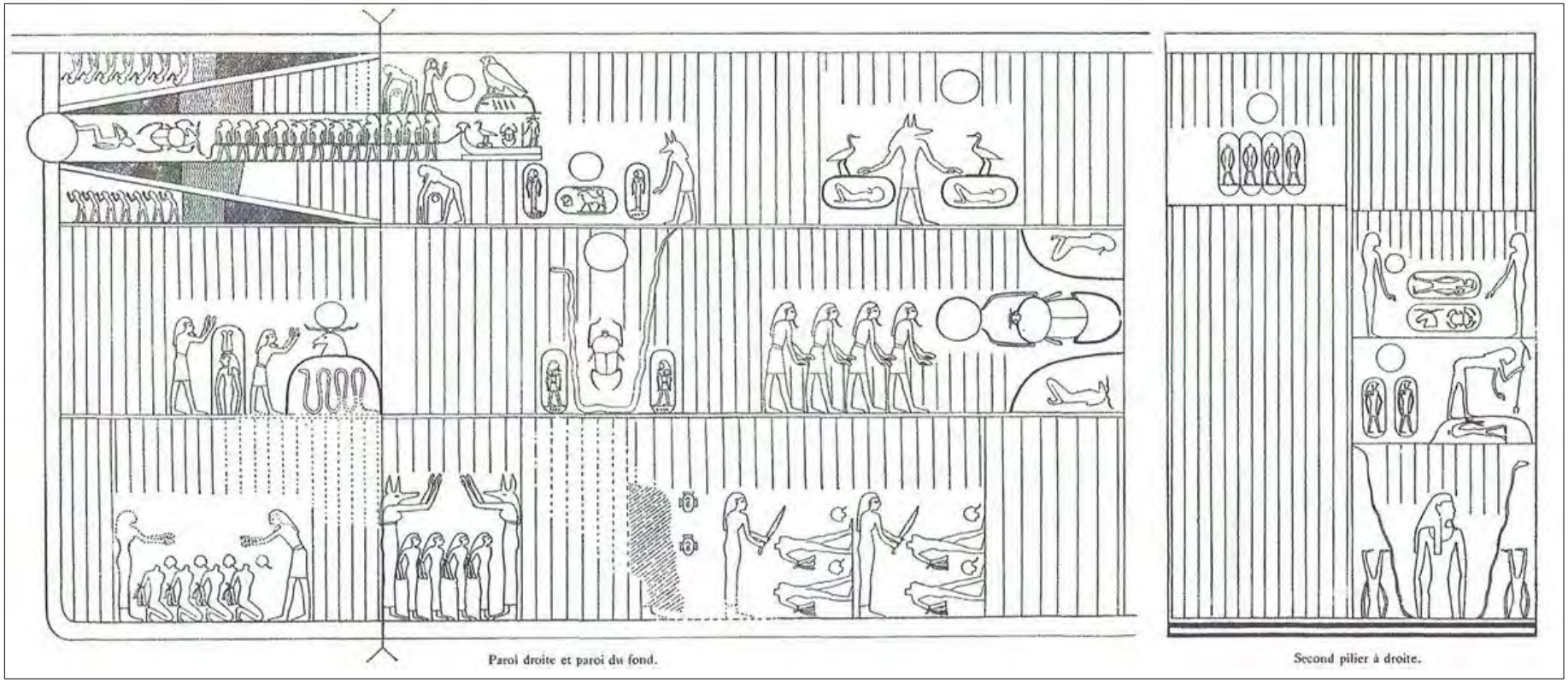


Plate 204. Book of Caverns Sixth Division and Final Scene Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1945, plate 121)

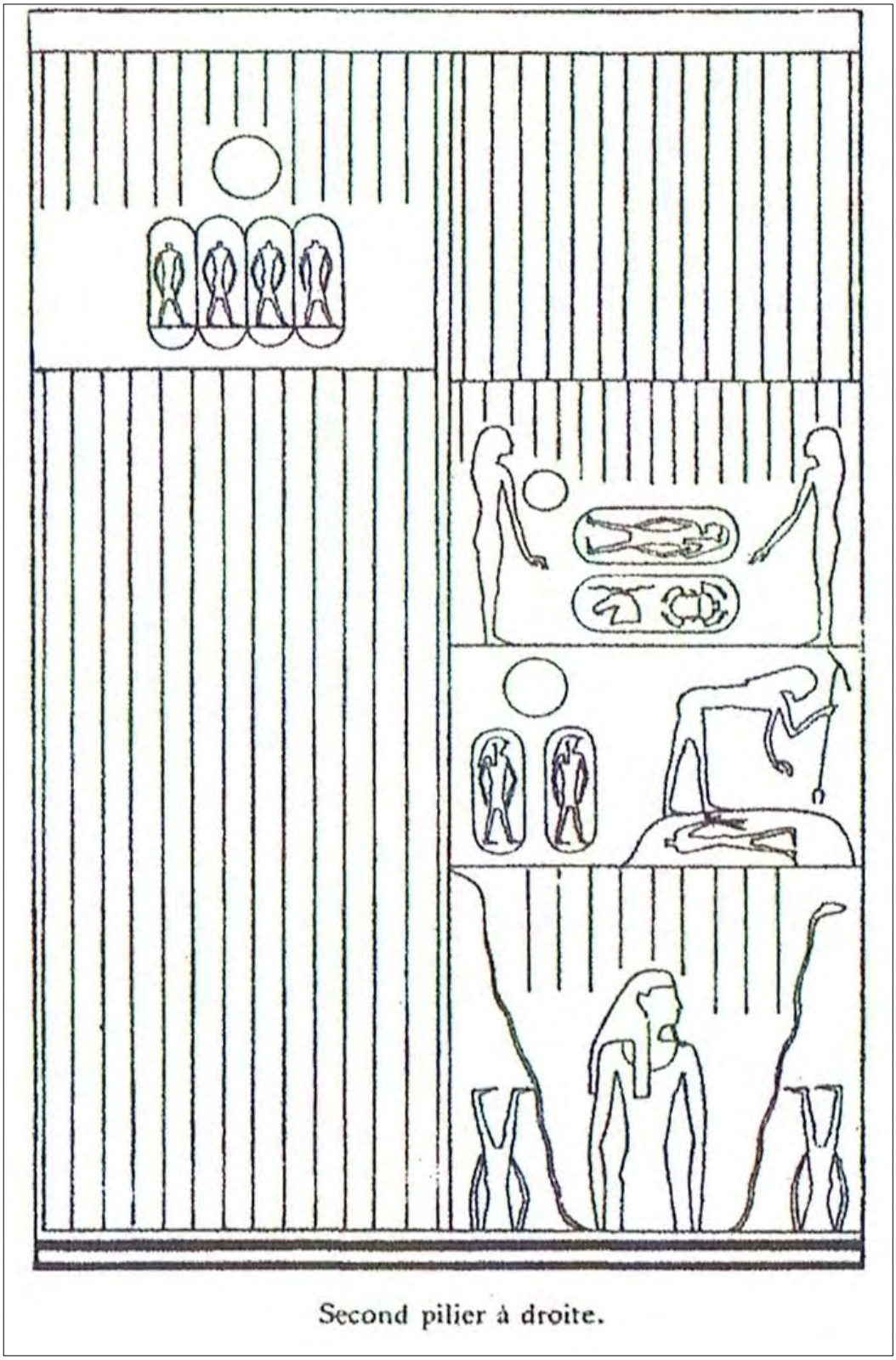


Plate 205. Book of Caverns Sixth Division detail Orion KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1945, plate 121)

E.W. IX.

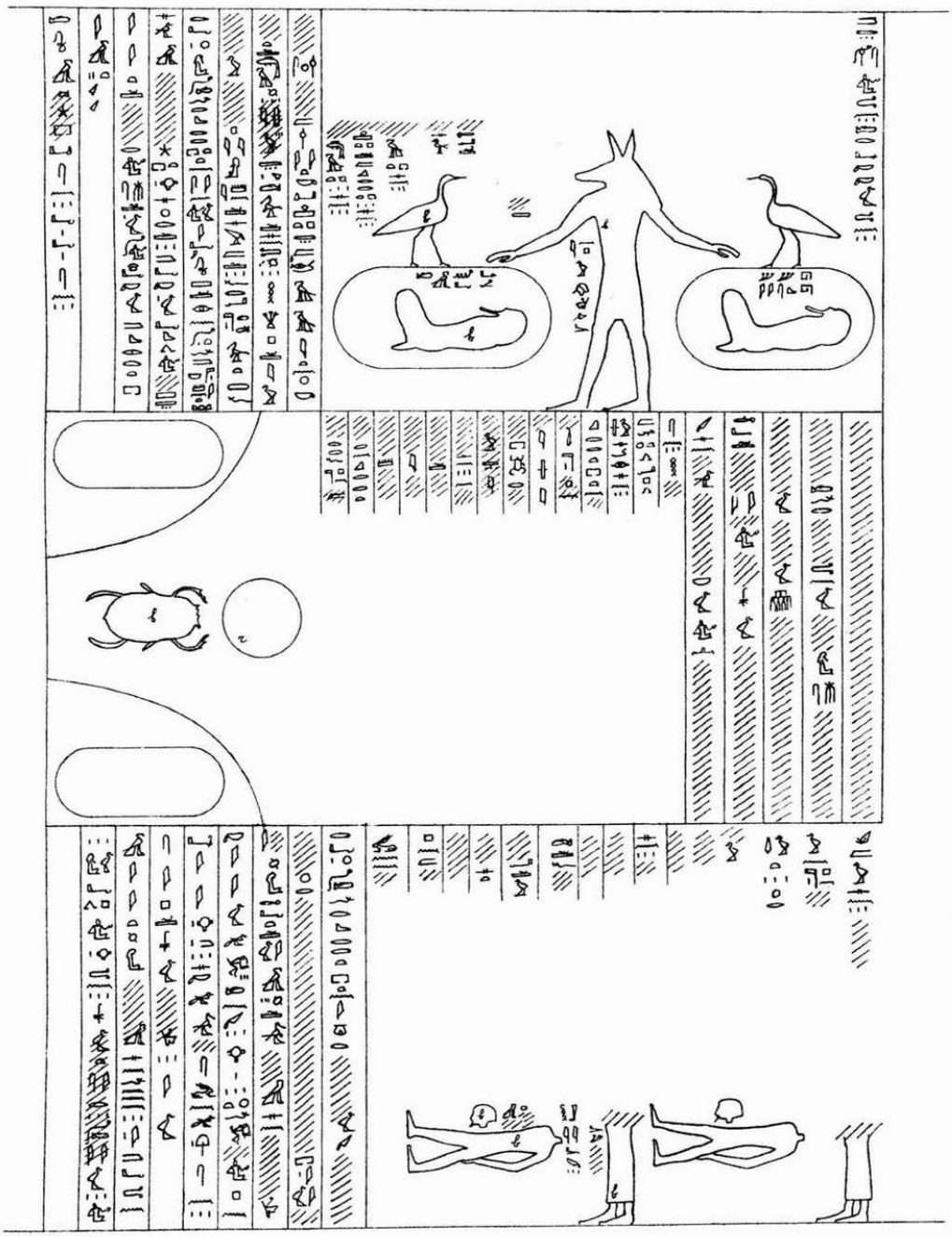


Plate 206. Book of Caverns Sixth Division
(Frankfort 1933, plate 45) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

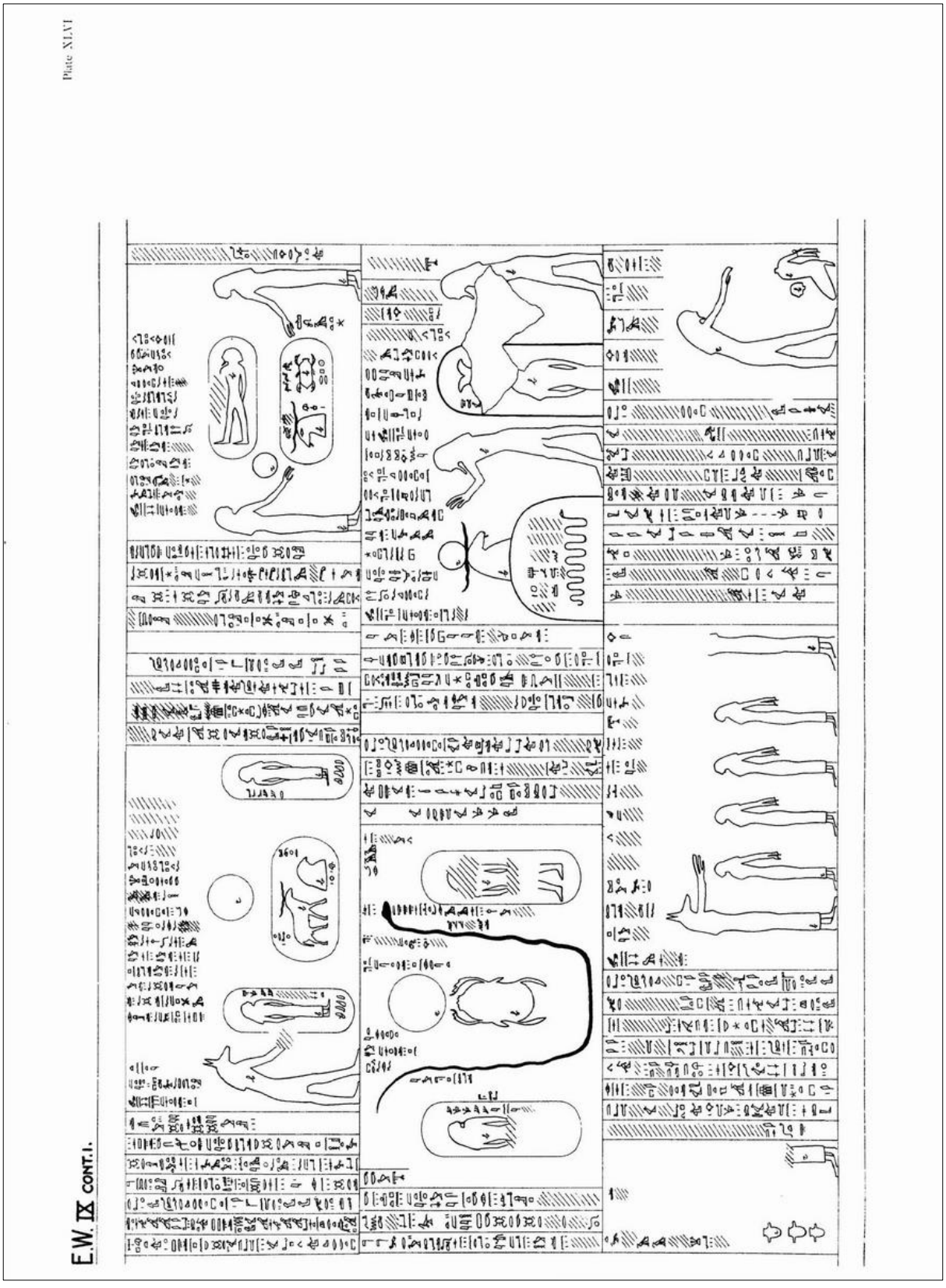


Plate 207. Book of Caverns Sixth Division 2
(Frankfort 1933, plate 46) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

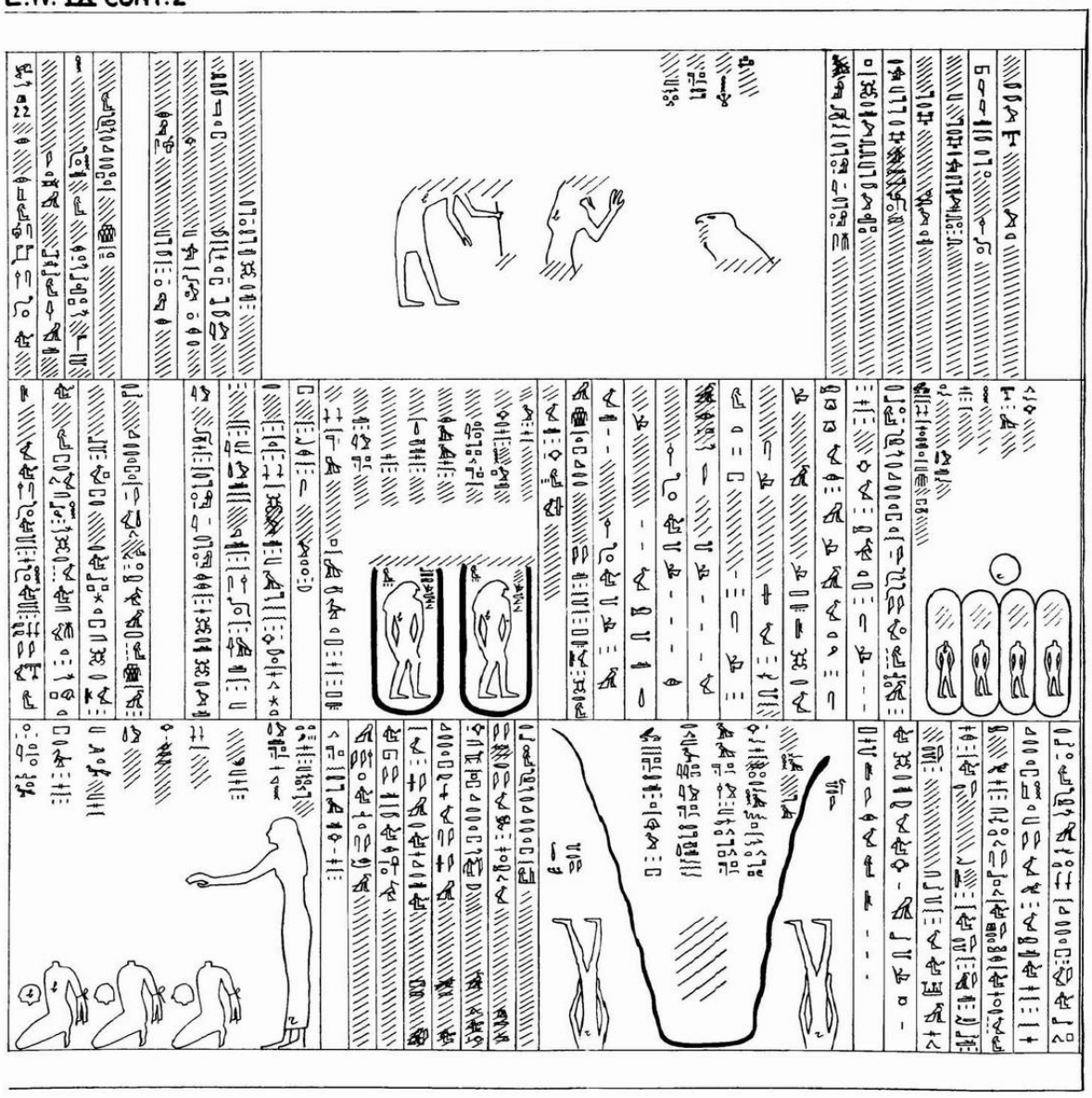


Plate 208. Book of Caverns Sixth Division end
(Frankfort 1933, plate 47) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

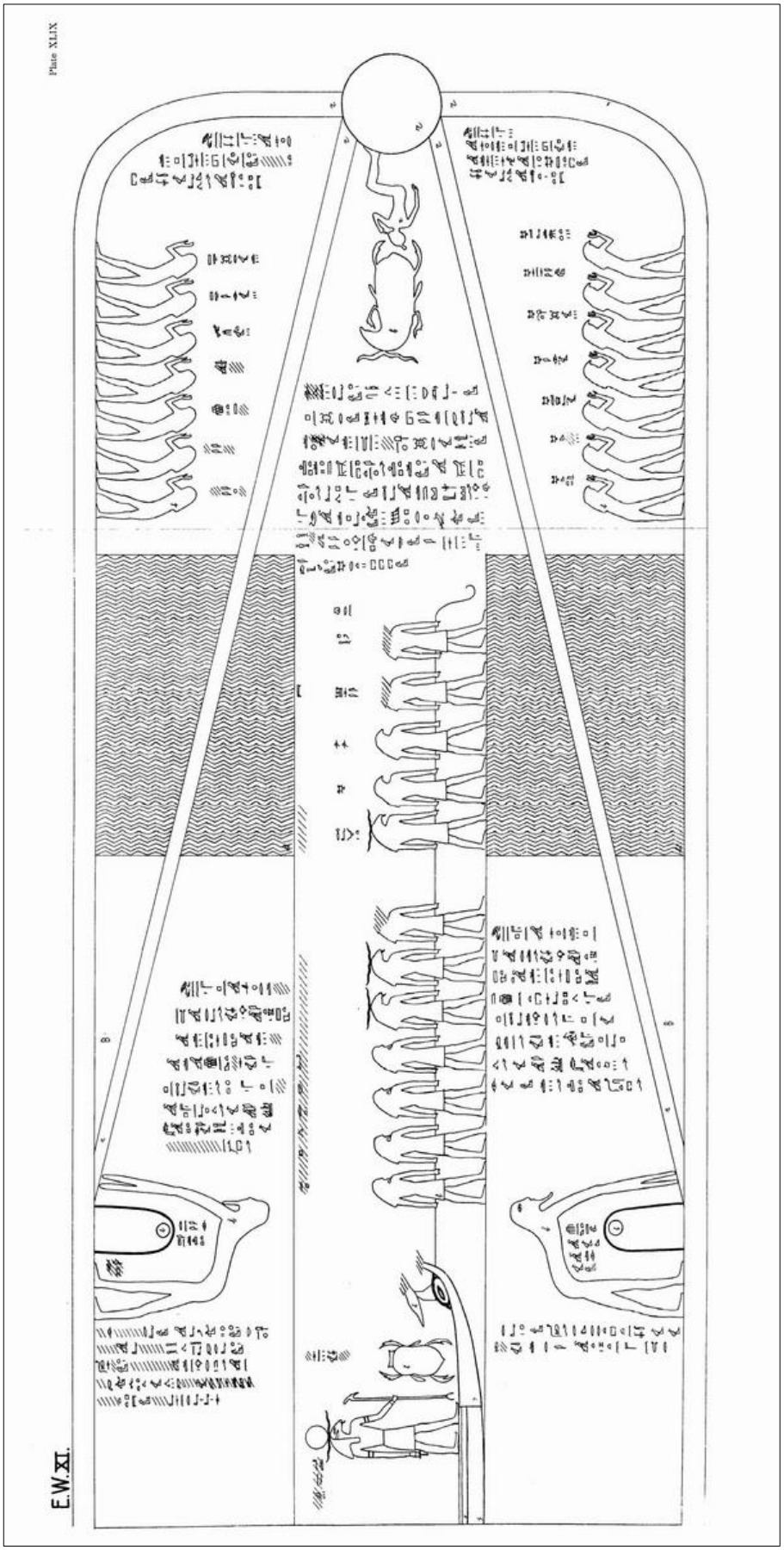


Plate 209. Book of Caverns Final Scene.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 49) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

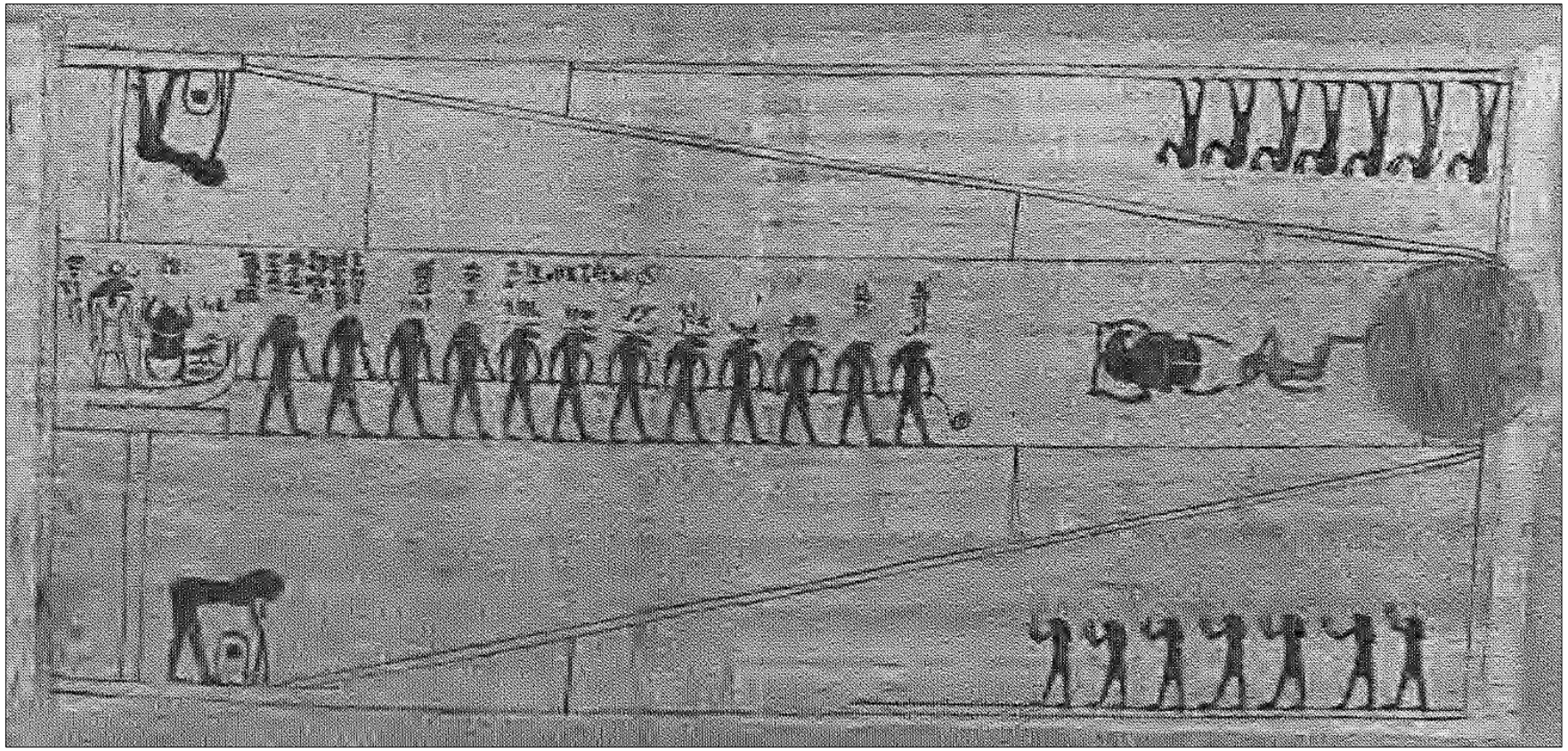


Plate 210. Book of Caverns Final Scene p.BM 10490.
(Photo www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10490-3)

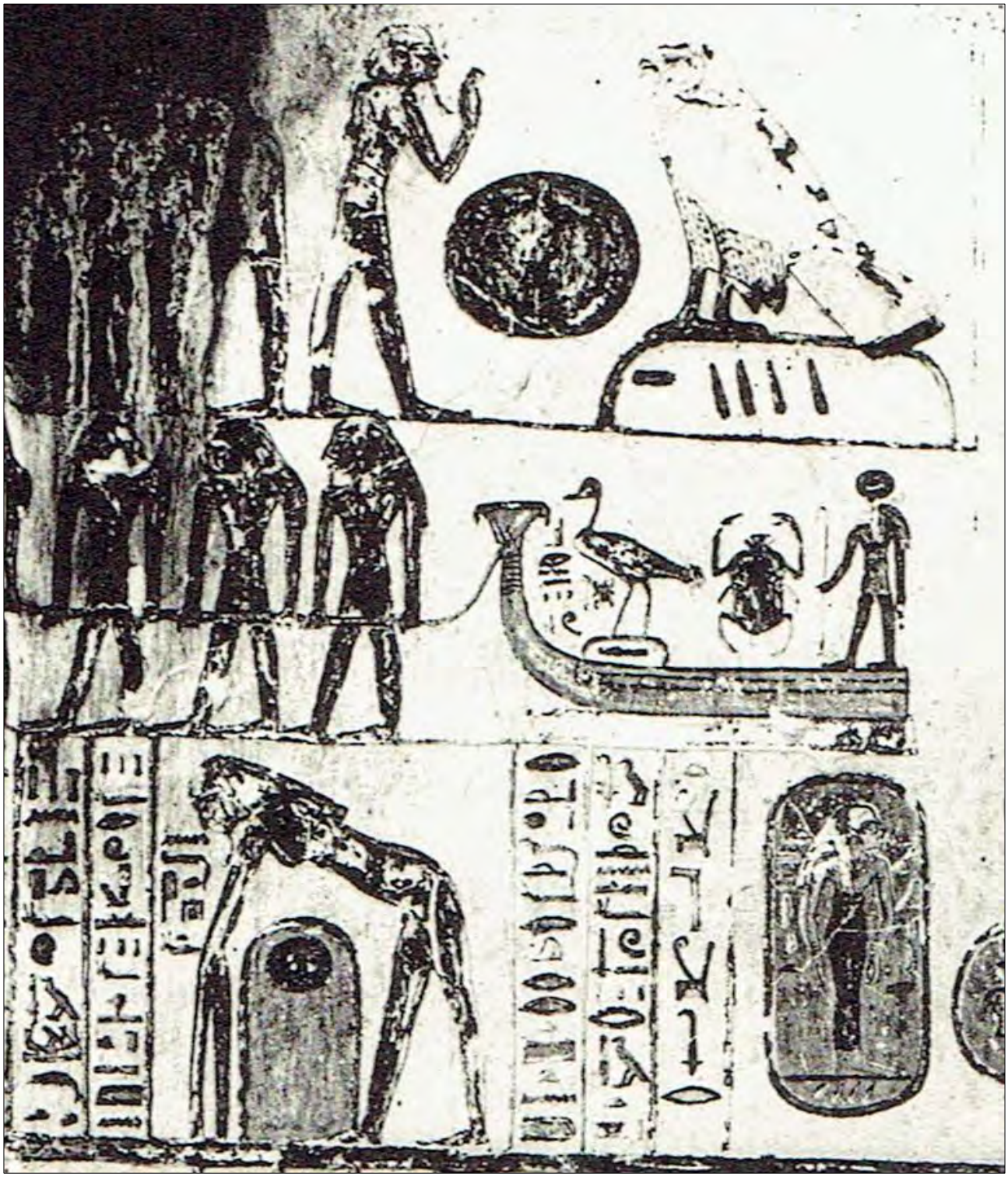


Plate 211. Book of Caverns Final Scene detail Ba of Osiris KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 33)

Plate 212. Book of Caverns Final Scene Solar Barque KV 9 Ramesses VI
(Piankoff 1954, plate 33)

Plate 213. Book of Caverns Final Scene Mound of My Corpse
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779176293/in/photostream/

E.W.X.

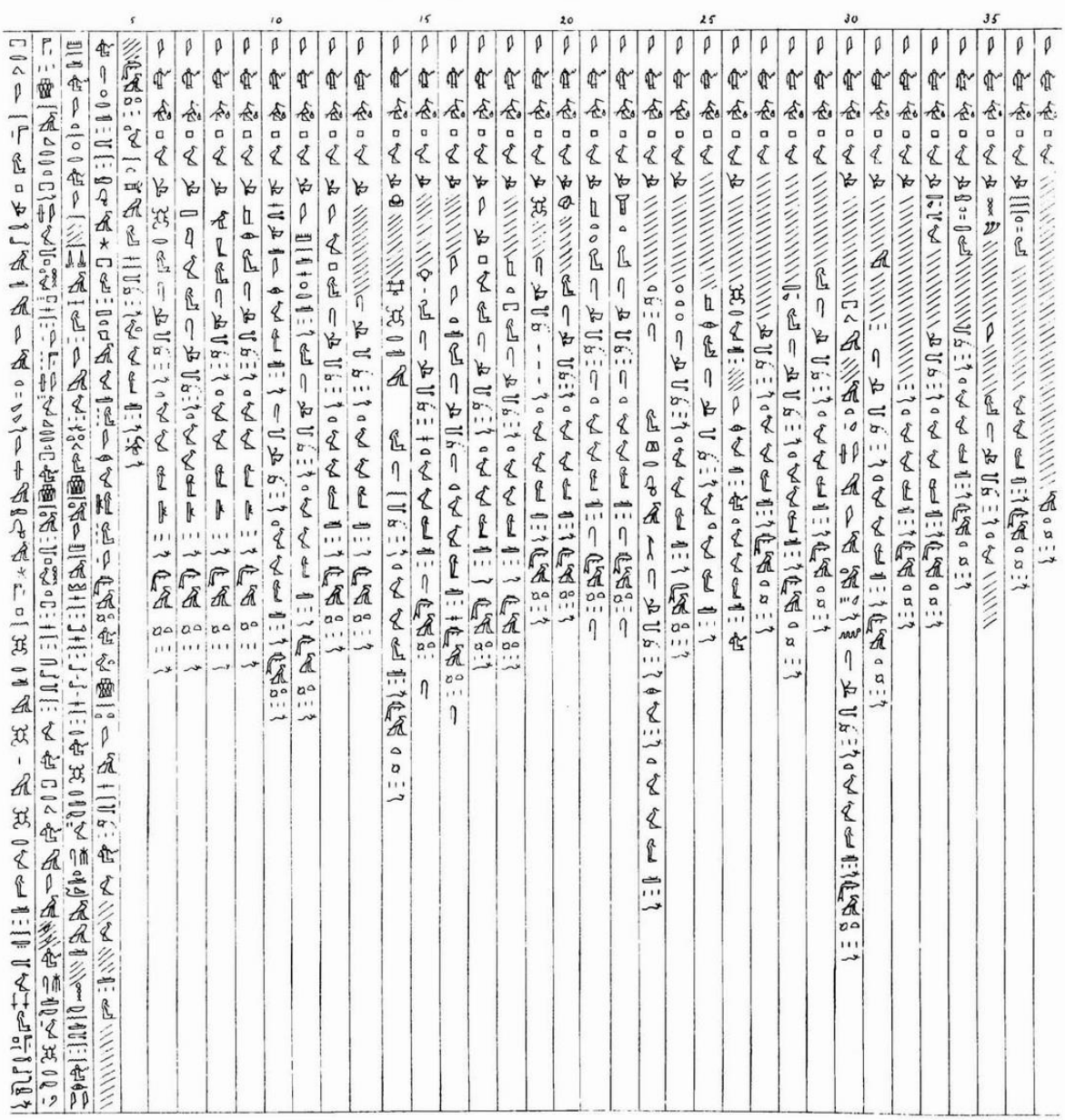


Plate 214. Book of Caverns Text before Final Scene
(Frankfort 1933, plate 48) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

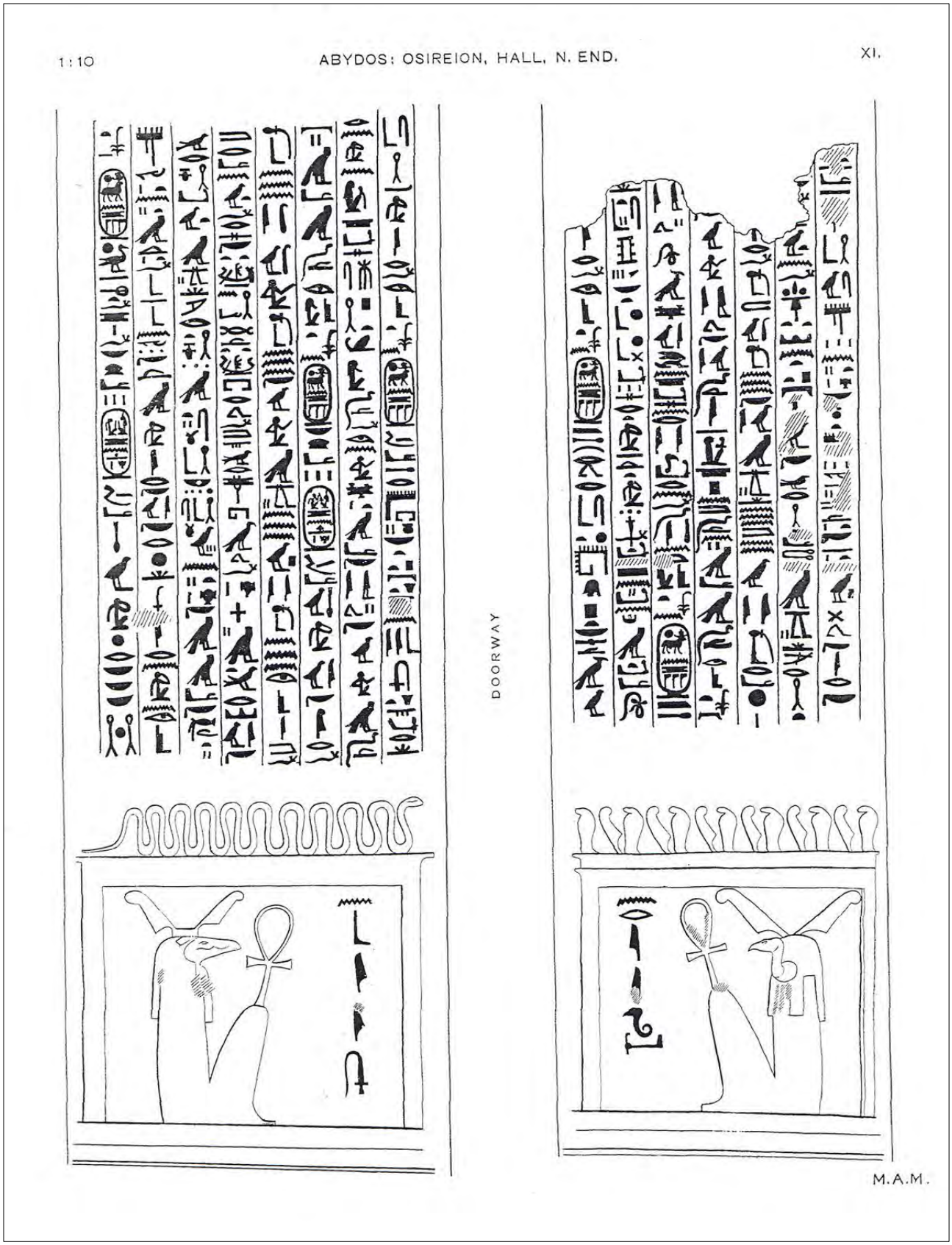


Plate 215. Antechamber Entrance BD 145B Gates 1 and 2
(Murray 1904, plate XI) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 216. Antechamber BD 141
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779181123/in/photostream/

Plate 217. Antechamber BD 141
(Murray 1904, plate X) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 218. Antechamber BD 141 detail Text Columns 1-15
(Murray 1904, plate X) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 219. Antechamber view of the Litany of Osiris, King Offering and BD 145B at Entrance
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

Plate 220. Antechamber BD 142 Litany of Osiris.
(Murray 1904, plate IX) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

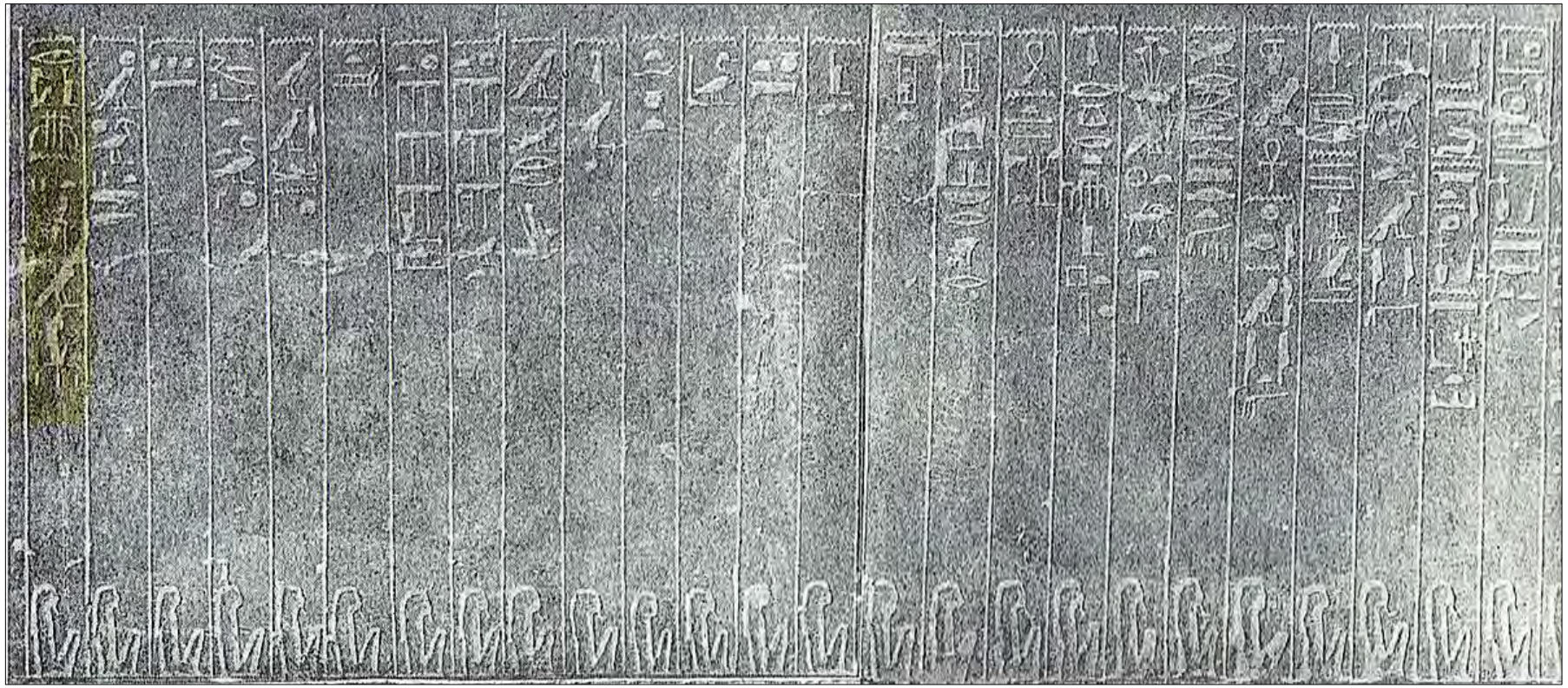


Plate 221. Antechamber BD 142 Litany of Osiris detail top register.
(Murray 1904, plate IX) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

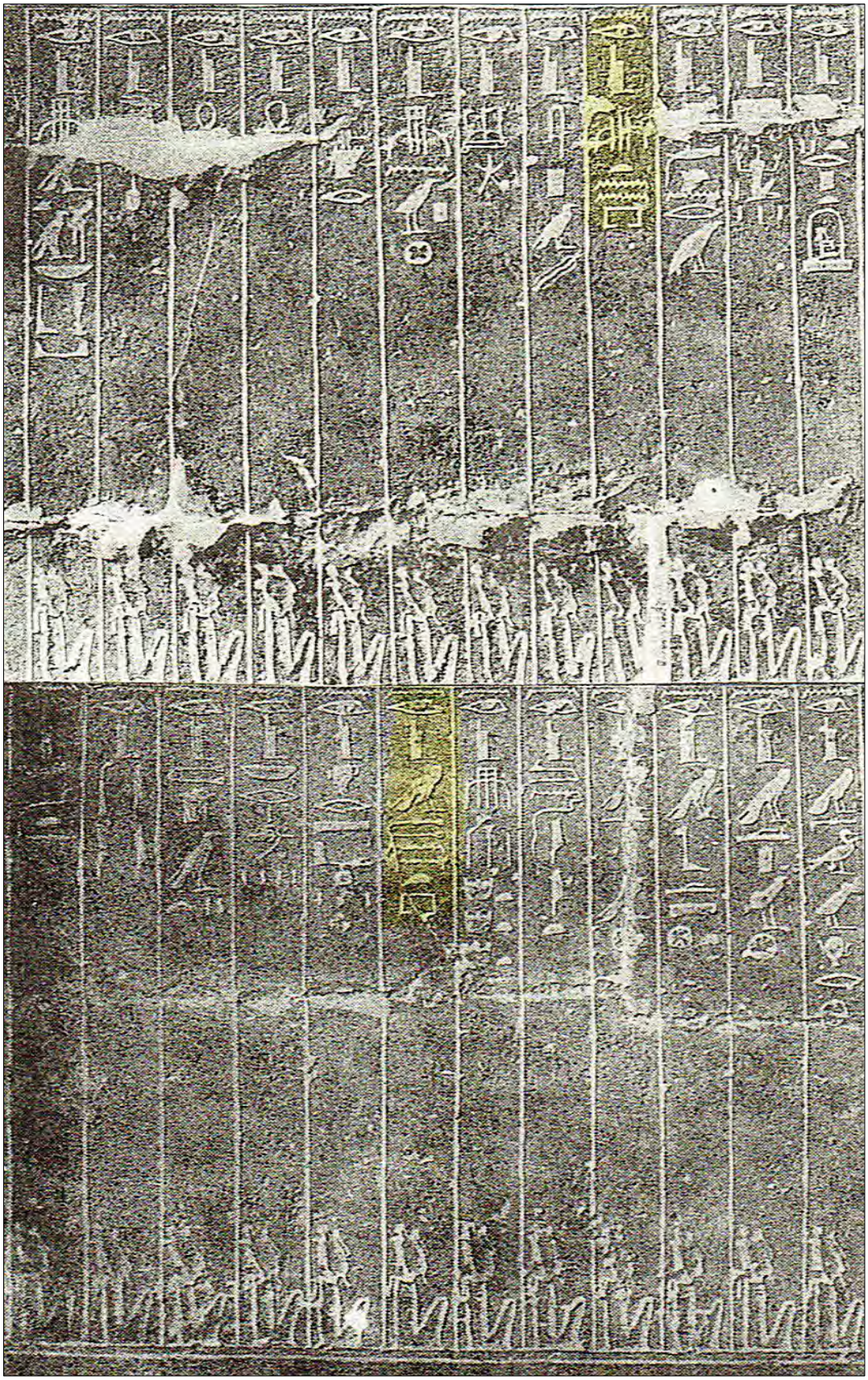


Plate 222. Antechamber Tatenen in the Litany of Osiris BD 142 detail middle and lower registers. (Murray 1904, plate IX) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 223. Antechamber Litany of Osiris and BD 173.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Osireion_at_Abydos_(V).jpg

Plate 224. Antechamber Revivifying Osiris scene and the Litany of Osiris BD 142.
https://www.flickr.com/photos/dslewis/5438731529/

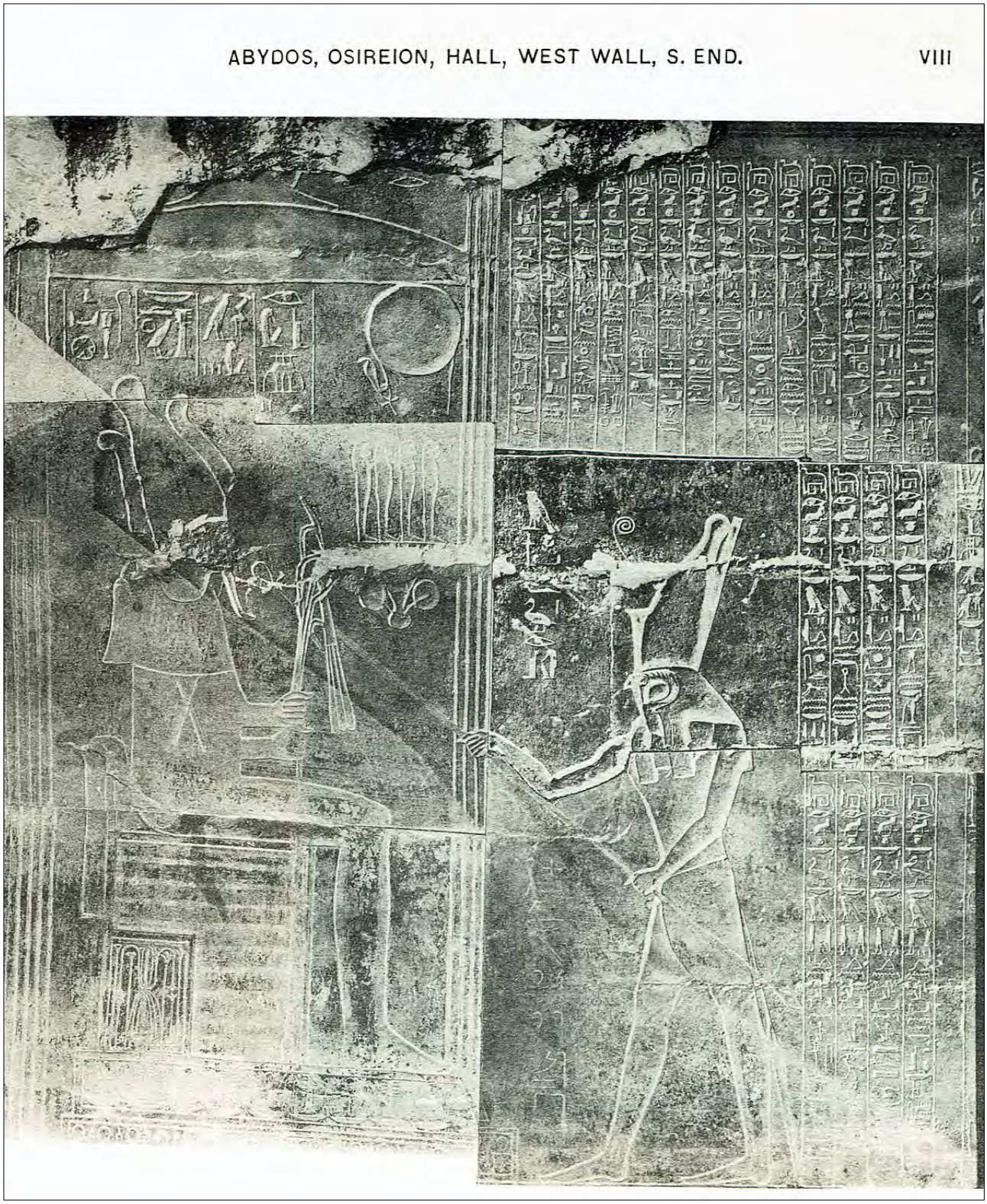


Plate 225. Antechamber BD 173 and the Revivification of Osiris.
(Murray 1904, plate VIII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

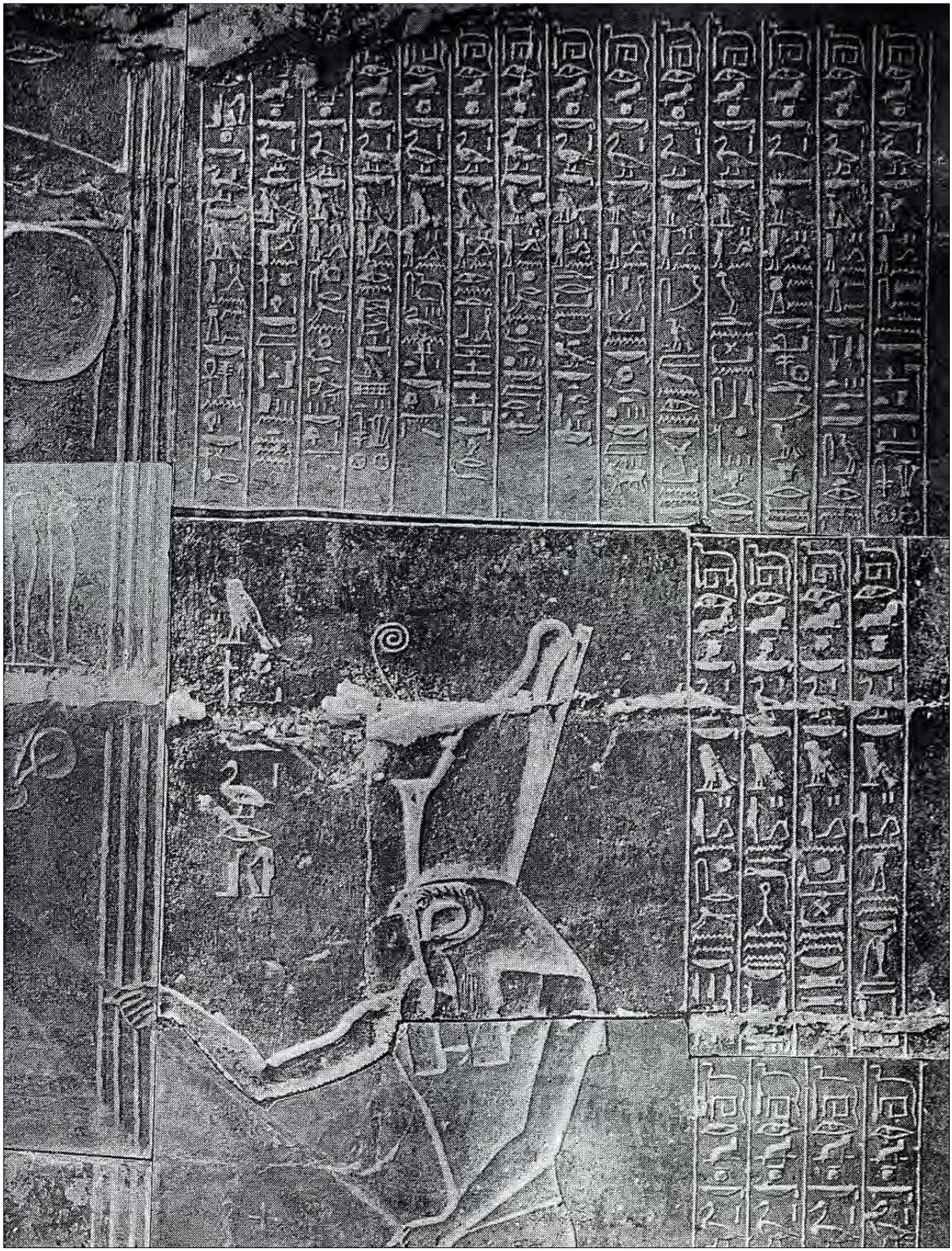


Plate 226. Antechamber BD 173 Text detail.
(Murray 1904, plate VIII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 227. Antechamber Equivalent Rear Wall Hall E Leading Down to Corridor F KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 63)

Plate 228. Antechamber Equivalent Osiris Double Shrine Rear Wall Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 35)

Plate 229. Antechamber Equivalent King Offering to Enshrined Osiris detail Hall E KV 9 Ramesses VI. (Piankoff 1954, frontispiece)

Plate 230. False Door Chapel of Horus Temple of Sethos I.
(Calverley & Gardiner 1933, plate 29) https://oi.uchicago.edu

Plate 231. Gate Opening to BD 18 detail Papyrus Ani.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 23)

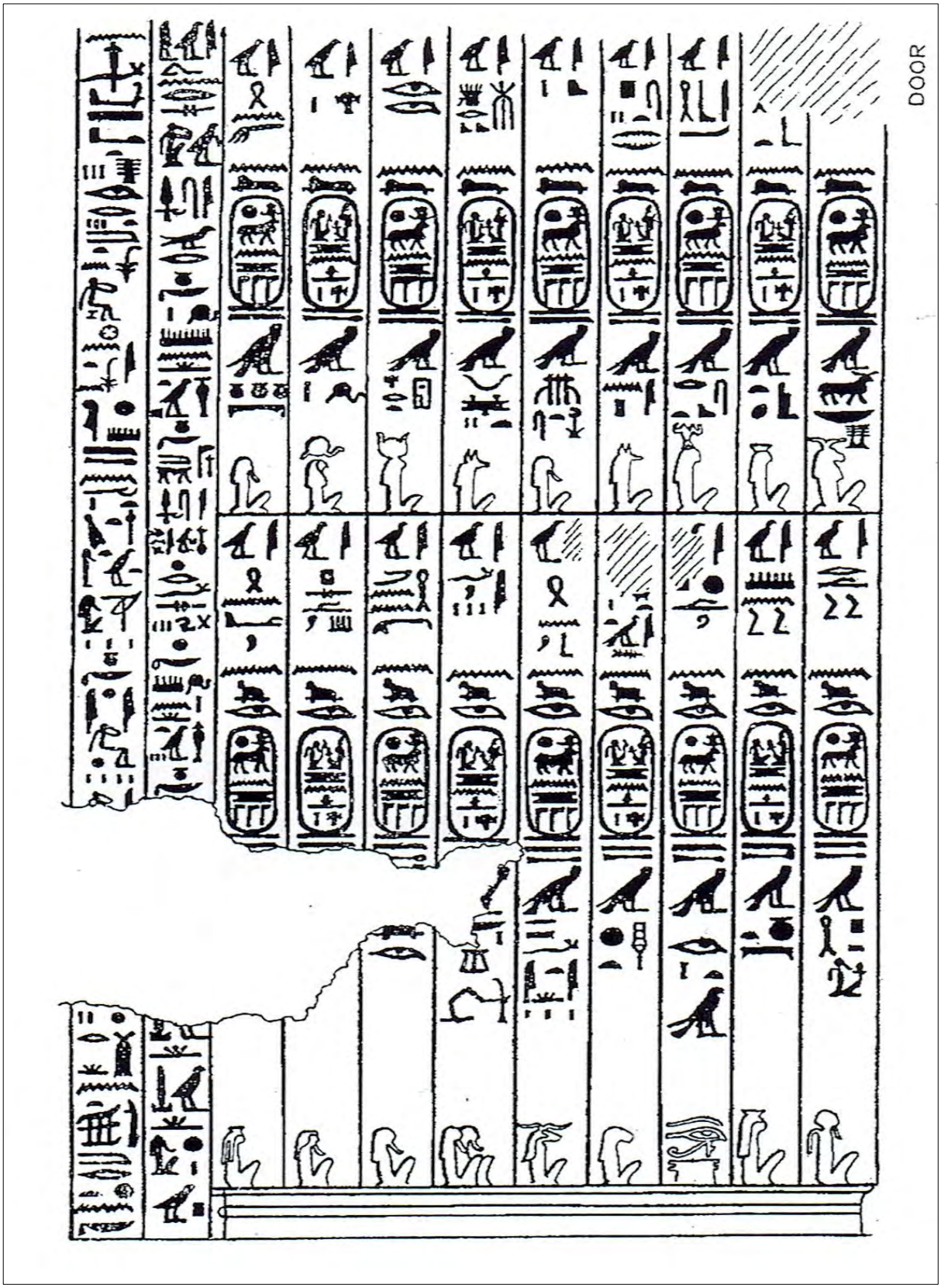


Plate 232. Antechamber BD 42 detail.
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

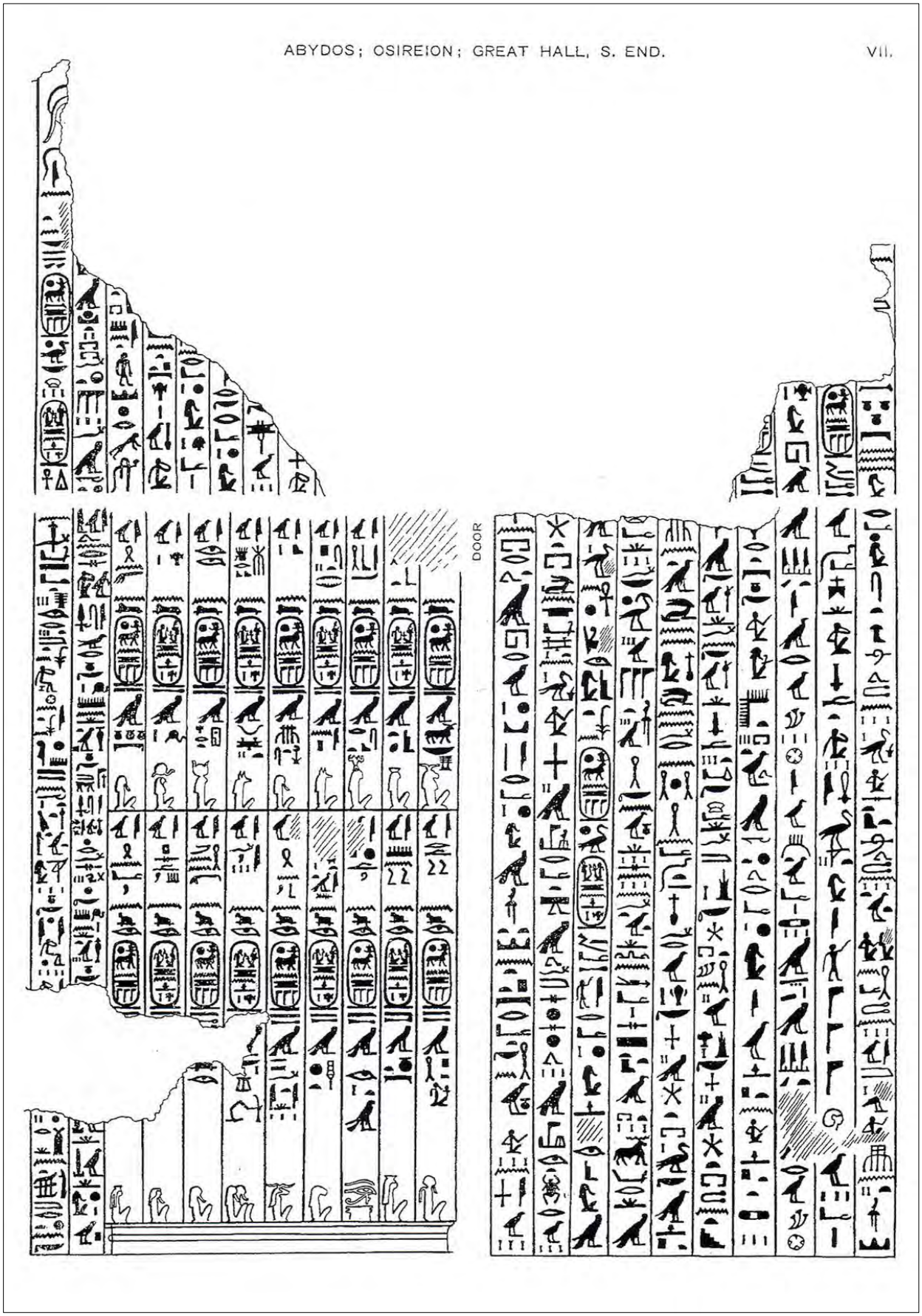


Plate 233. Antechamber Entrance to the Annex BD 42, BD 180, BD 133.
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 234. Antechamber Reviving Osiris and Entrance to Annex.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779811662/in/photostream/

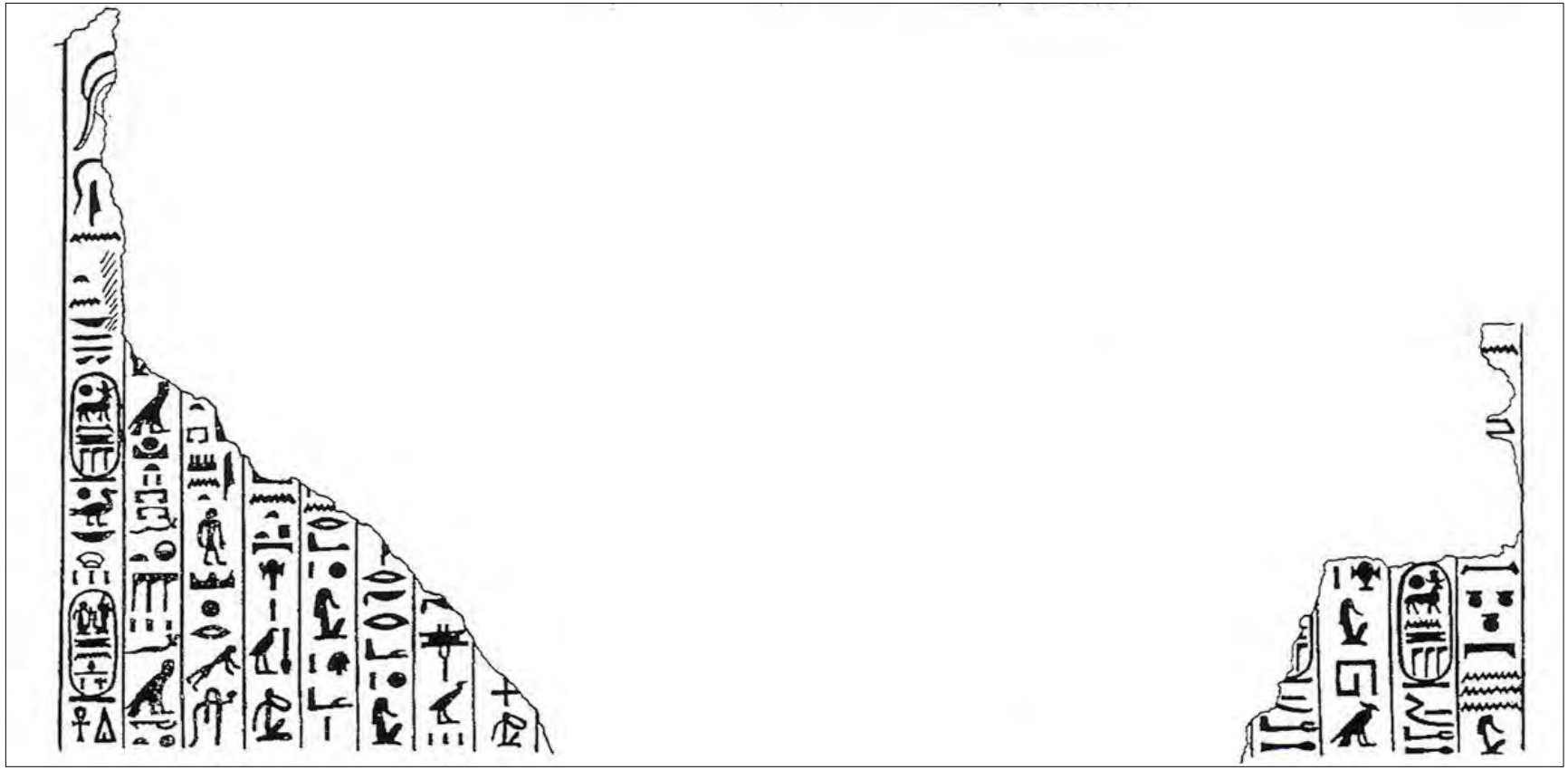


Plate 235. Antechamber BD 133 Lintel Above Annex Entrance detail.
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

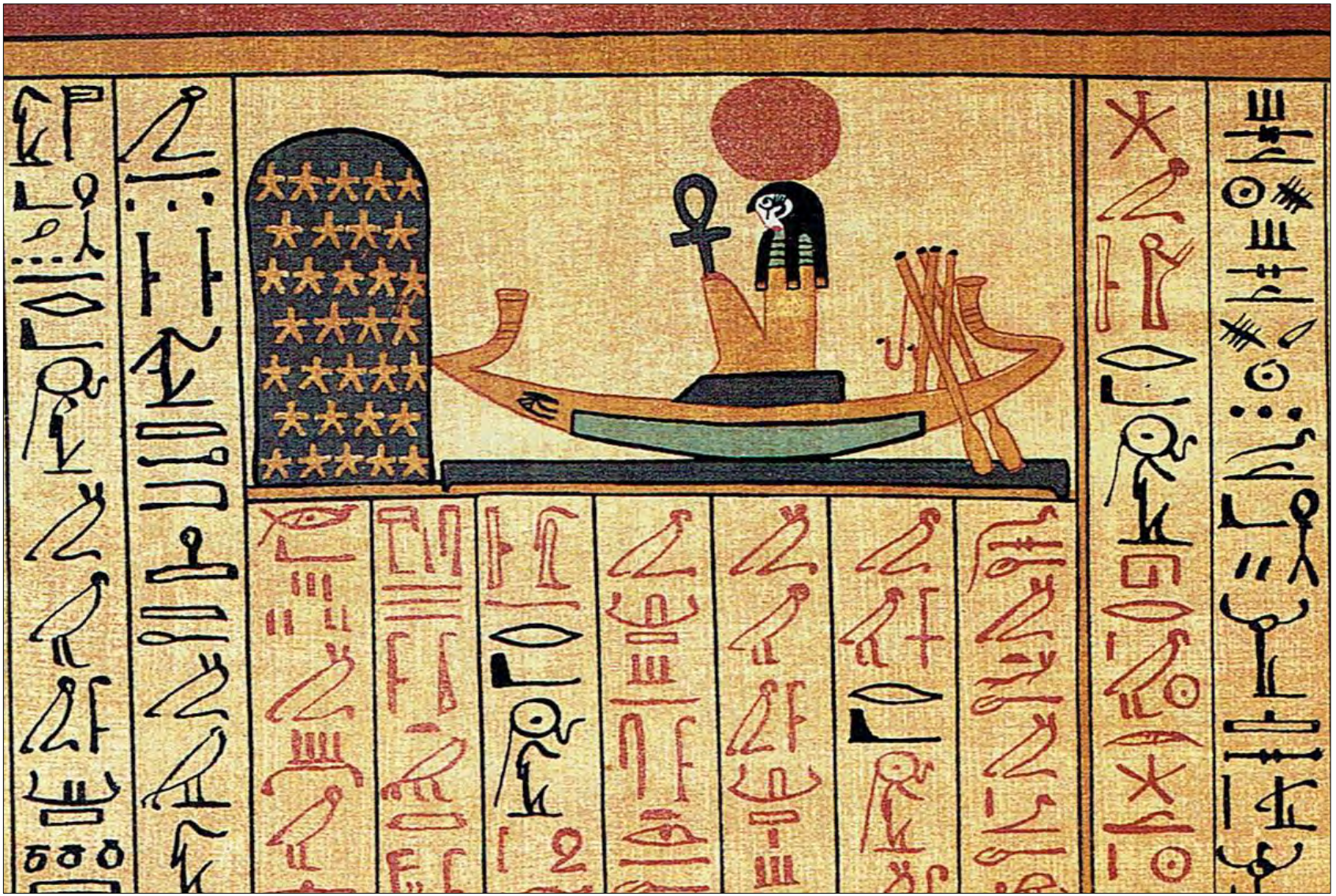


Plate 236. BD 133 Vignette Papyrus Ani.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 22)

Plate 237. Antechamber BD 180 detail.
(Murray 1904, plate VII) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

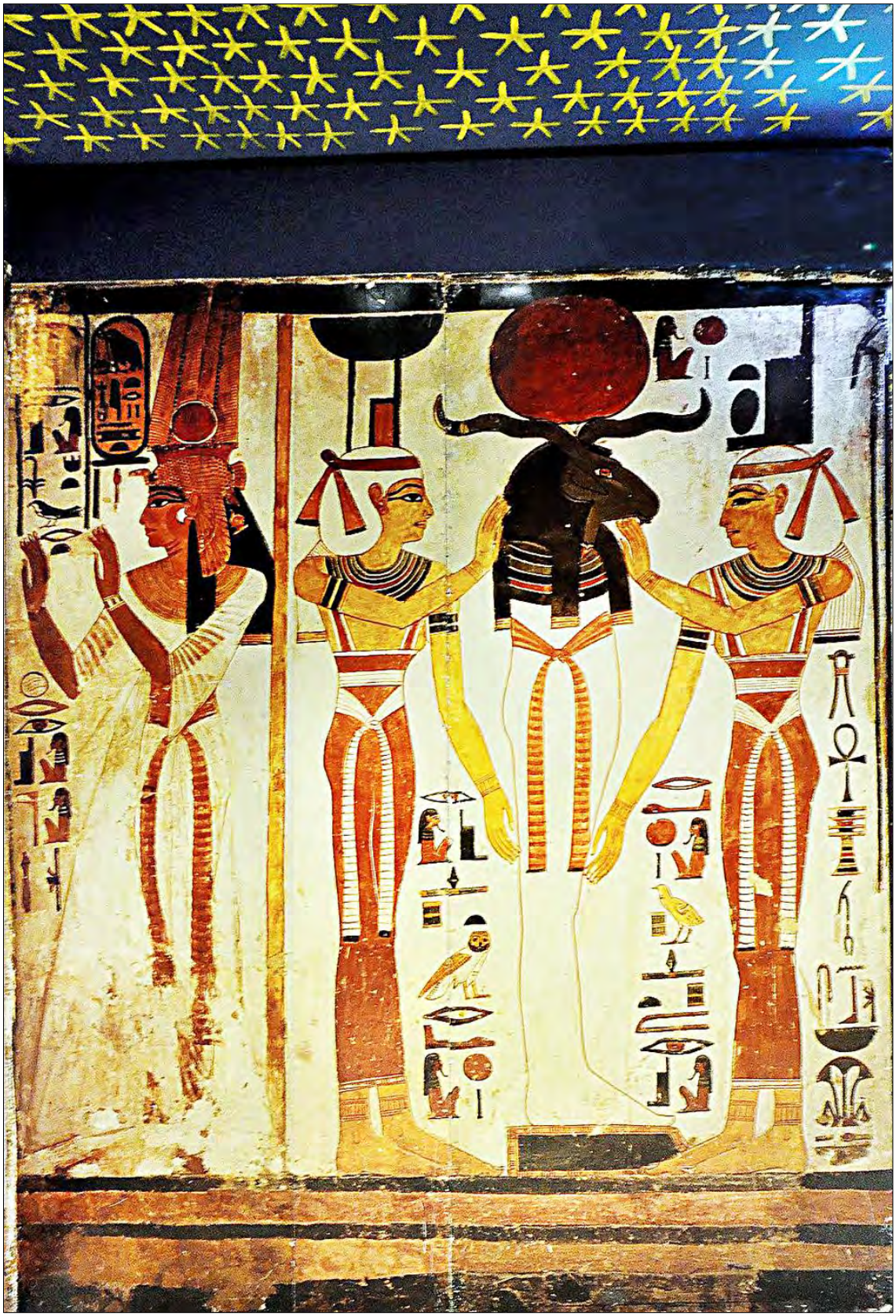


Plate 238. BD 180 Union of Re and Osiris Tomb of Nefertari Photo by Morio60. https://www.flickr.com/photos/78775886@N06/51414843063/ license cc-by-sa-2.0

Plate 239. Antechamber BD 180 and Revivification of Osiris.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779179925/in/photostream/

Plate 240. Annex rear and right walls.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/4779812394/in/photostream/

Plate 241. Annex View of Interior Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 10 rear wall.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807192385/in/album-72157624260294383/

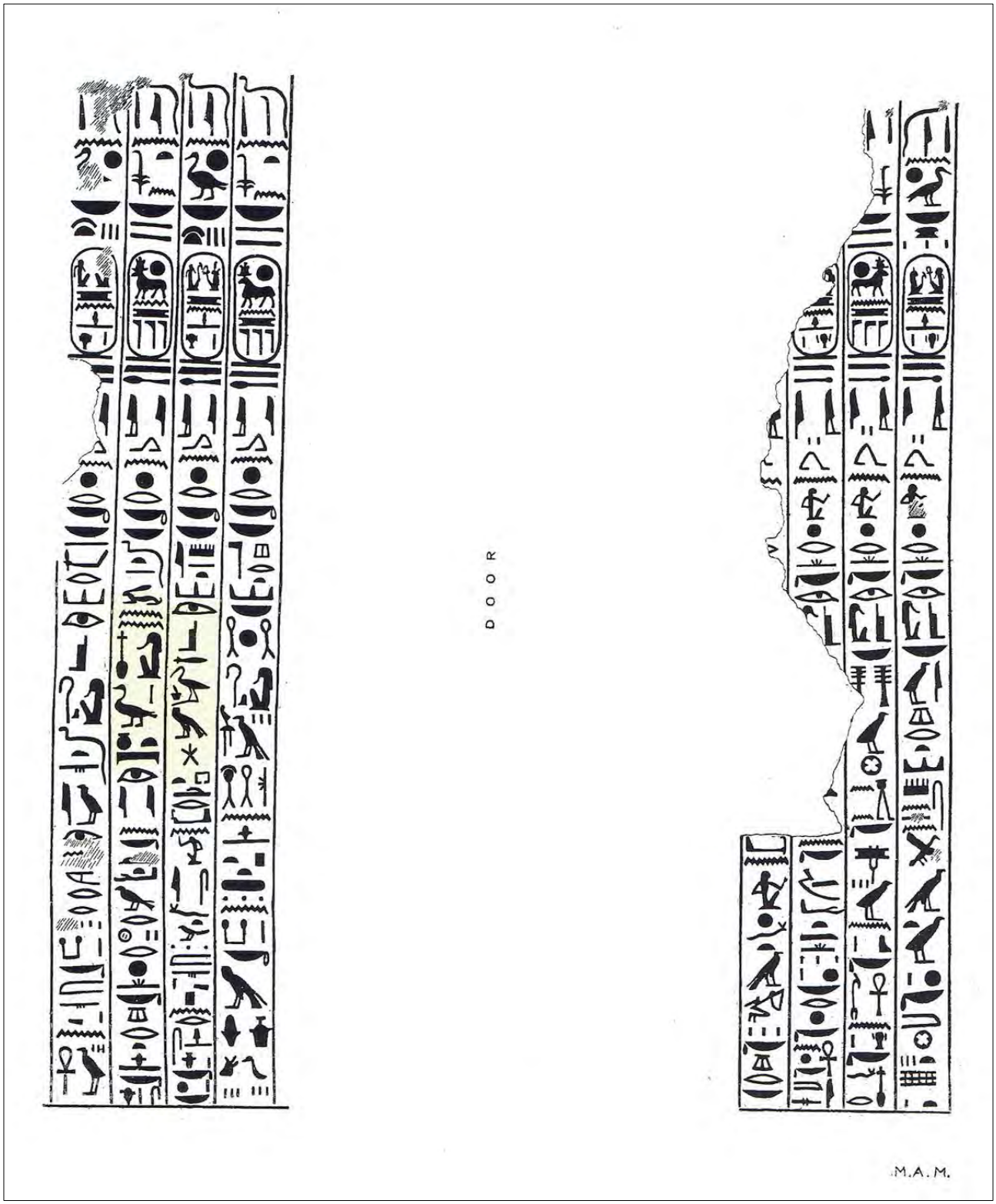


Plate 242. Annex Entrance Texts notional west wall.
(Murray 1904, plate VI) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 243. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Hours 1-8
(Murray 1904, plate V) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Plate 244. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Ninth Hour.
(Murray 1904, plate IV) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

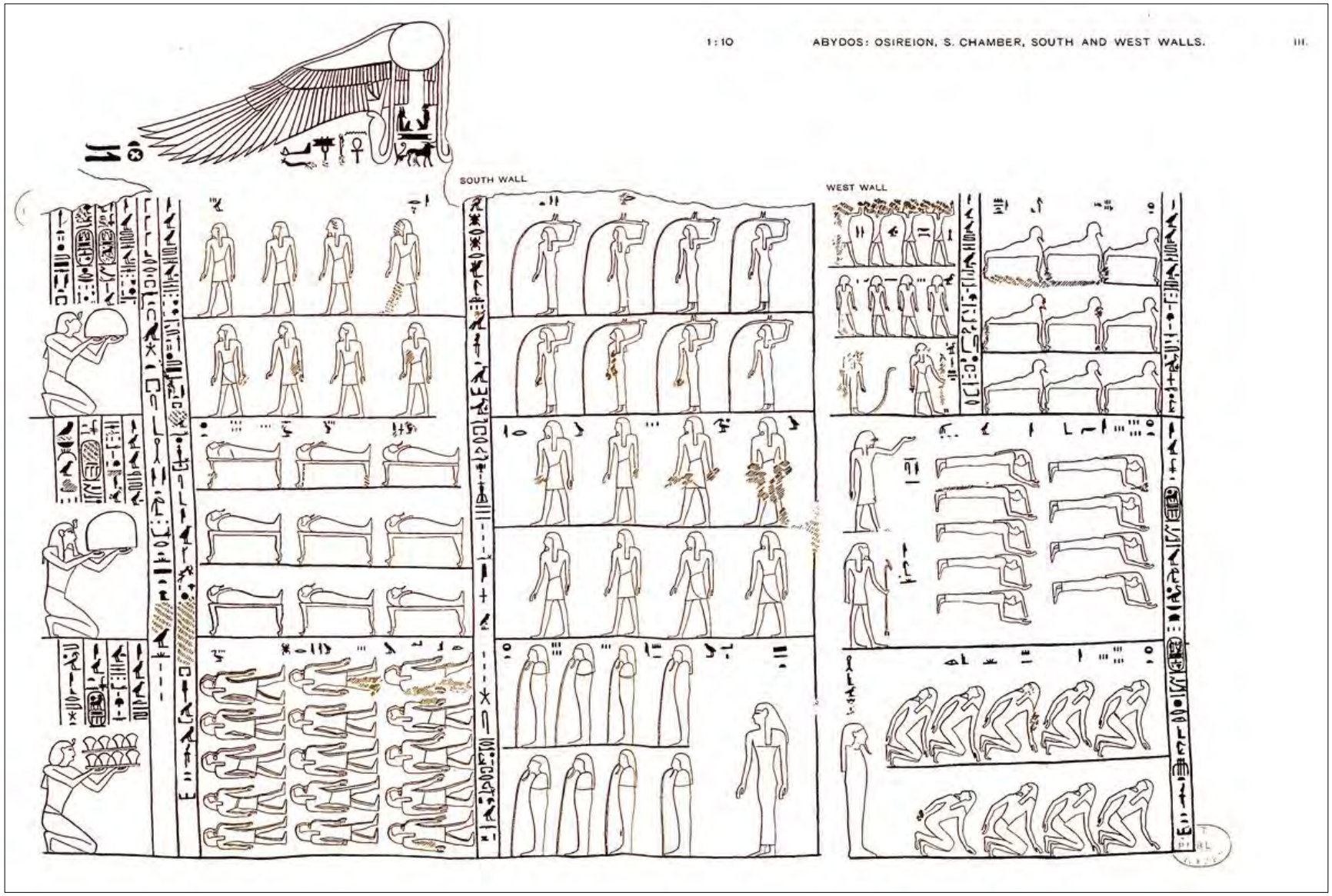


Plate 245. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Tenth Hour.
(Murray 1904, plate III) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

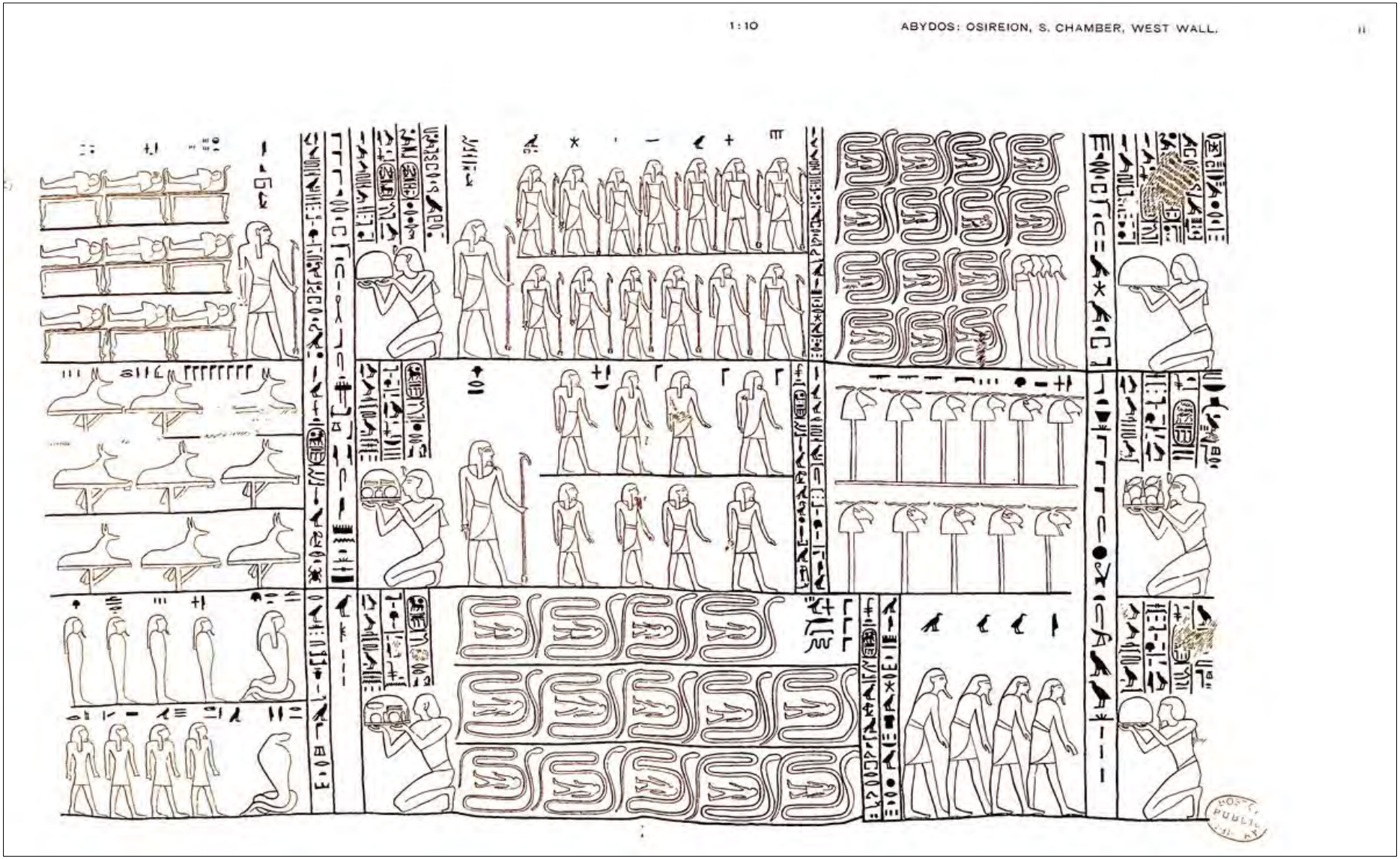
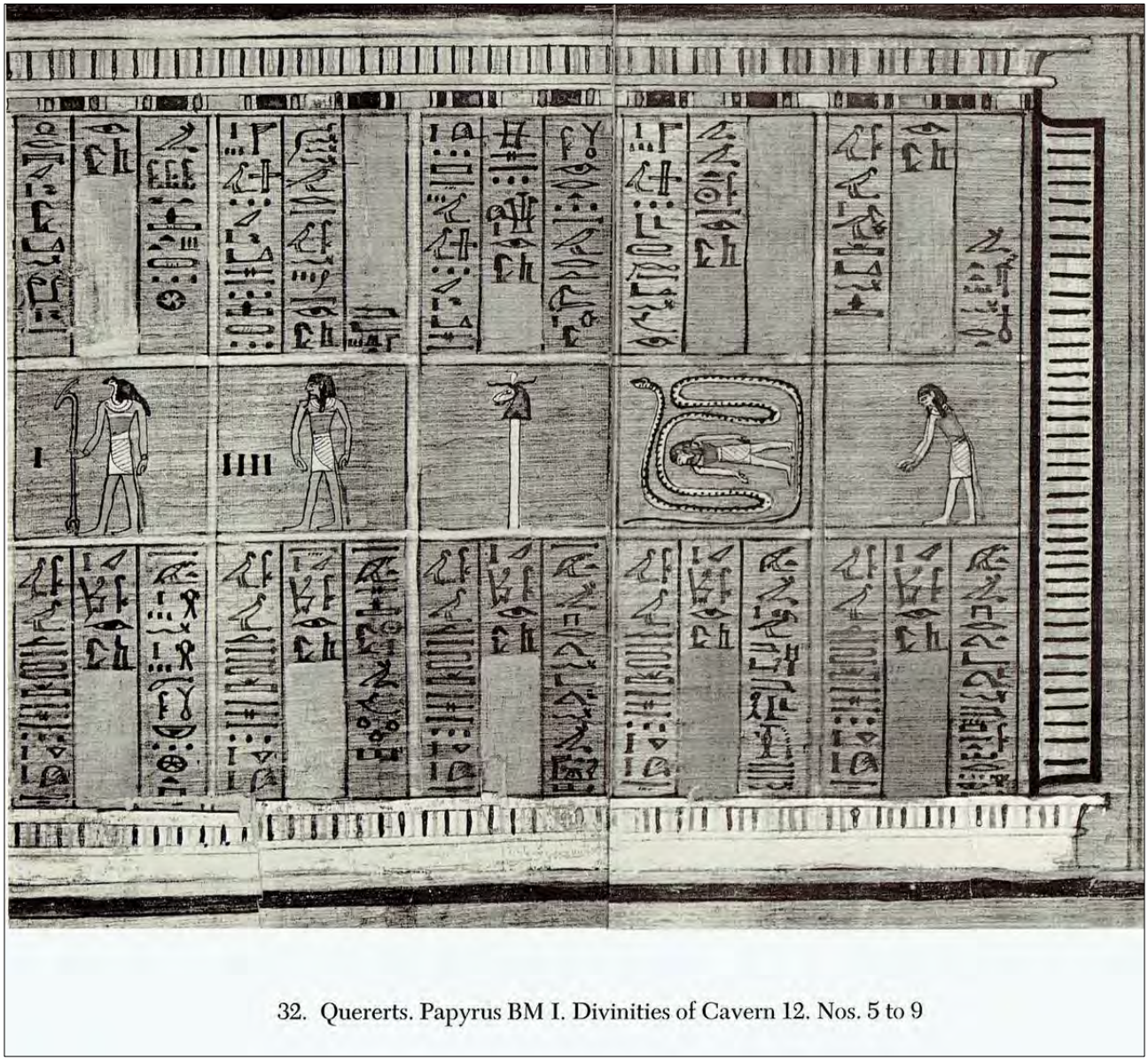


Plate 246. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns Hours 11-12.
(Murray 1904, plate II) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

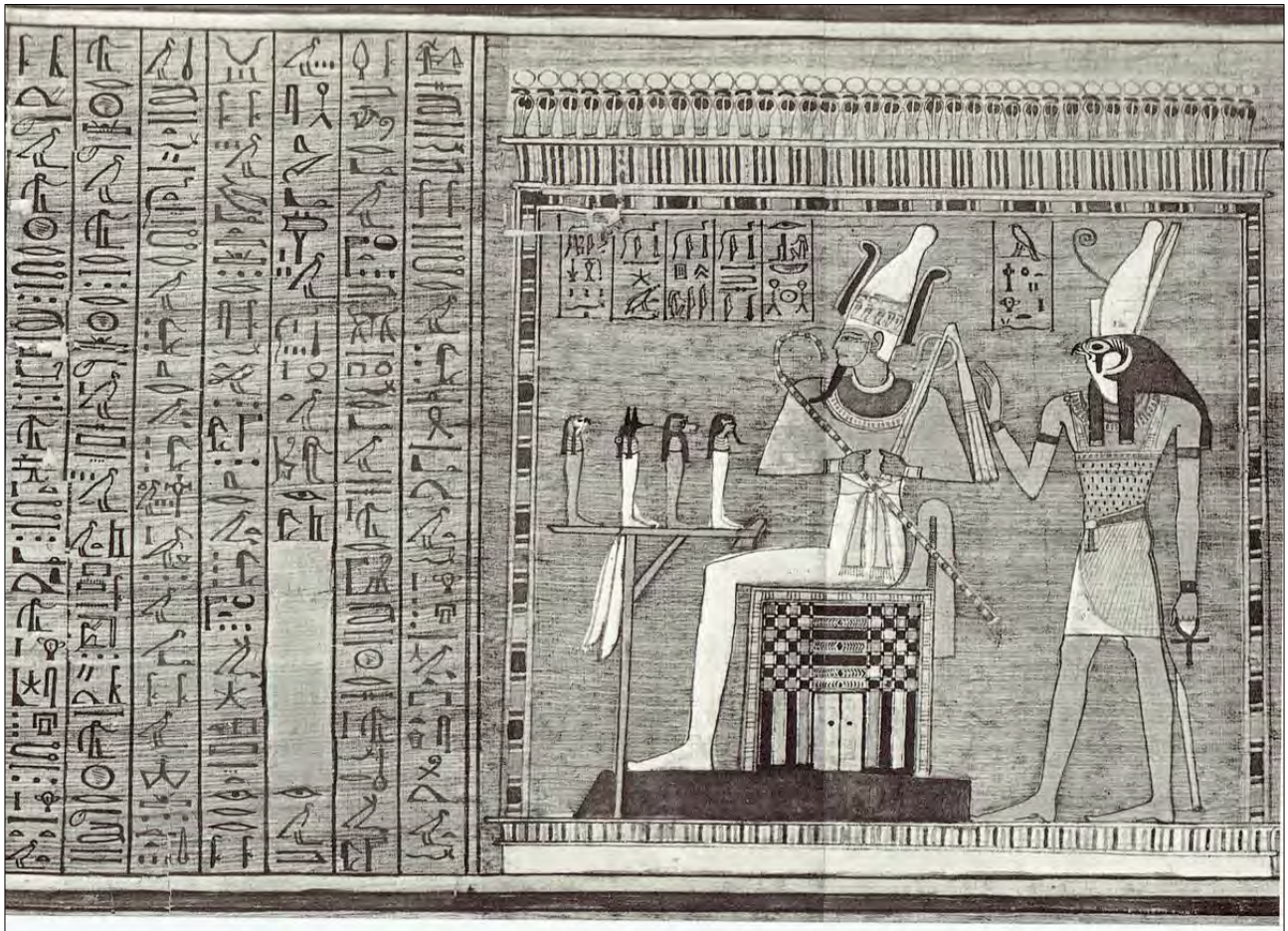
19. Quererts. Papyrus BM I. Divinities of Cavern 8. Nos. 1 to 4

Plate 247. BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail Door of Shrine.
(Piankoff 1974, plate 19)



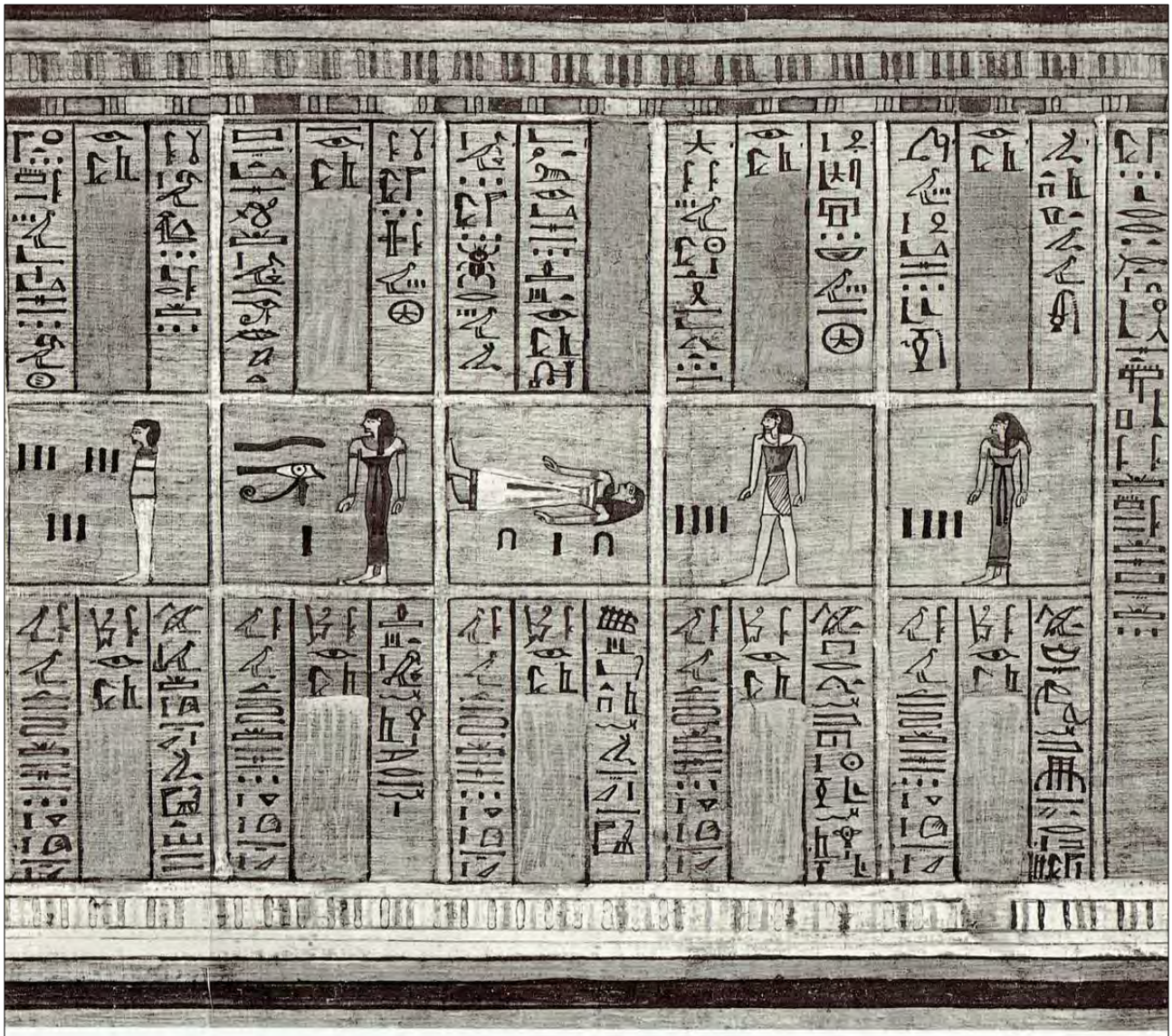
32. Quererts. Papyrus BM I. Divinities of Cavern 12. Nos. 5 to 9

Plate 248. BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail Rear Door of Shrine.
(Piankoff 1974, plate 32)



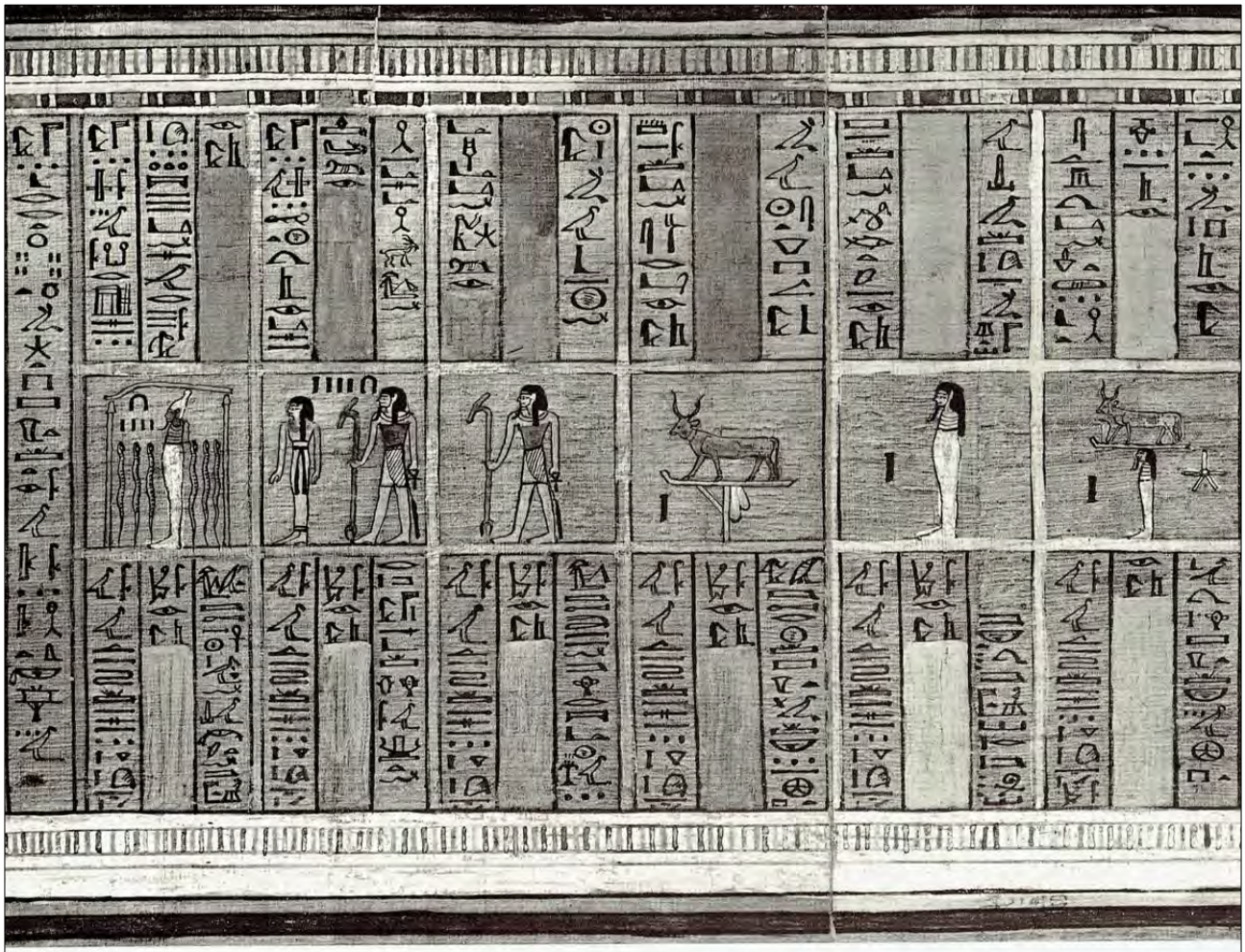
18. Quererts. Papyrus BM I. Element I. Osiris and Horus

Plate 249. BD 168 p.BM 10478 Enthroned Osiris.
(Piankoff 1974, plate 18)



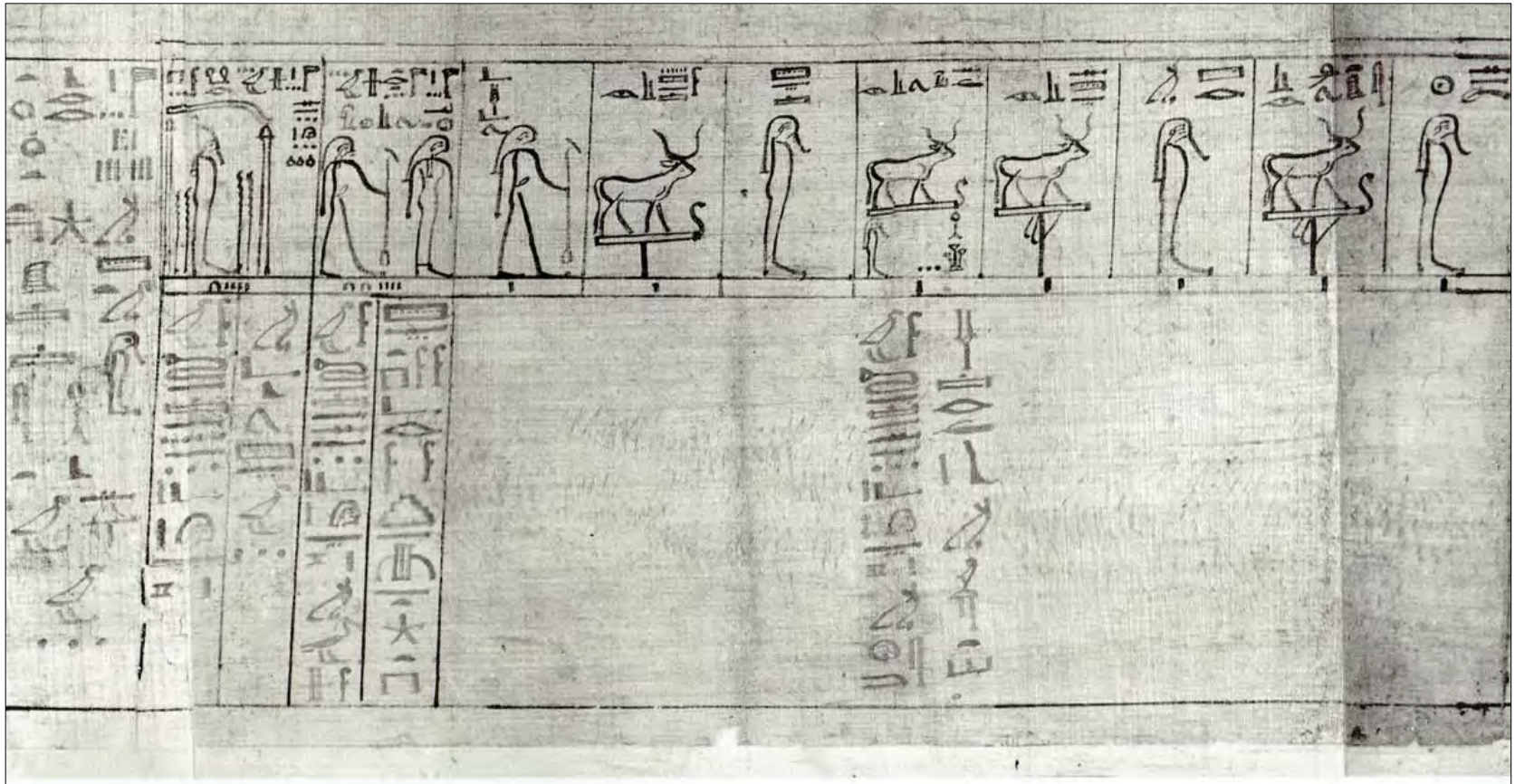
26. Quererts. Papyrus BM I. Divinities of Cavern 10. Nos. 4 to 8

Plate 250. BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail Udjat-eye.
(Piankoff 1974, plate 26)



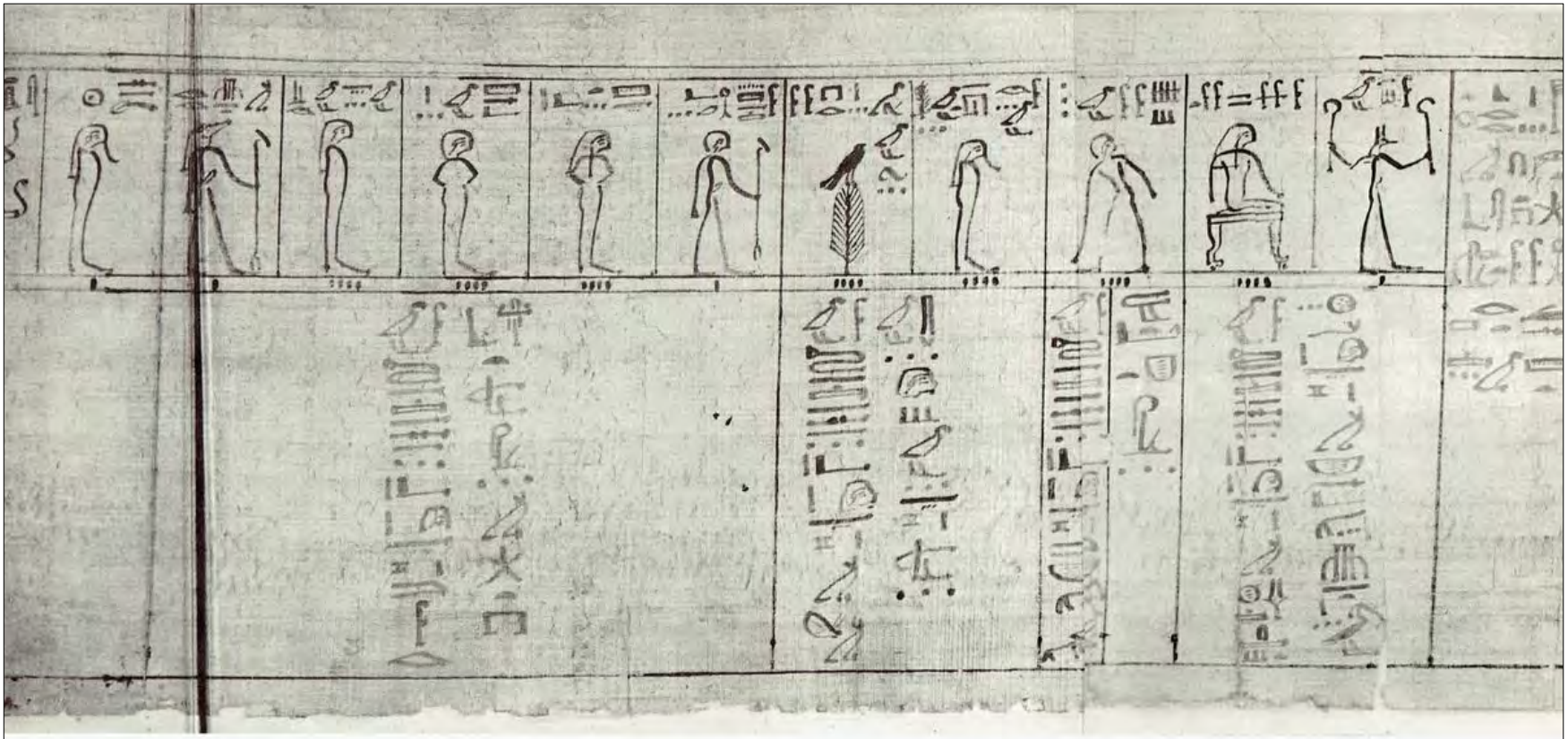
21. Quererts. Papyrus BM I. Divinities of Cavern 9. Nos. 1 to 6

Plate 251. BD 168 p.BM 10478 detail 14 Manifestations of Osiris.
(Piankoff 1974, plate 21)



11. Quererts. Papyrus A II. Divinities of Cavern 9. Nos. 1 to 10

Plate 252. BD 168 p. Cairo 24742 Amenhotep II detail 14 Manifestations of Osiris.
(Piankoff 1974, plate 11)



12. Quererts. Papyrus A II. Divinities of Cavern 9. Nos. 10 to 20

Plate 253. BD 168 p.Cairo 24742 Amenhotep II detail Horus with Two Eyes.
(Piankoff 1974, plate 12)

Plate 254. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 1-7.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807162845/in/photostream/

Plate 255. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 12 end.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807193877/in/photostream/

Plate 256. Annex qrrt 12 end and Closing Text on the notional west wall by the door leading out of the Annex.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807189051/in/photostream/

Plate 257. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 8 top two registers. http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807163637/in/photostream/

Plate 258. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 9.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807172961/in/photostream/

Plate 259. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 9 top two registers. http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807168563/in/photostream/

Plate 260. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 9 corner top two registers showing Anubis and the retrograde writing of sSpyw 'Brilliant Ones'.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807170333/in/photosream/

Plate 261. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 11 top two registers.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807178191/in/photostream/

Plate 262. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns detail qrrt 11.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807177449/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 263. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 11 bottom two registers.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807183149/in/album-72157624260294383

Plate 264. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt 12 top.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807200543/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 265. Annex Book of Twelve Caverns qrrt lower register.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6807184841/in/photostream/

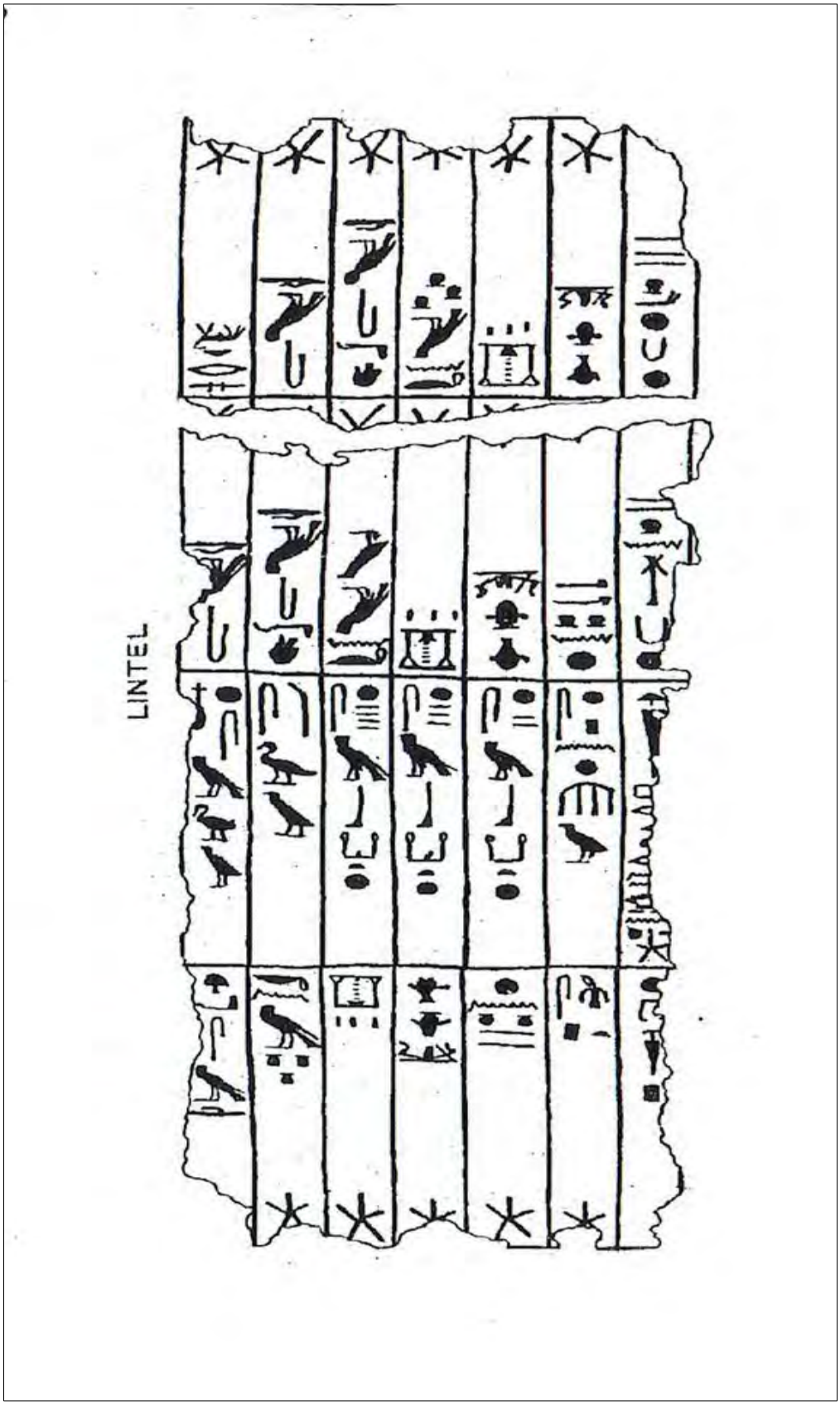


Plate 266. Sloping Passage Lintel in situ Decanal Star Table.
(Murray 1904, plate 12) https://archive.org/details/osireionatabydos00murr

Third decade	Second decade	I Peret Name of Hour	First decade
ḫry-ib wiꜣ *	ḥnmy *	sp=s n ḫꜣw	sꜣpty *
ḥmwy *	ḫry-ib wiꜣ *	sp 2=s m bkꜣt	ḫmwy *
knmw *	ssnm *	sp 3=s m bkꜣt	ḫry-ib wiꜣ *
ssmw *	knmw *	sp 4=s m bkꜣt	ssmw *
knmw *	tpy-ꜥ smd *	?=s wsḫw	knmw *
sꜣ *	smd *	sn̓d m wsḫw	tpy-ꜥ smd *

I Peret		
Last	Middle	First
16	15b	15a
17	16	15b
18	17	16
19	18	17
20	19	18
21	20	19

Table 21: Layout of K0 (the star table in the sloping passage of the Osireion). The actual layout is shown on the left. On the right, the layout has been re-arranged into typical diagonal star table format. The decan numbers are those in list **K**, shown in bold in Table 6.

Plate 267. Sloping Passage Star Table.
(Symons 2007, table 21)

2. Doorway leading from Ante Room through Sloping Passage to transversal Room, showing further doorway and Central Hall within

Plate 268. Antechamber Doorway Leading Down the Sloping Passage.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 13) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

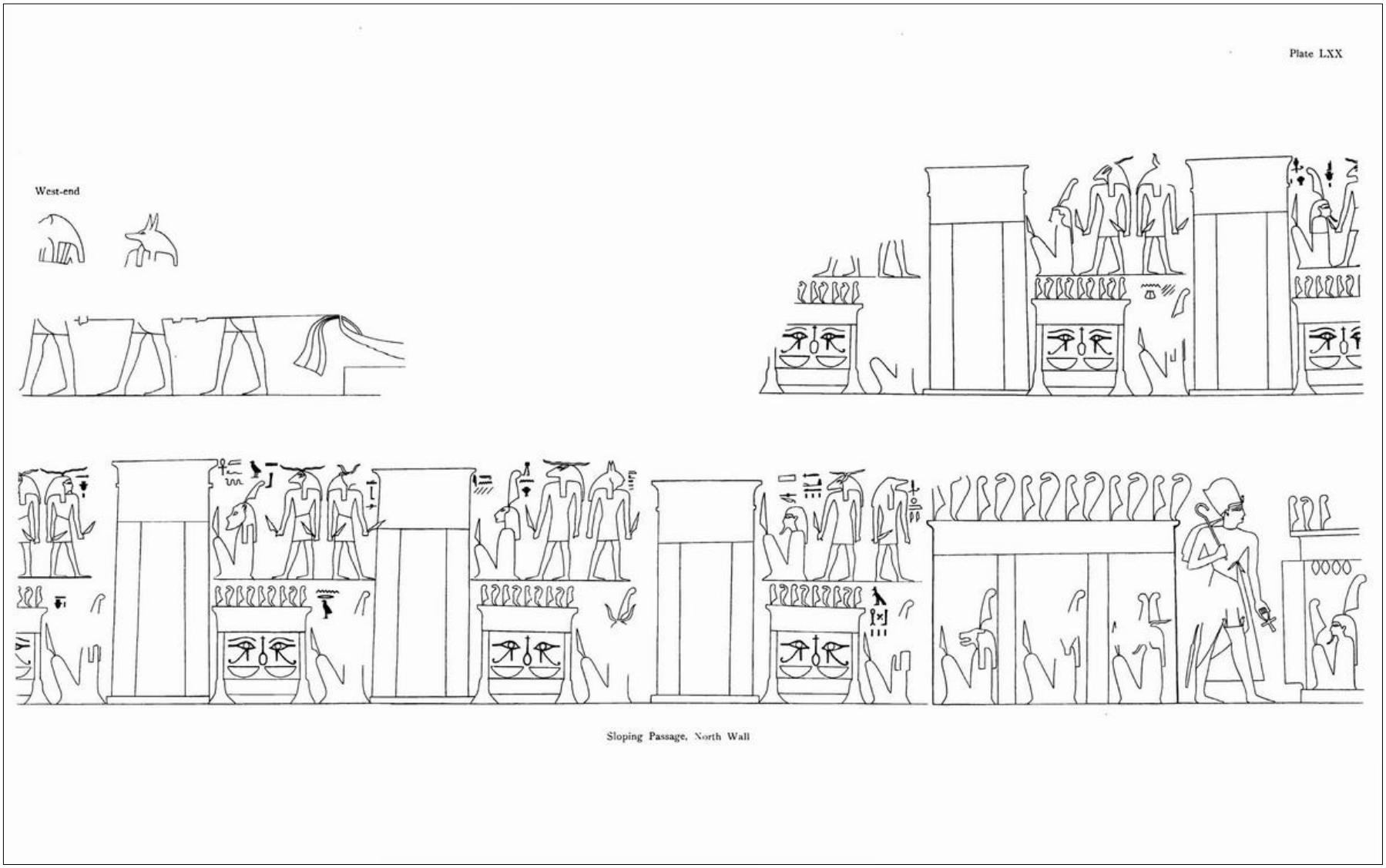


Plate 269. Sloping Passage Vignettes BD 99, BD 147, BD 146, BD 145, and BD 125 at the end.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 70) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 270. Sloping Passage Vignettes and Text BD 147 detail.
(Naville EES Archaeological Report 1911-1912 plate III figure 7)

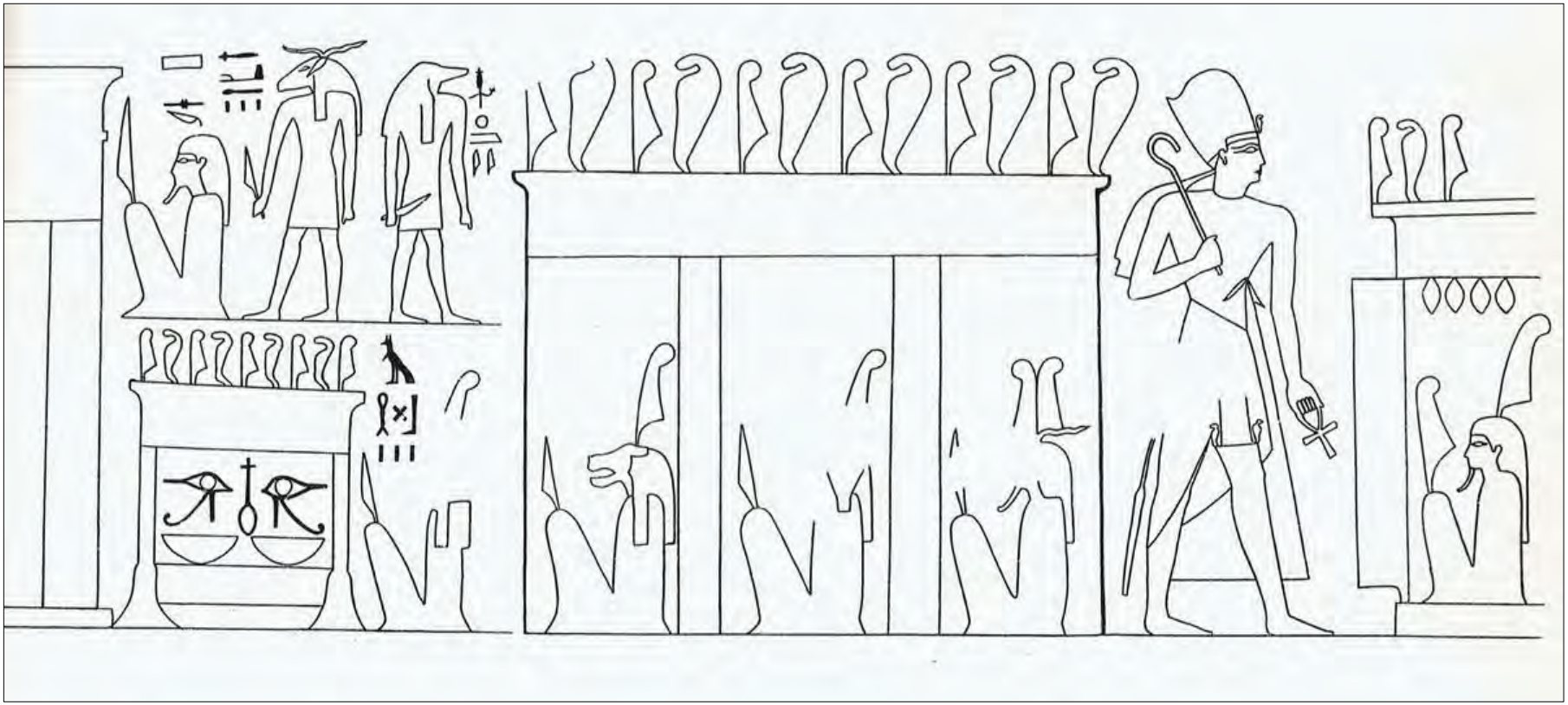


Plate 271. Sloping Passage Opening to the Hall of Two Truths Vignette detail.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 70) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 272. Sloping Passage Text 1.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 63) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 273. Sloping Passage Text 2.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 64) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 274. Sloping Passage Text 3.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 65) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 275. Sloping Passage Text 4.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 66) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 276 Sloping Passage Text 5.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 67) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

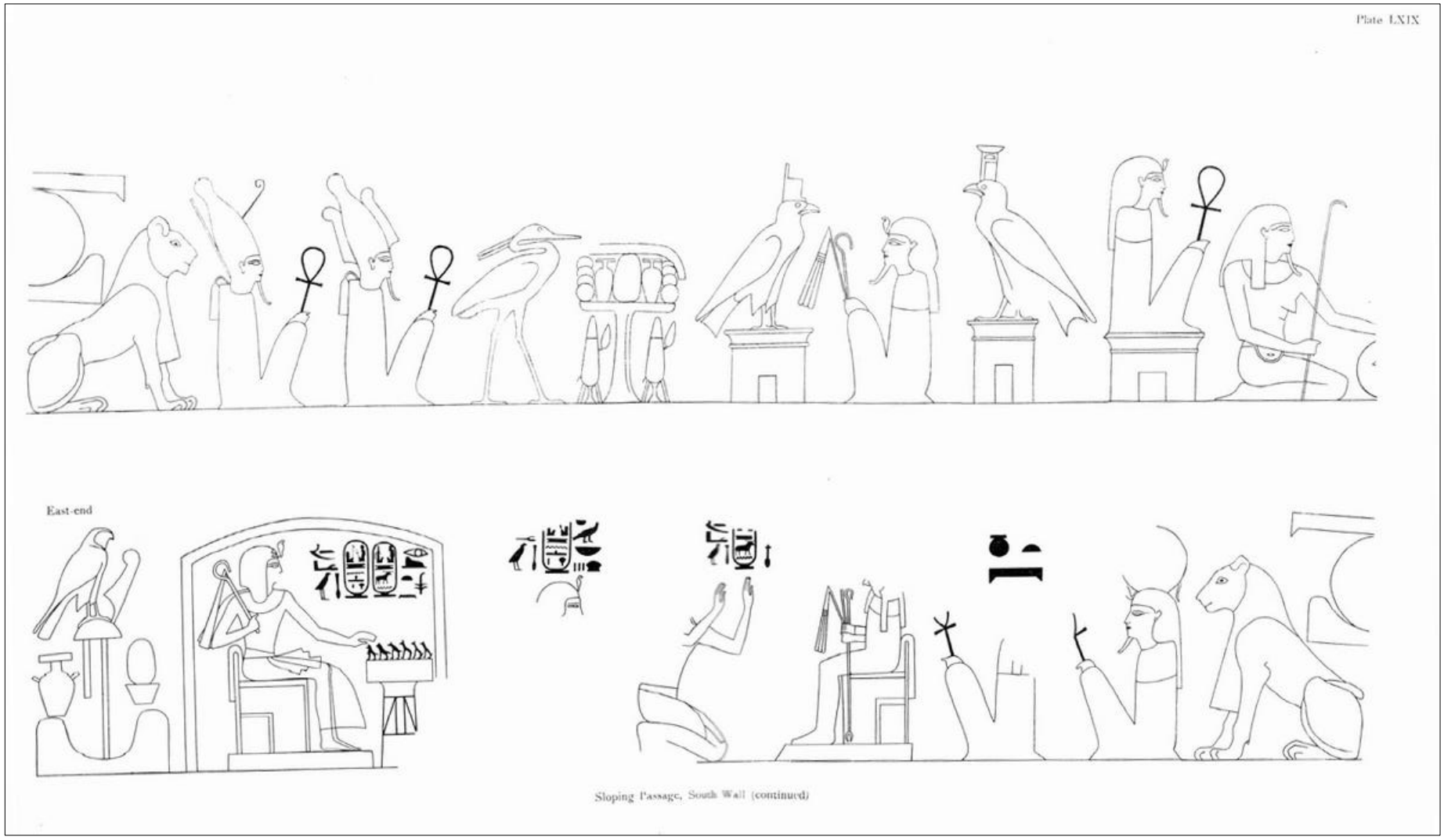


Plate 277. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes 1.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 69) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

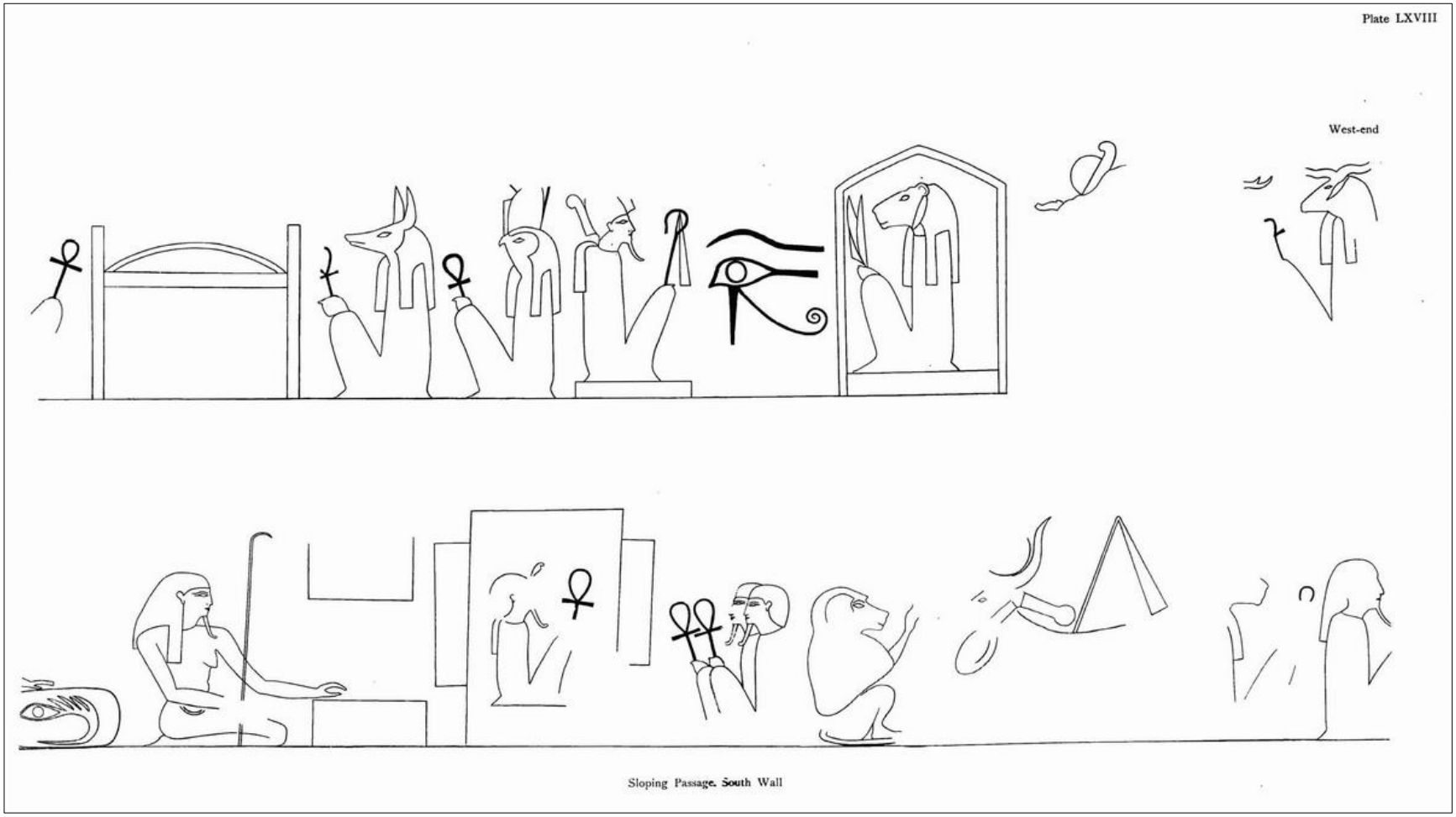


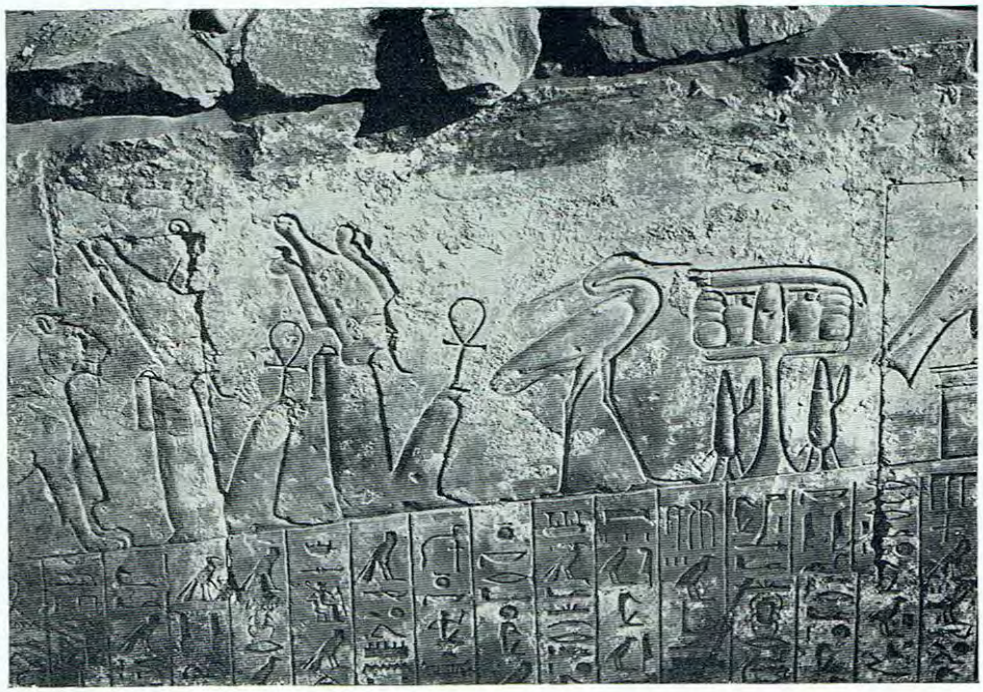
Plate 278. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes 2.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 68) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

King Meneptah playing draughts.

Plate 279. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette Senet.
(Photo Egypt Exploration Society 1925, 6)

Plate 280. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette Ruty.
(Photo Naville EES Archaeological Report 1911-1912, plate III figure 8)

King Meneptah playing draughts.



Scenes and Inscriptions on the Walls of the Osireion.

Plate 281. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes detail Benu-bird bottom.
(Photo Egypt Exploration Society 1925, 6)

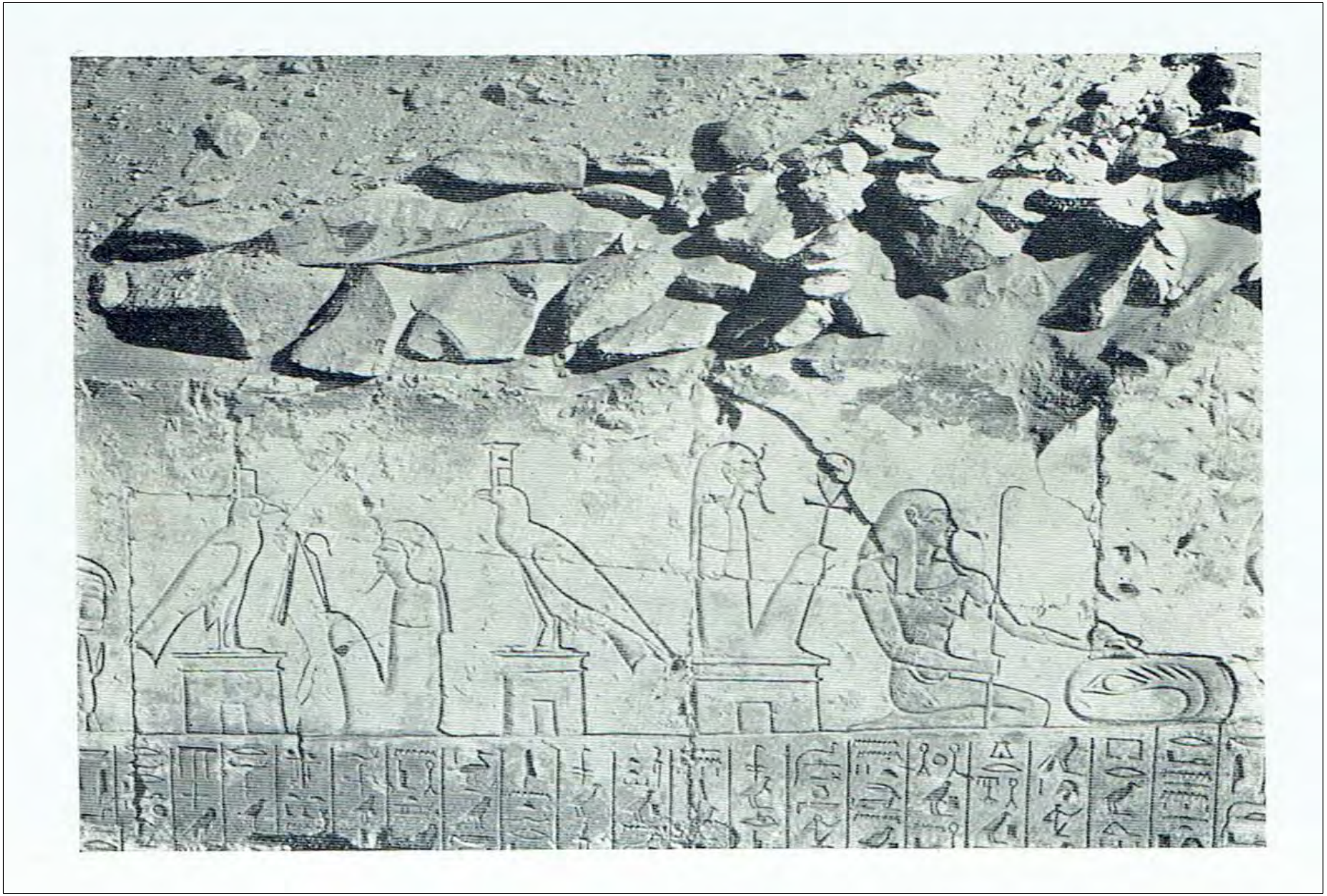


Plate 282. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignettes detail.
(Photo Egypt Exploration Society 1925, 9)

Plate 283. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette detail Udjat-eye.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6796618255/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 284. Sloping Passage BD 17 Vignette of the Twin Bas detail Papyrus Ani.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 10)

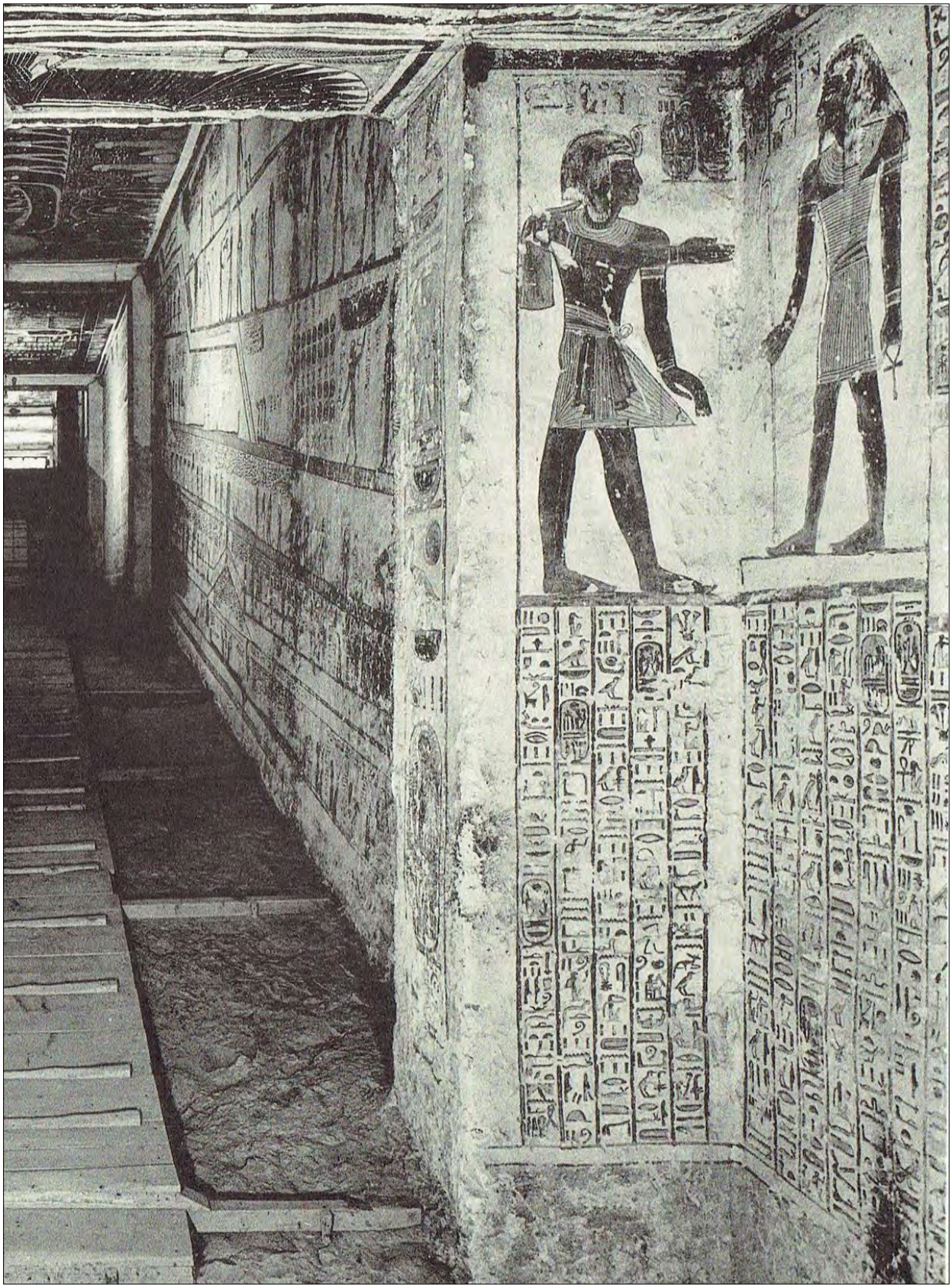


Plate 285. Hall of Two Truths King Invoking Heka Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 104)

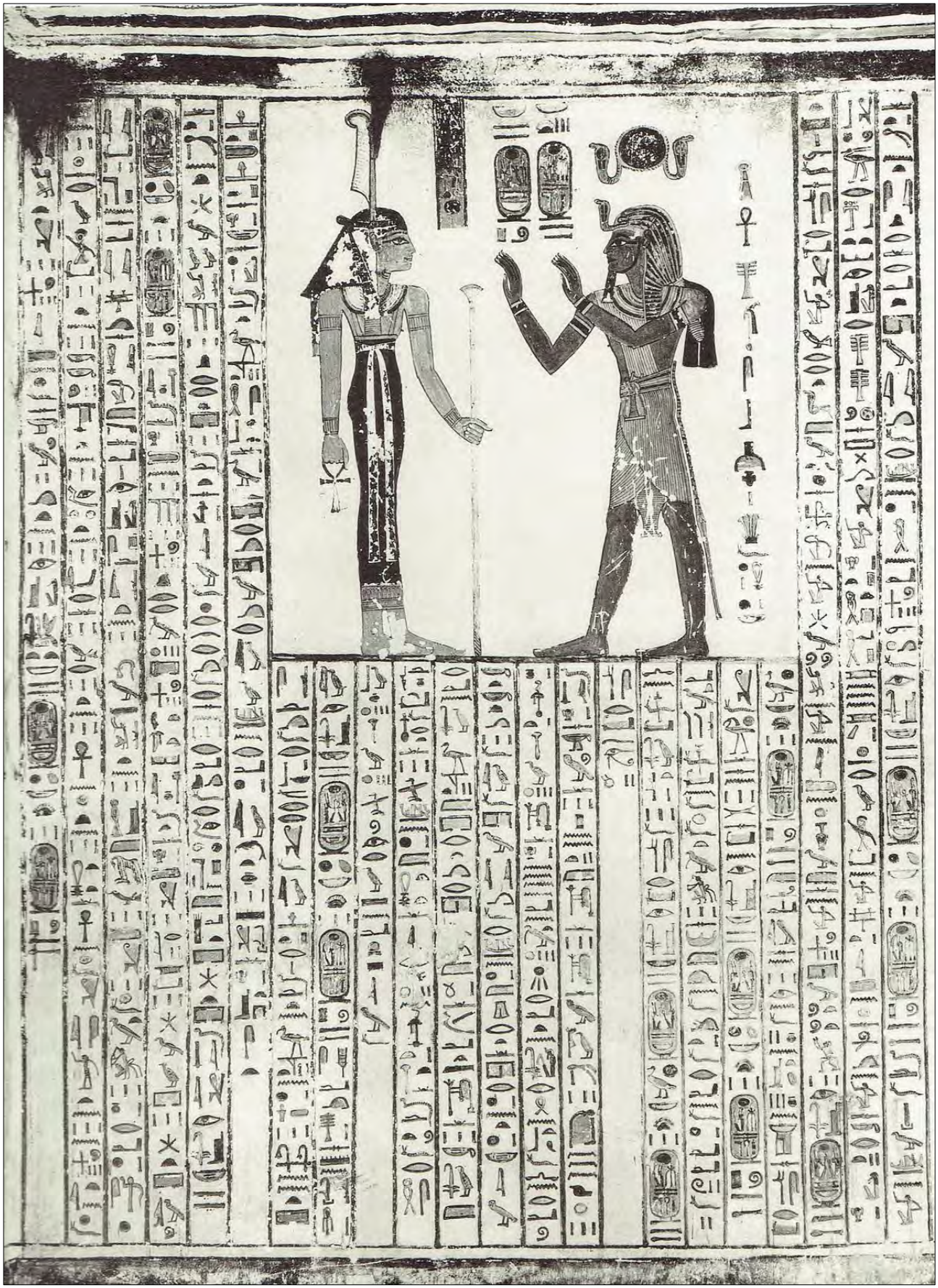


Plate 286. Hall of Two Truths King Praising Maat Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 106)

Plate 287. Hall of Two Truths Maat and the Twin Lakes of Fire Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Diego Delso, delso.photo License CC-BY-SA via Wikimedia Commons)

Plate 288. Hall of Two Truths King before Twin Lakes of Fire Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 105)

Plate 289. Hall of Two Truths Hall H End KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 107)

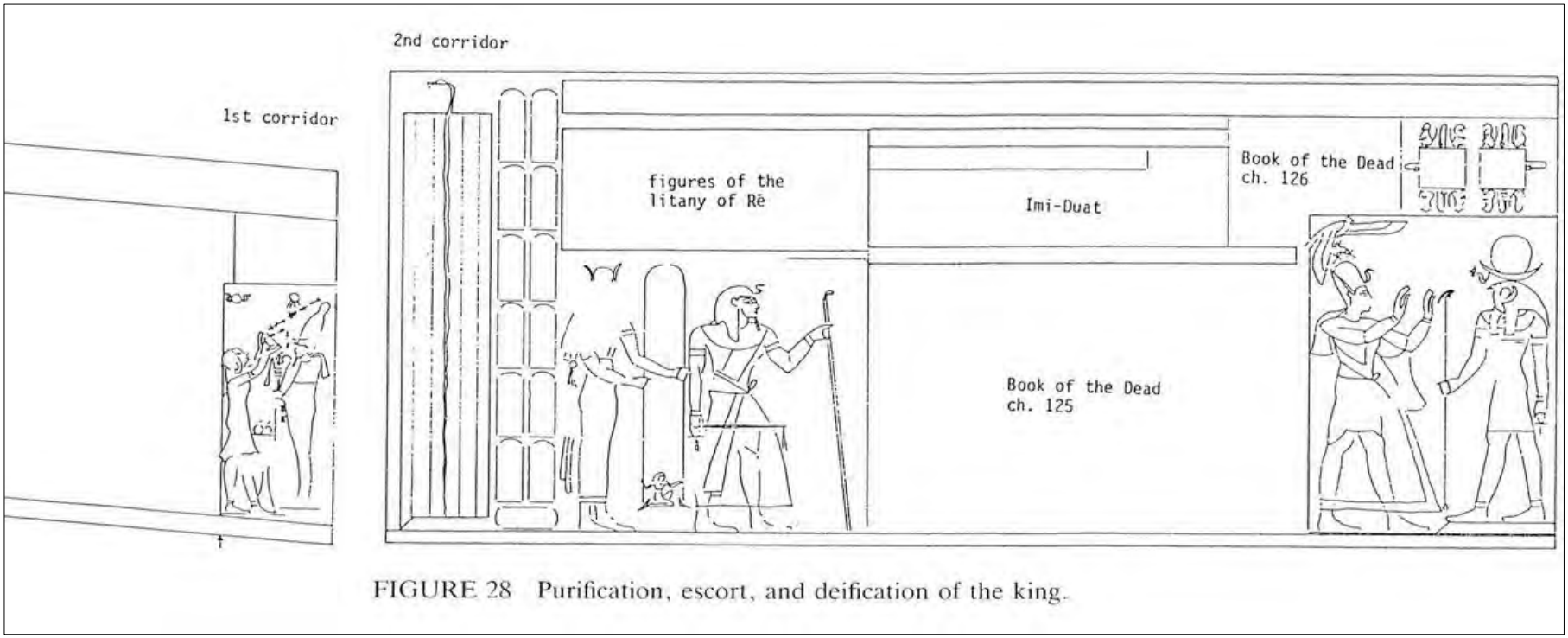


FIGURE 28 Purification, escort, and deification of the king.

Plate 290. Hall of Two Truths Scenes King Praising Khons-Neferhotep-Shu KV 6 Ramesses IX
(Abitz 1992, Fig. 28)

Plate 291. Central Hall Broad View.
(Photo courtesy of Robert Hoke)

1, 2. Central Hall, looking West

Plate 292. Central Hall Staircase and Cutouts Looking West (notional south).
(Frankfort 1933, plate 16) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 293. Central Hall of the Osireion Reconstruction Looking Back at the Entrance.
(Richard Smith) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= JXvNo6S3eWo

1. Central Hall, looking East

Plate 294. Central Hall Staircase Looking East (notional north).
(Frankfort 1933, plate 15) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 295. Central Hall Staircase and Square Cutout on the Island
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0137)

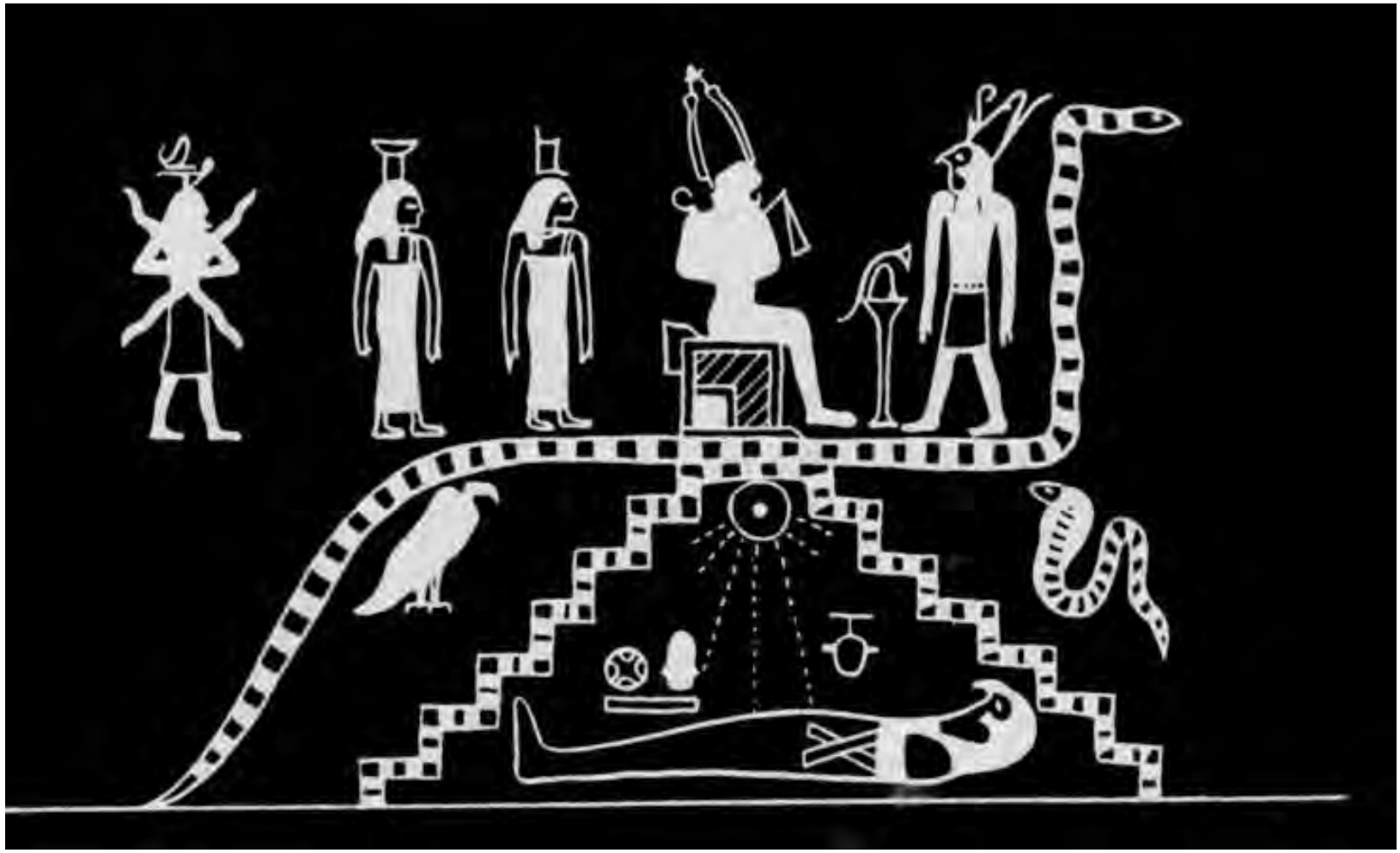


Plate 296. Scene of Osiris on and Sokar in His Mound Drawing.
(www.andrewcollins.com/page/articles/Beneath%20Breakdown%20240709.htm)

Plate 297. BD 182 Vignette p.BM 10010, 3 Muthetepti.
(Photo www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10010- 3)

Plate 298. Central Hall East (notional north) Rear Wall.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0075)

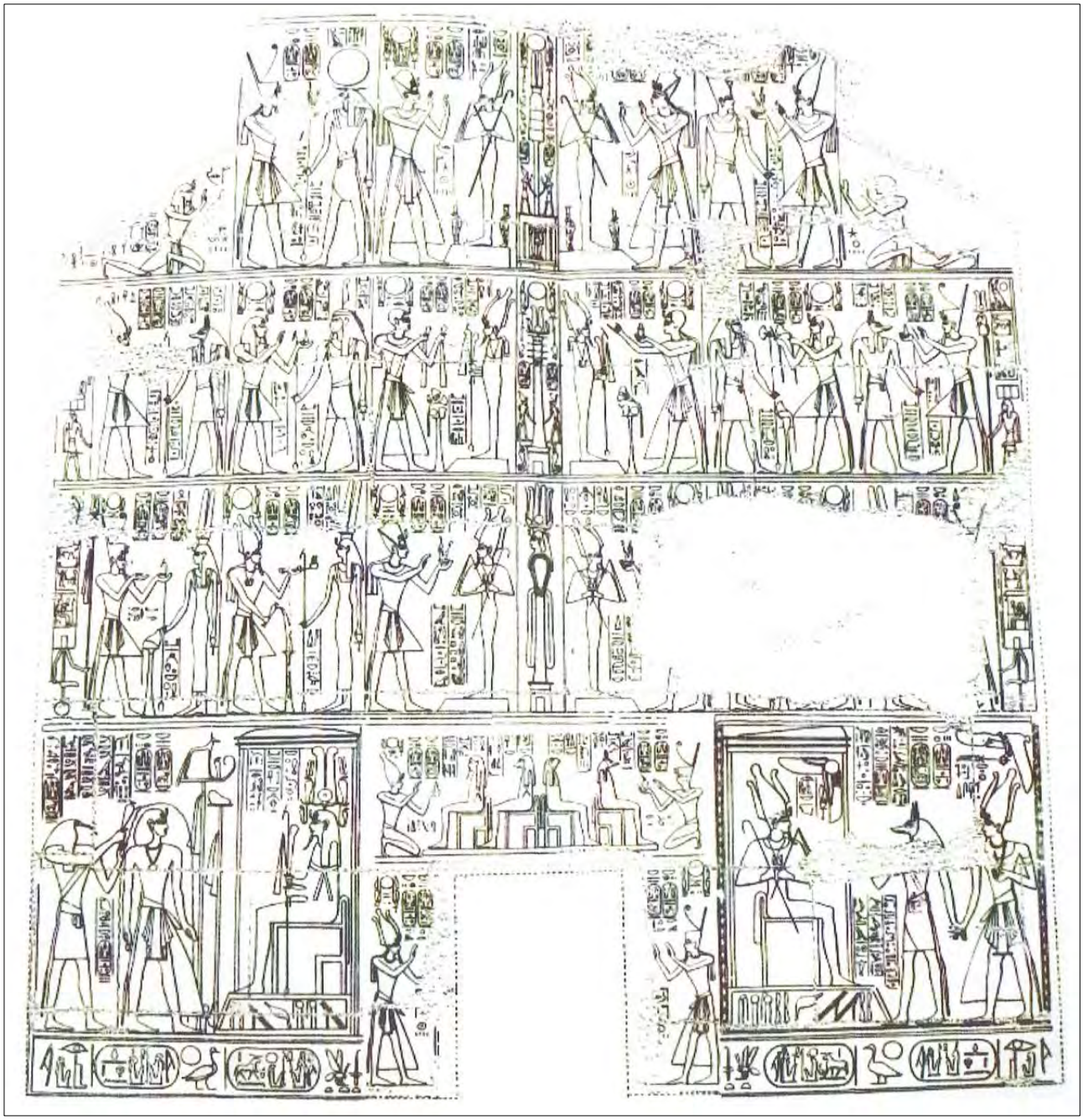


Plate 299. Central Hall East (notional north) Rear Wall.
(Line drawing Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

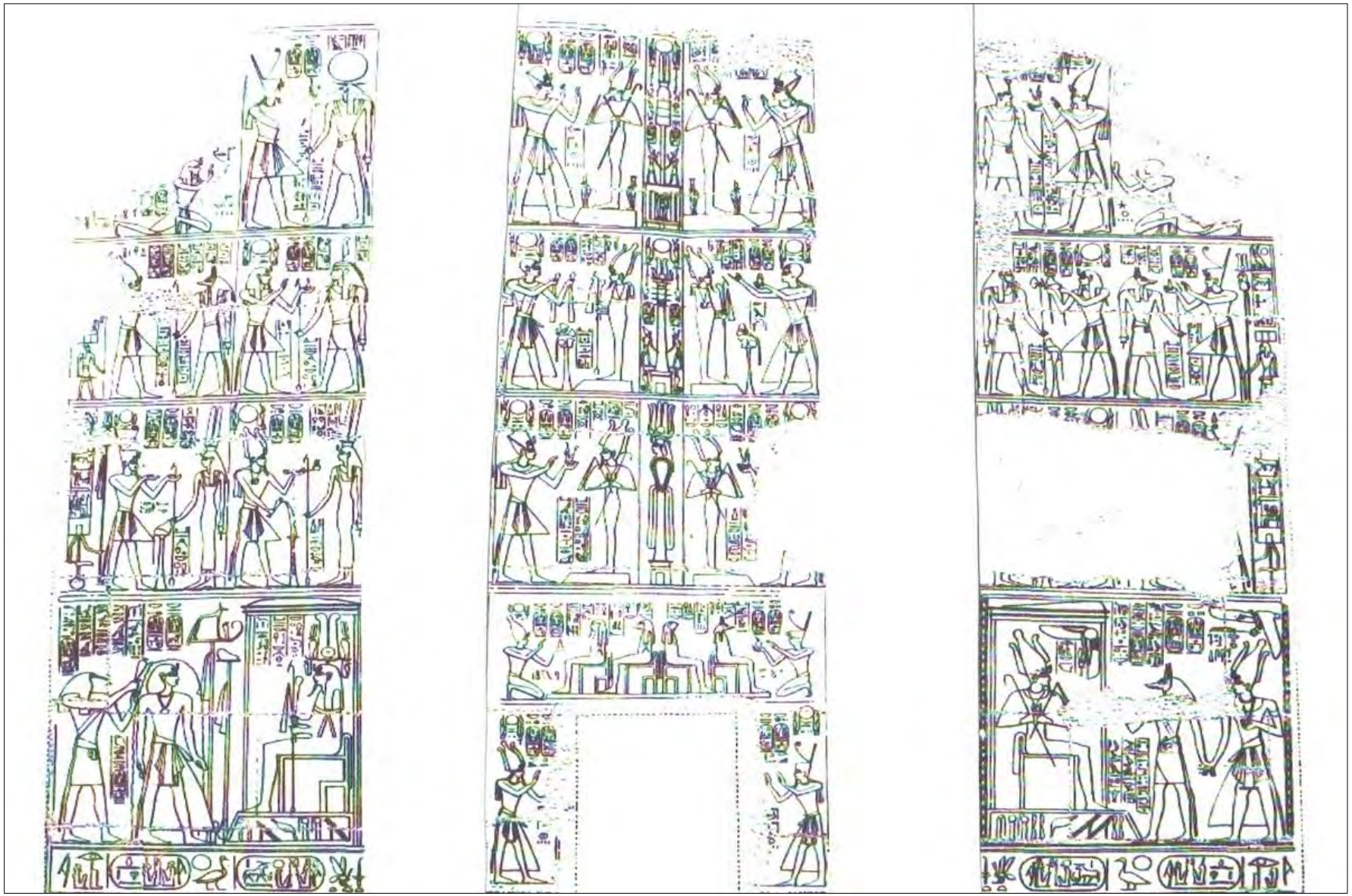


Plate 300. Central Hall East (notional north) Rear Wall as a Chapel.
(Line drawing after Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

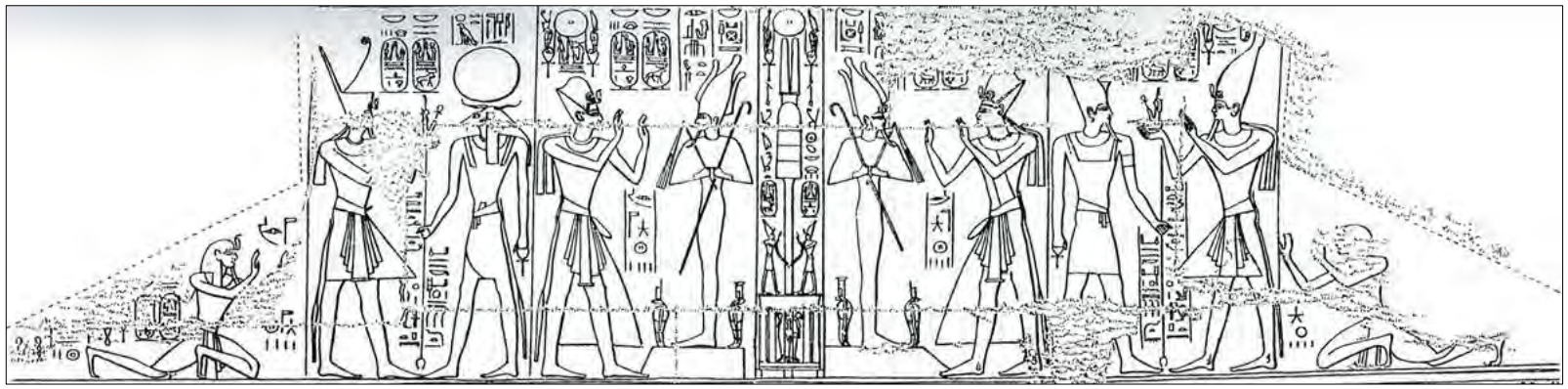


Plate 301. Central Hall Rear Wall detail top register.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

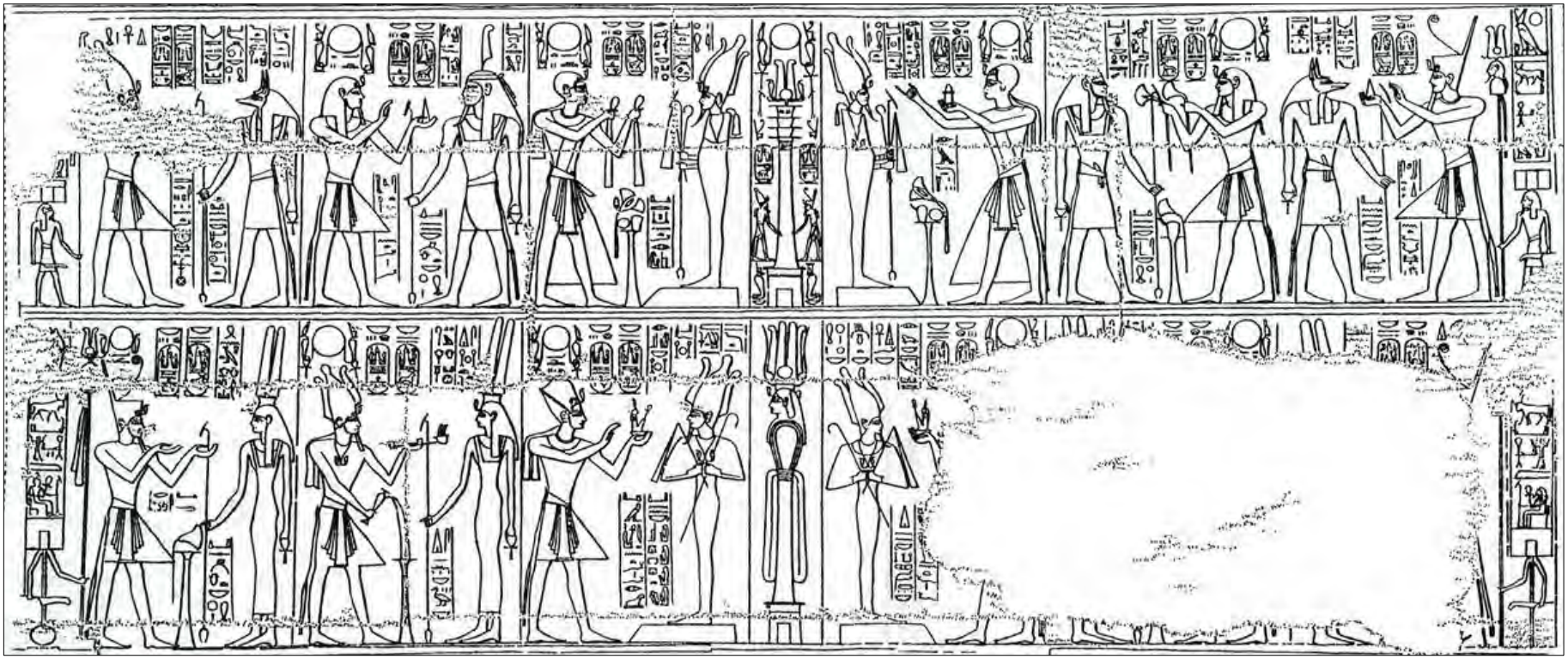


Plate 302. Central Hall Rear Wall detail middle registers 14 scenes enclosed by the Royal Ka.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

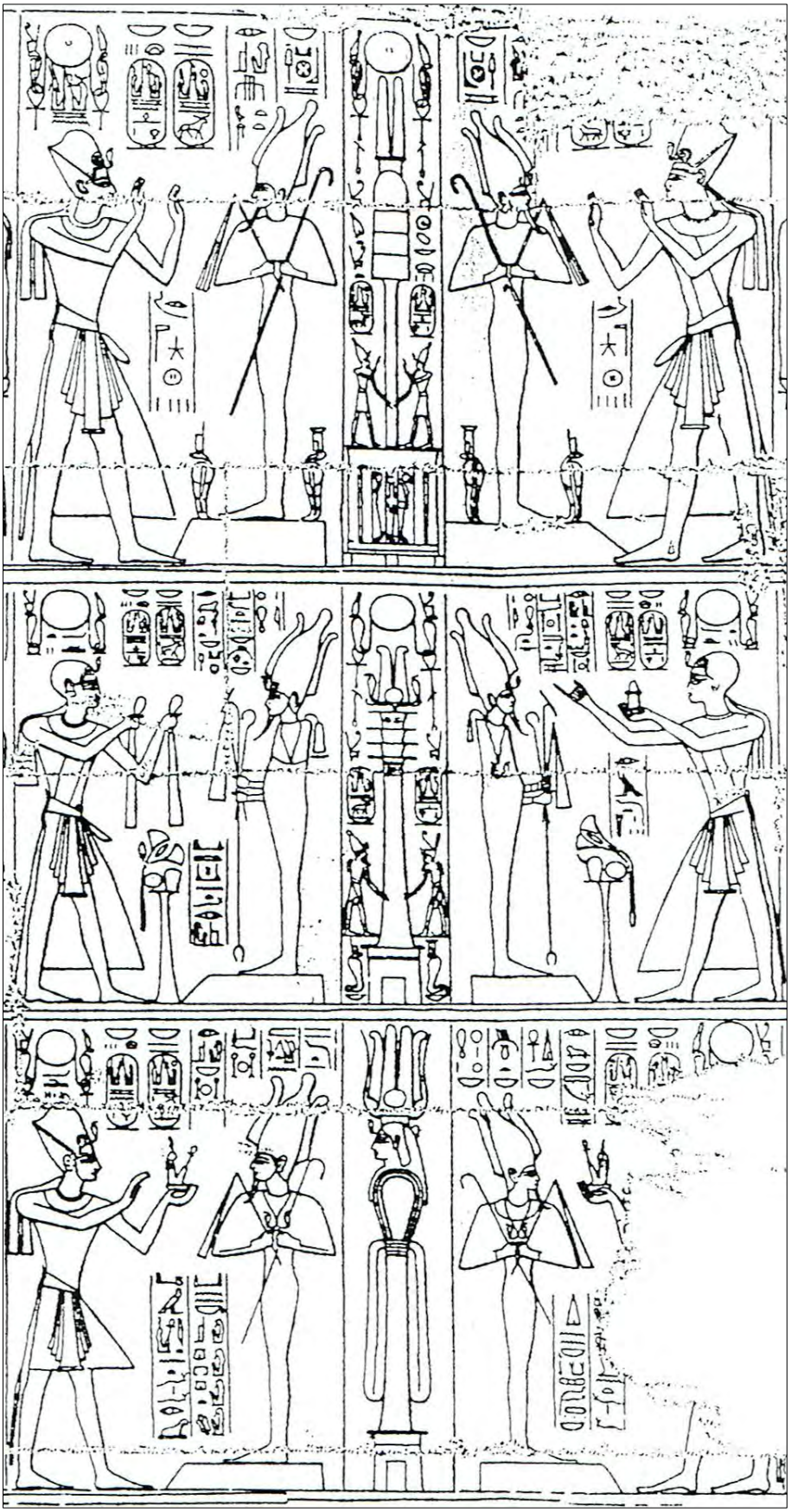


Plate 303. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Six Cult Statues of Osiris.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

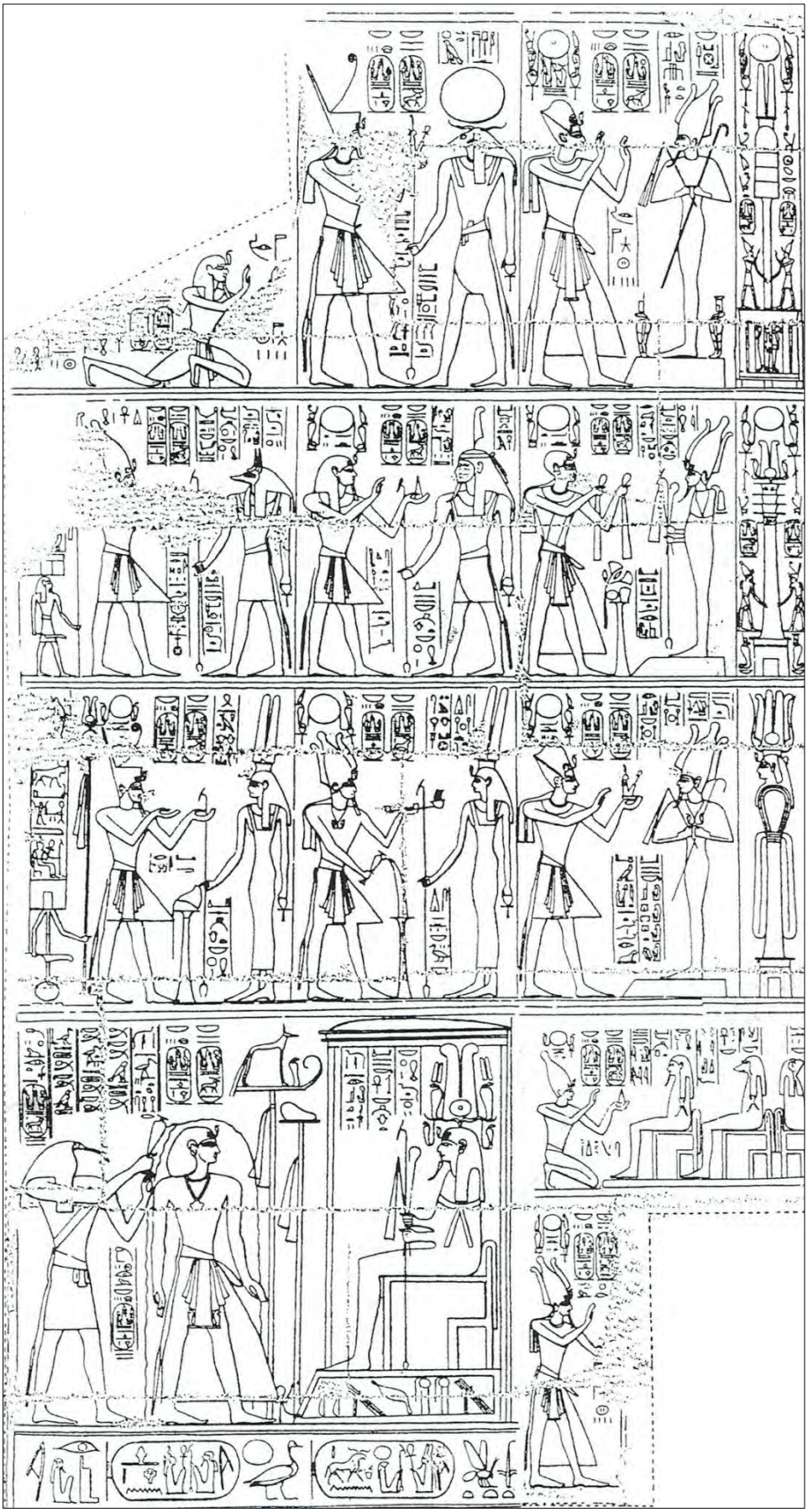


Plate 304. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Left (notional west) Half.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

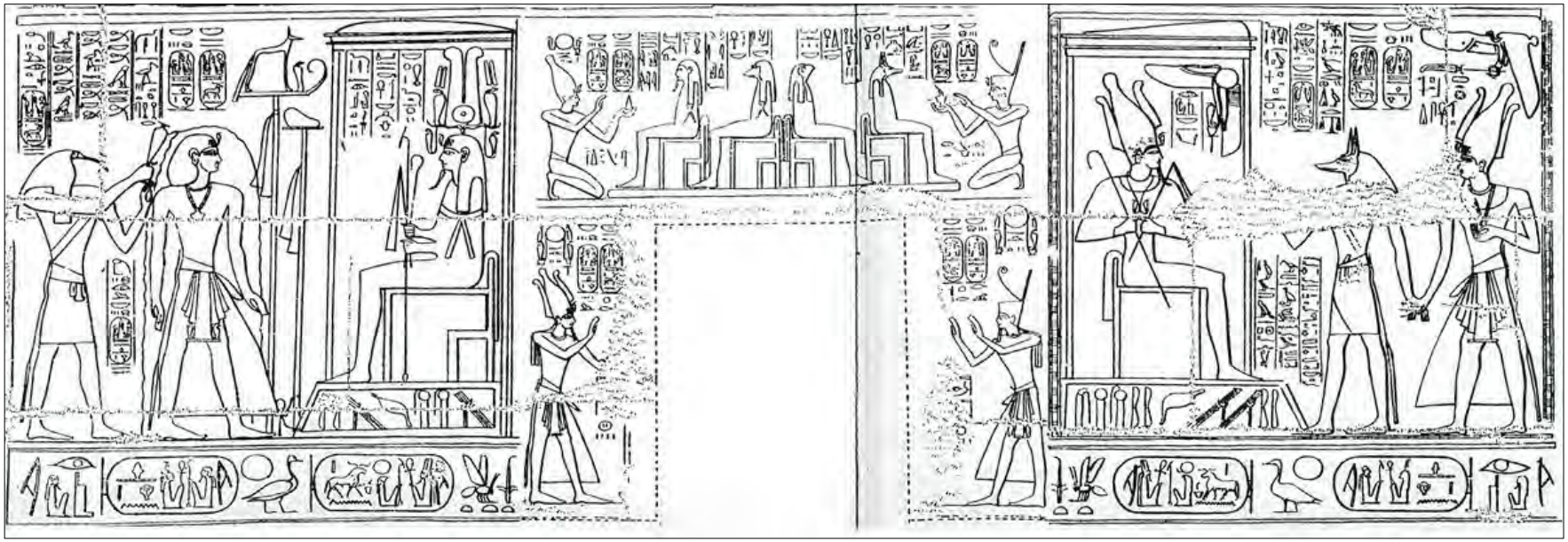


Plate 305. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Dual Shrines at Entrance to the Second Transverse Hall.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

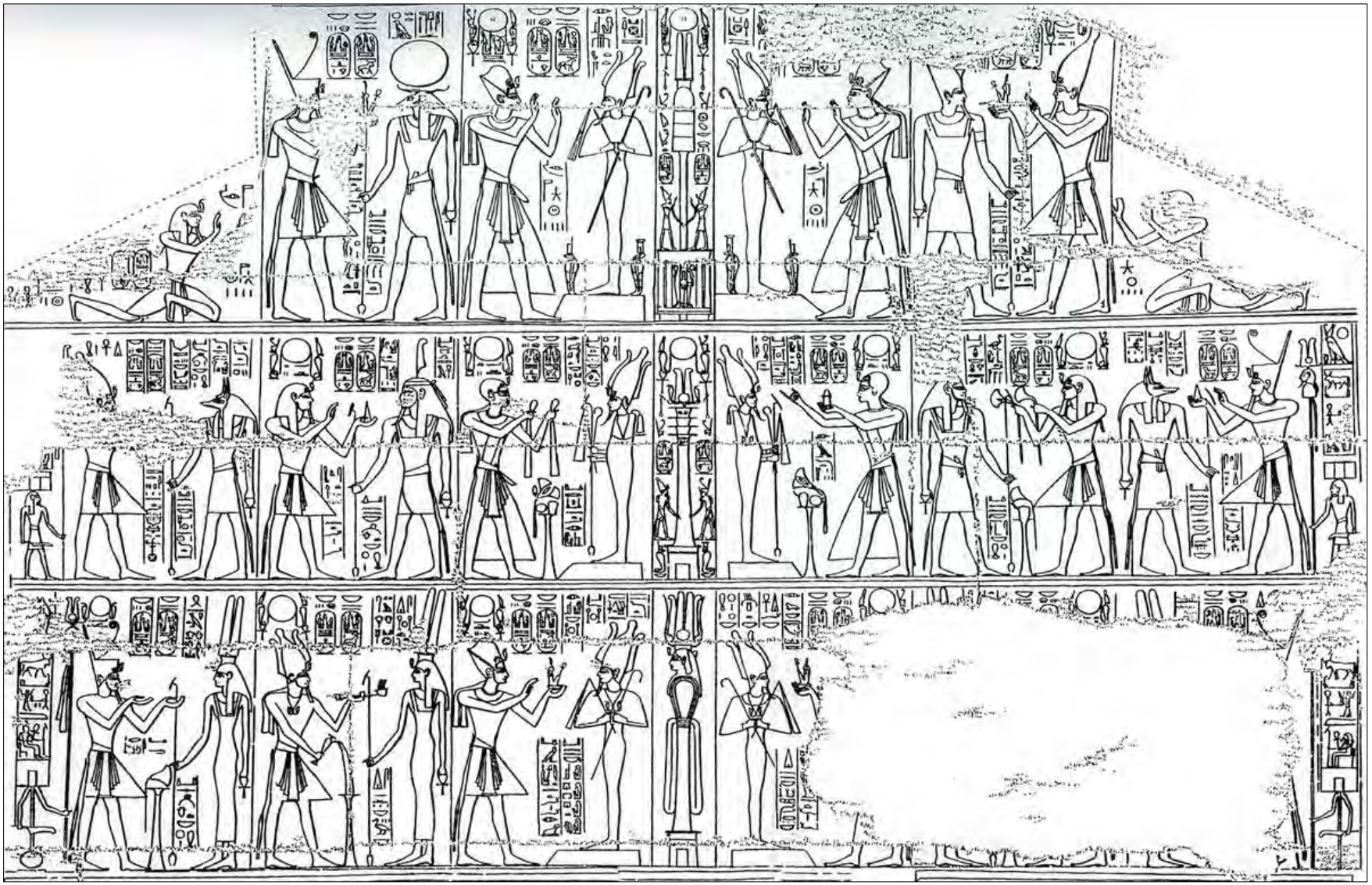


Plate 306. Central Hall Rear Wall detail 10 Scenes Around the 6 Cult Statues of Osiris.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

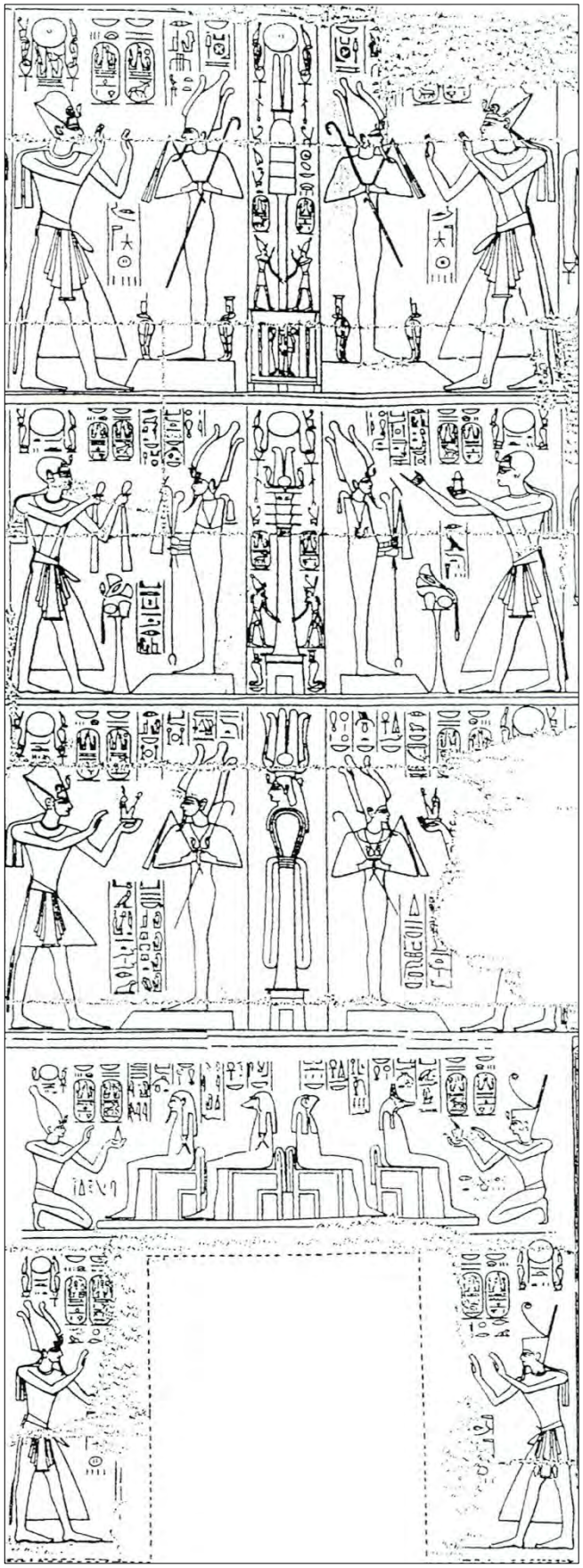


Plate 307. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Center Column above Entrance to the Second Transverse Hall.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

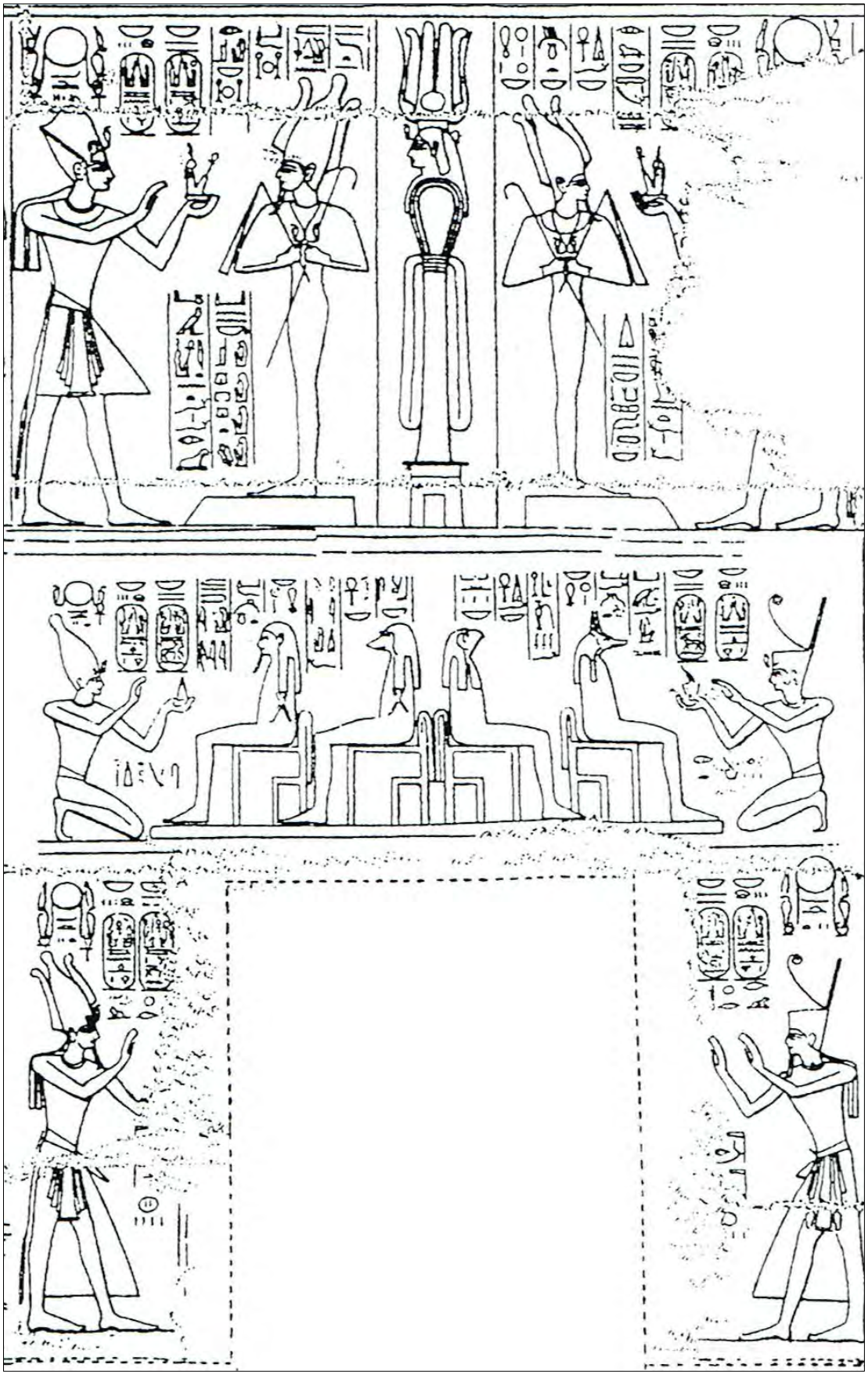


Plate 308. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Entrance to the Second Transverse Hall.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

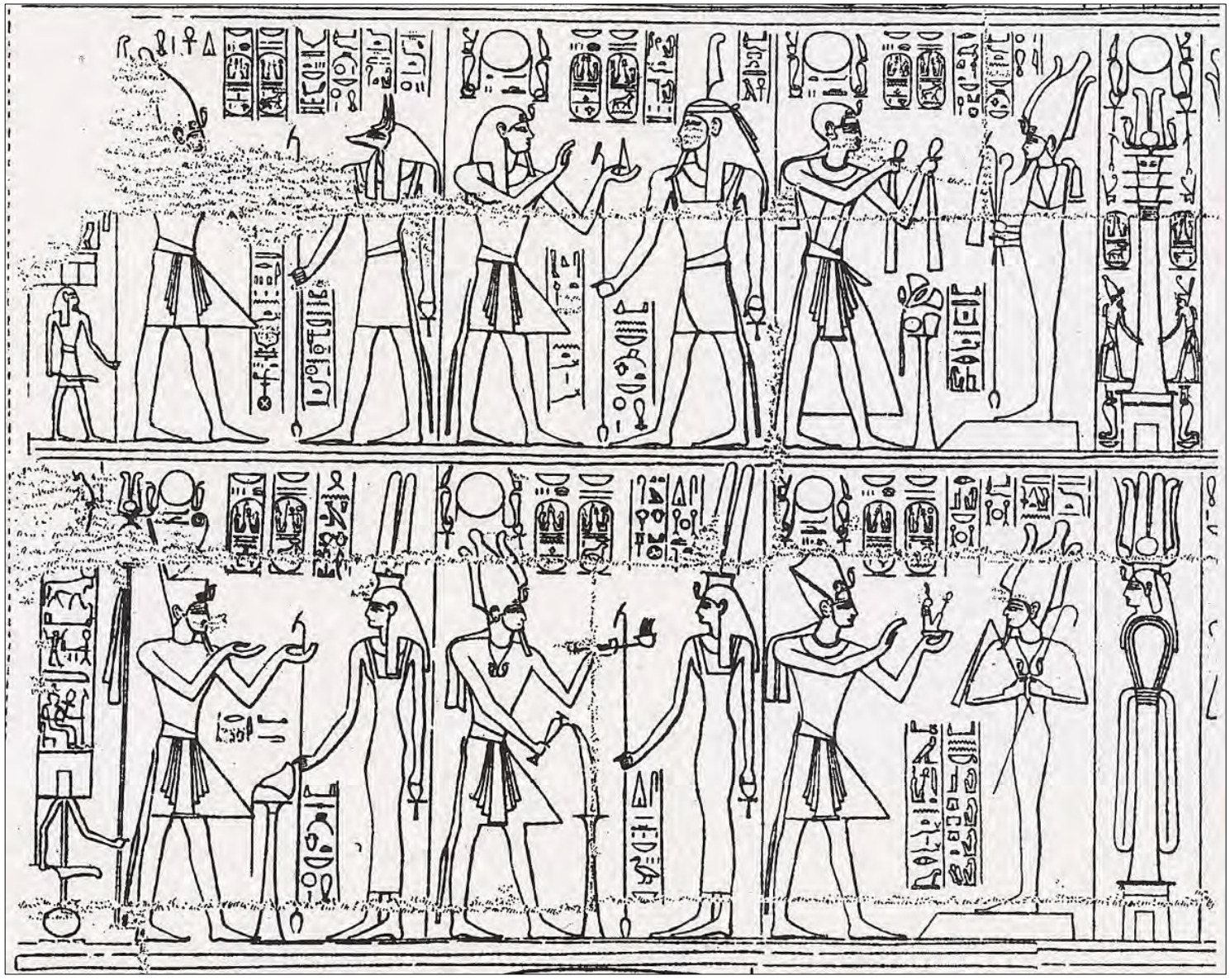


Plate 309. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Transfer of Royal Power.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

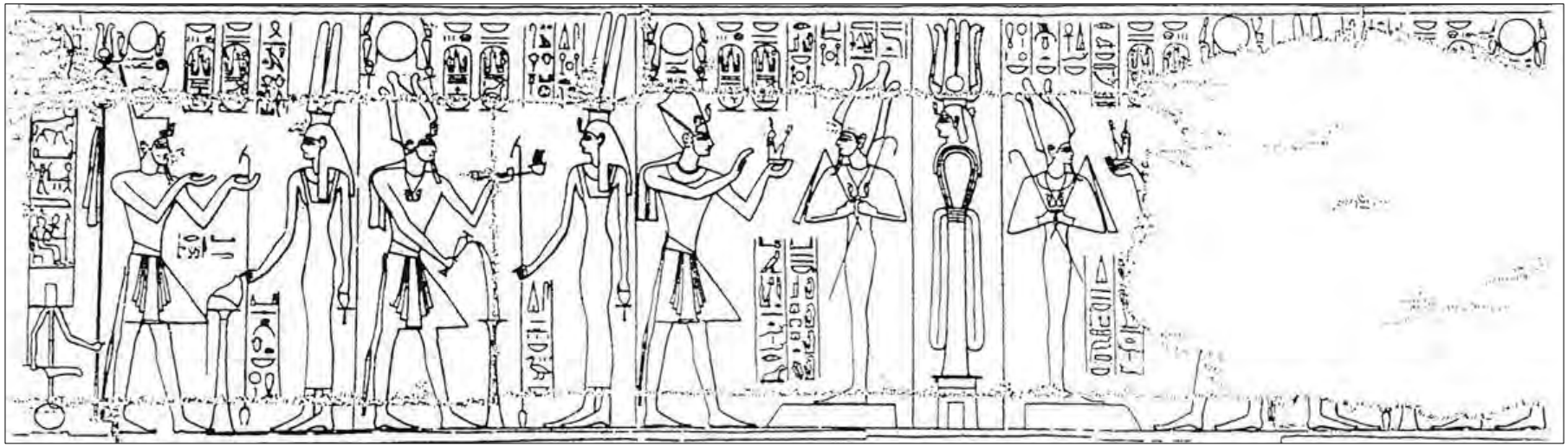


Plate 310. Central Hall Rear Wall detail King and the Goddesses.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

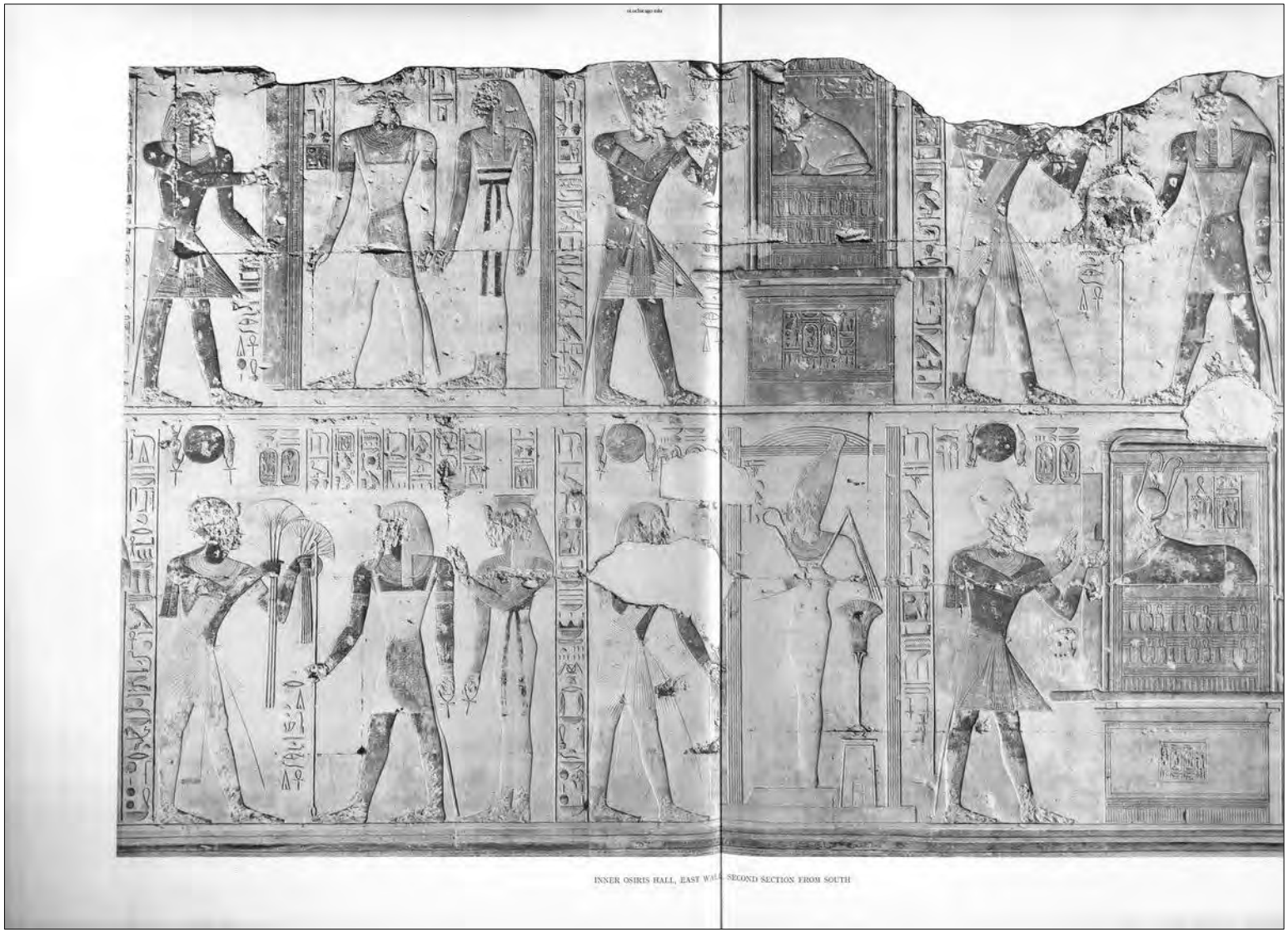


Plate 311. Osiris Complex Inner Osiris Hall Shentayet and Heqet with Min-Horus, Son of Isis, in between. (Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 14) https://oi.uchicago.edu

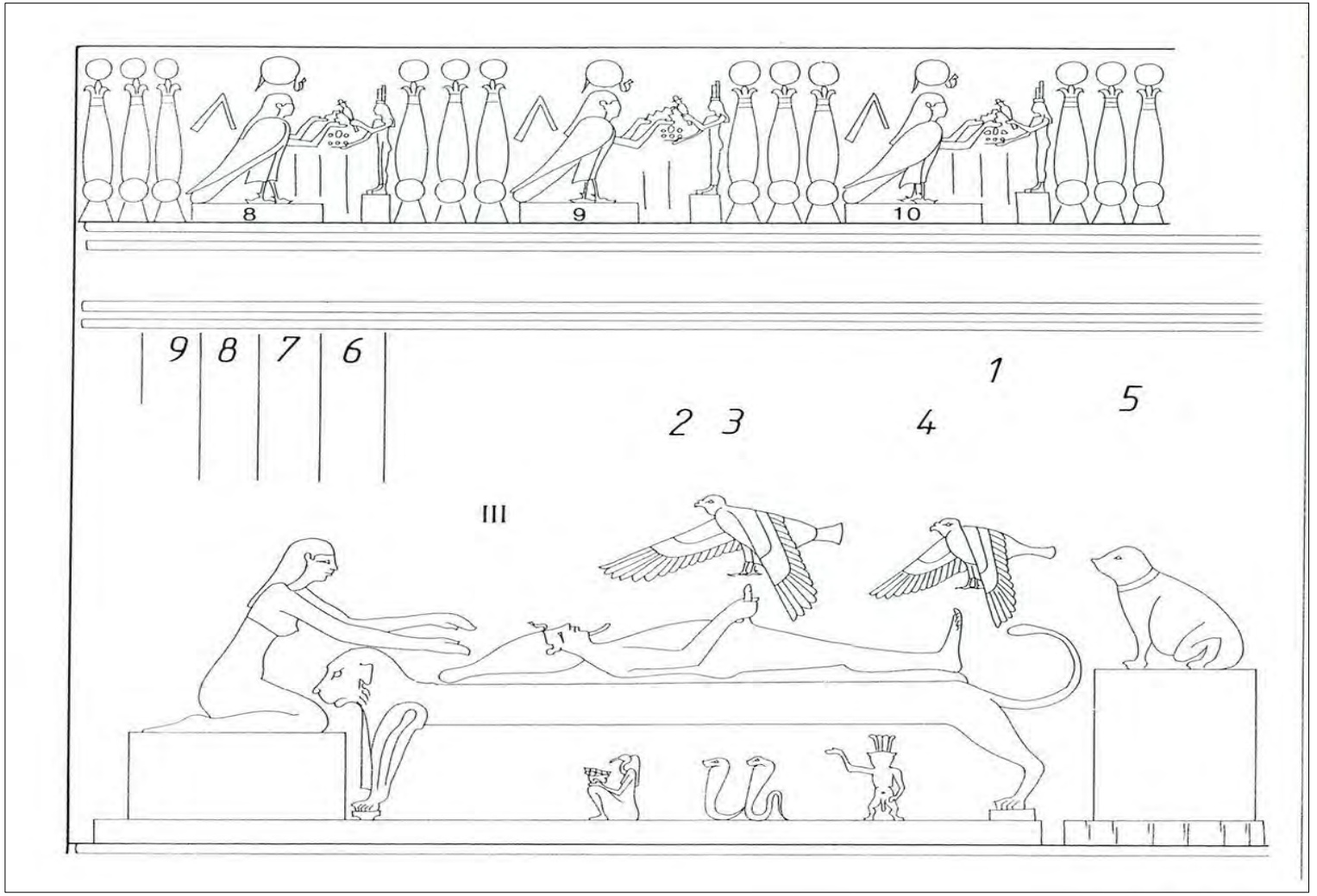


Plate 312. Osiris Conception of Horus in the presence of Heqet Temple of Dendera Third Western Osiris Chapel.
(Cauville 1997, plate 253)

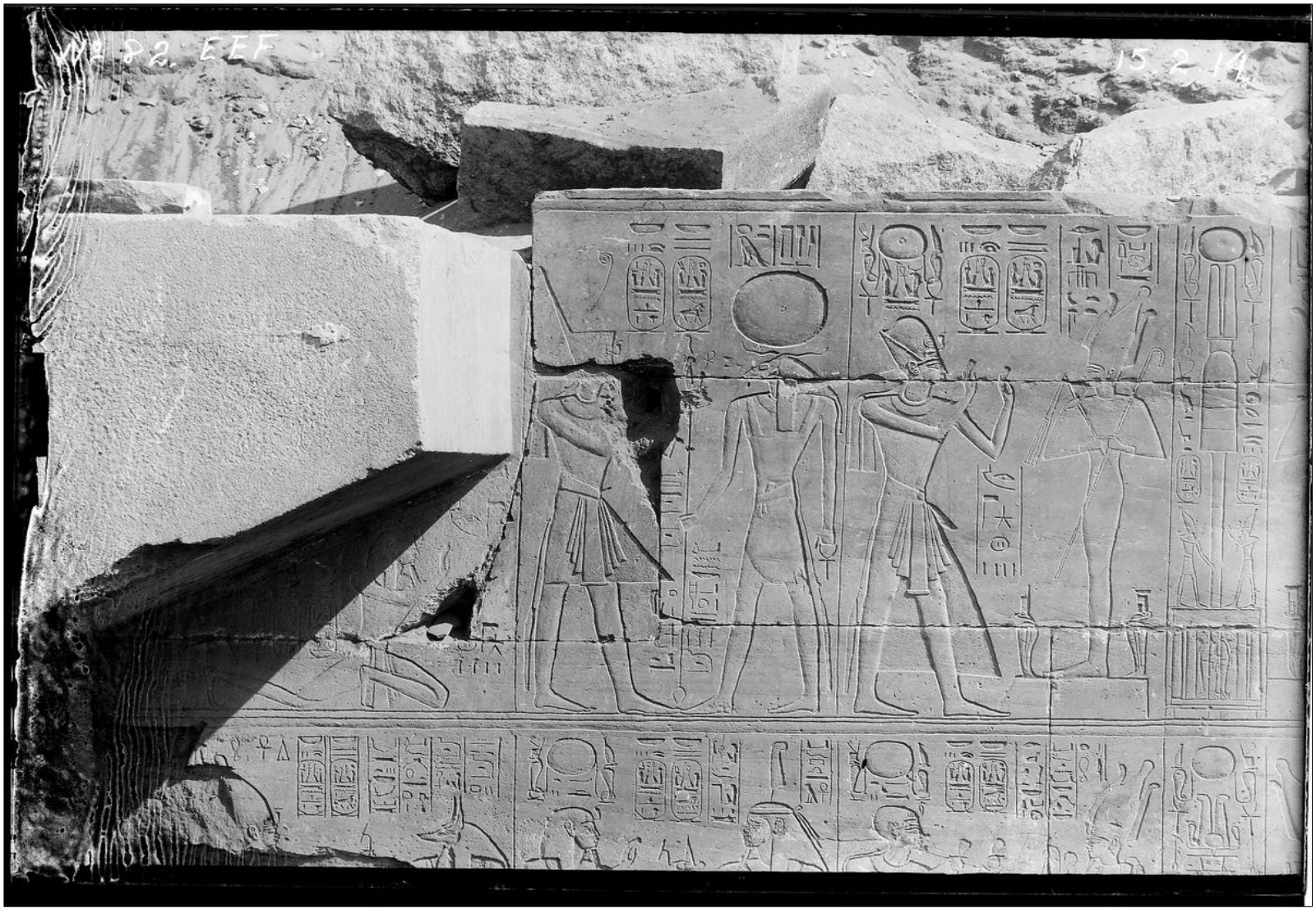


Plate 313. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Ram-headed Re-Horakhti.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0082)

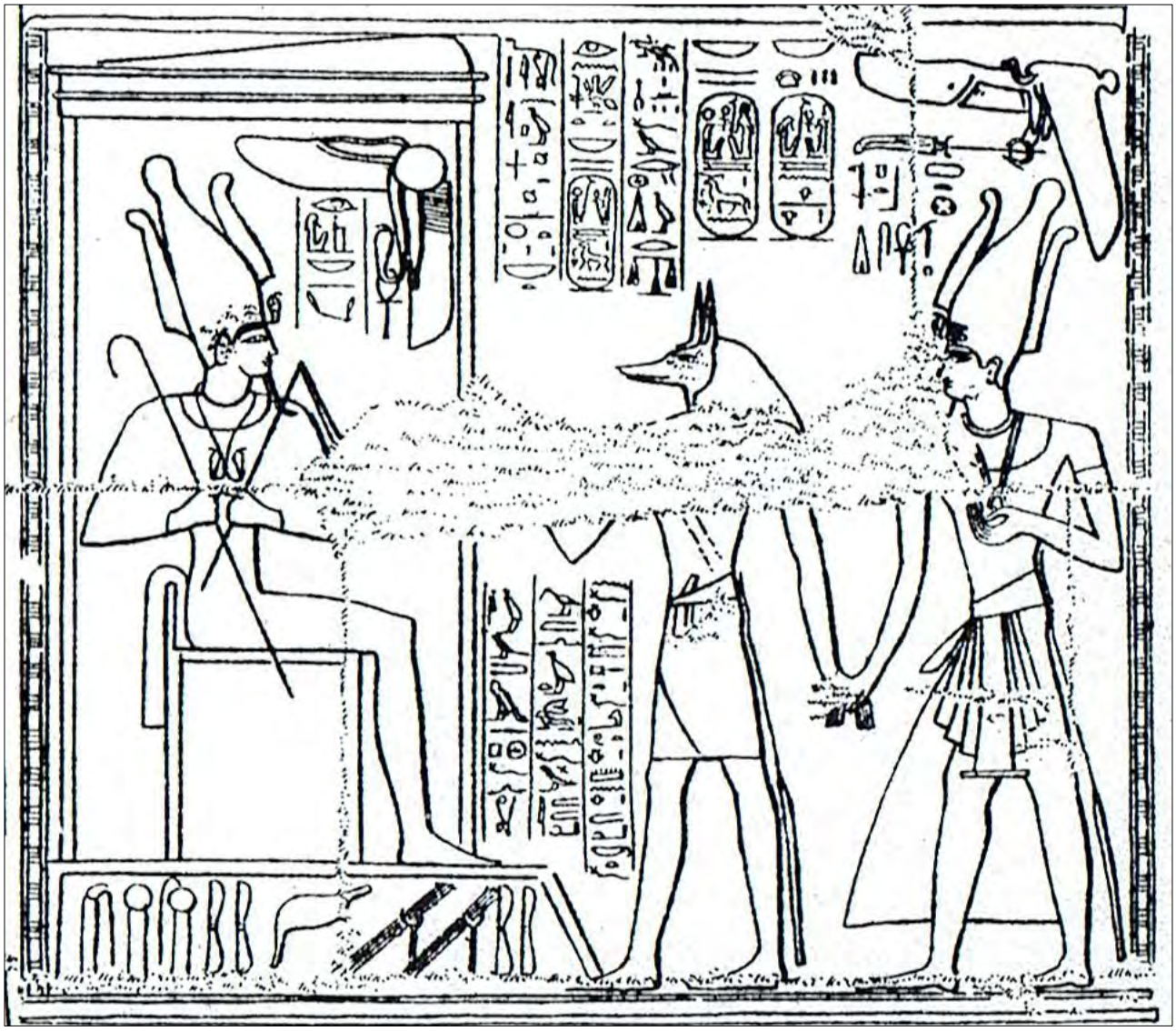


Plate 314. Central Halll Rear Wall detail Anubis Leading the King before Osiris.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 315. Central Hall Rear Wall detail Abydene Emblem.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_13_0079)

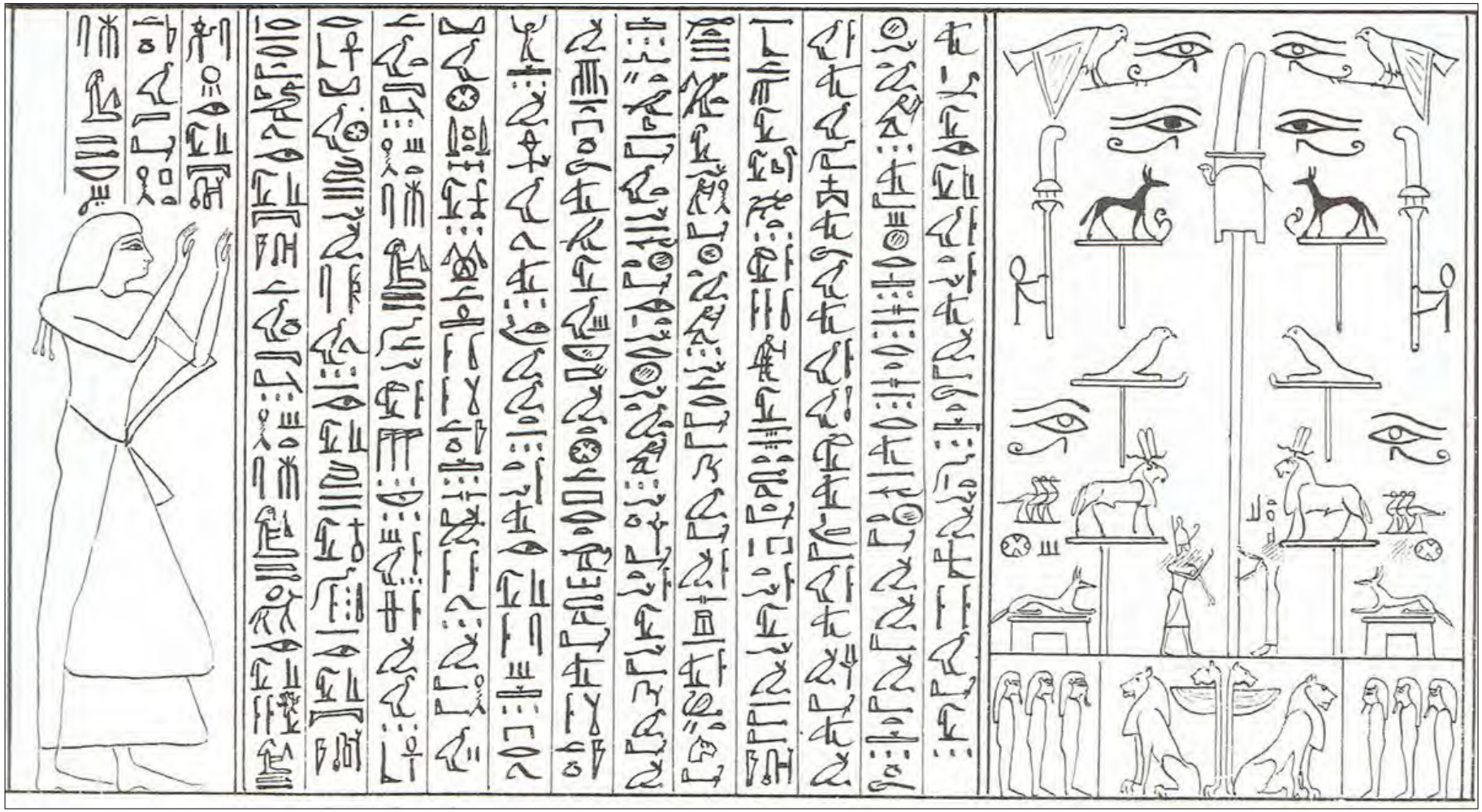


Plate 316. Abydene Emblem Vignette BD 138.
(Naville 1886, plate 152)

Plate 317. Central Hall Architraves Vignette BD 148.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 71) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 318. Central Hall Architraves Litany of Re.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 72) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Plate 319. Central Hall Architraves Litany of Re.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6760307833/in/album-72157624260294383/

Plate 320. Central Hall Architraves Litany of Re detail Tatenen.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0041)

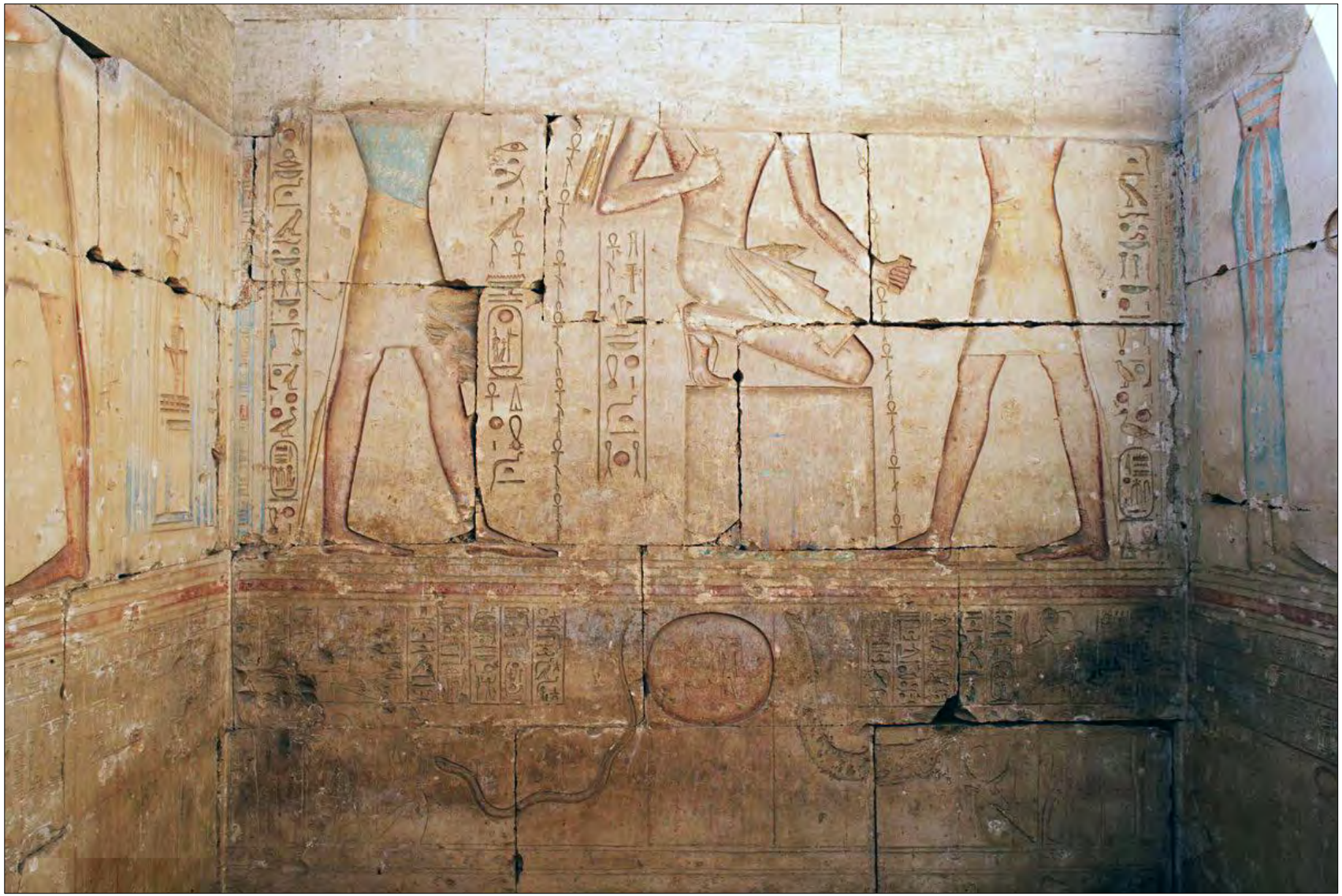


Plate 321. Litany of Re Opening Scene Temple of Ramesses II Room G.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sameh Iskander)

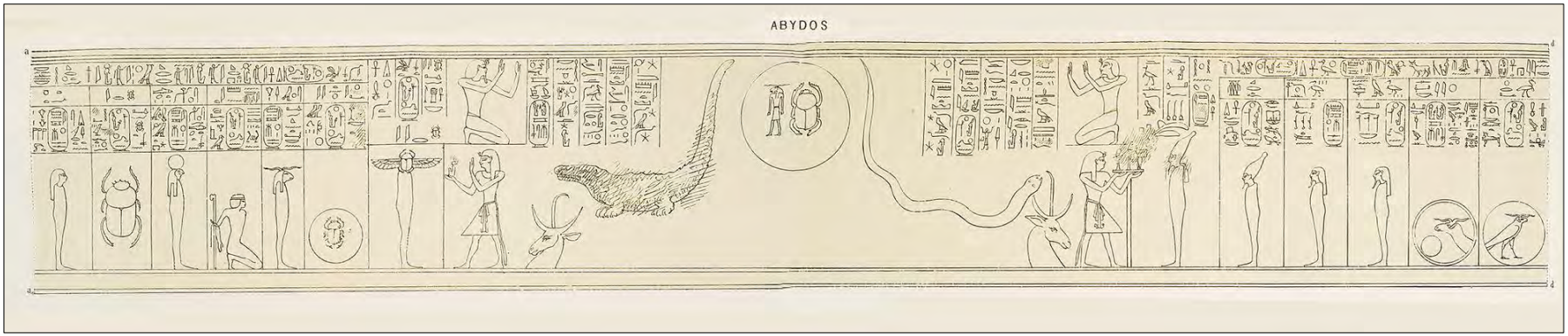


Plate 322. Litany of Re Opening Sequence Temple of Ramesses II Room G.
(after Marriette 1880, plates 14, 16) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK
HEIDELBERG
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880bd2/0071
© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
gefördert durch die
DFG

Plate 323. Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G.
(Mariette 1880, plate 14) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK
HEIDELBERG
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880bd2/0072
© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
gefördert durch die
DFG

Plate 324 Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G
(Mariette 1880, plate 15) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

Plate 325. Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G.
(Mariette 1880, plate 16) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK
HEIDELBERG
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880bd2/0074
© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
gefördert durch die
DFG

Plate 326. Litany of Re Temple of Ramesses II Room G.
(Mariette 1880, plate 17) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1880

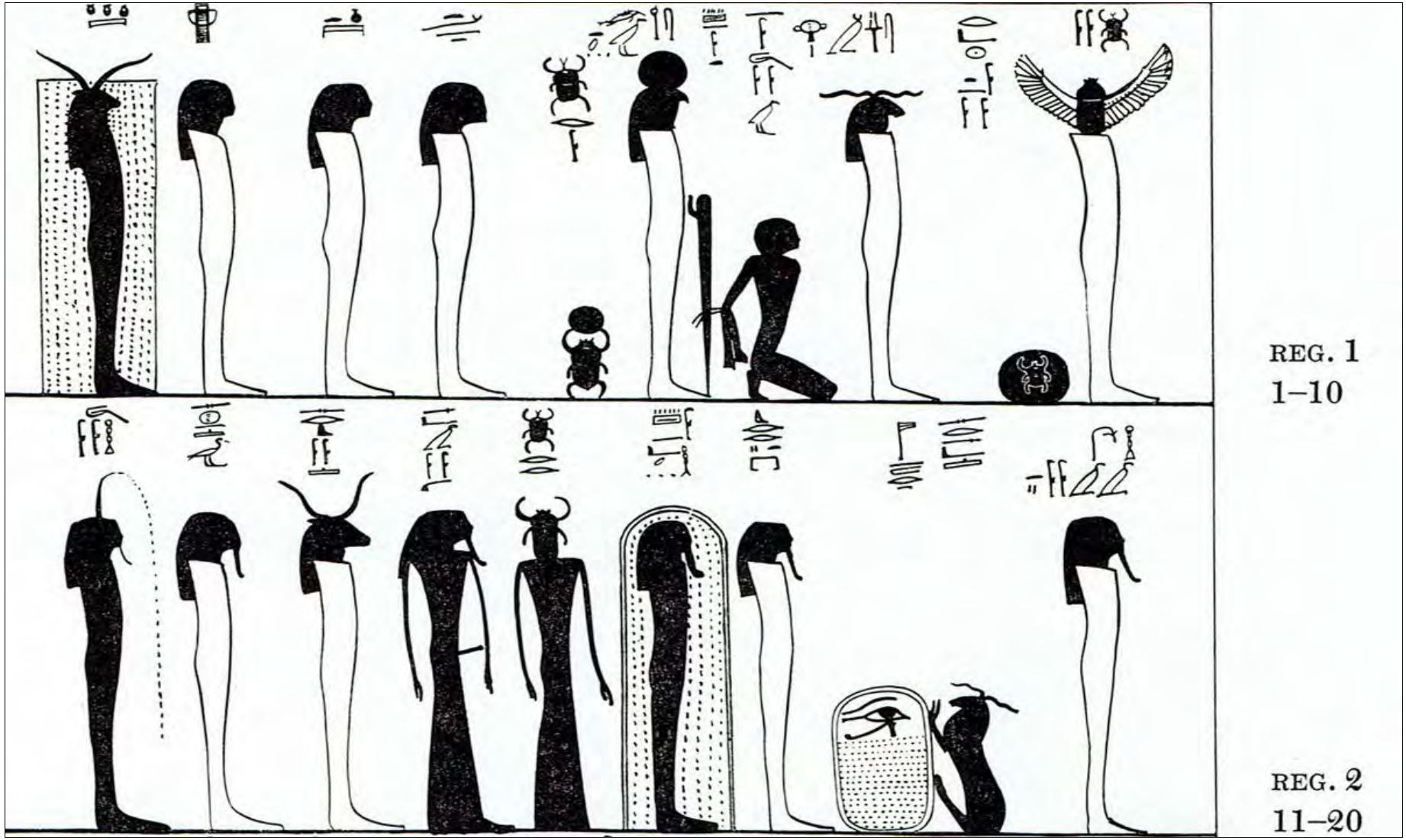


Plate 327. Litany of Re detail Udjat-eye.
(Piankoff 1964, plate 14)

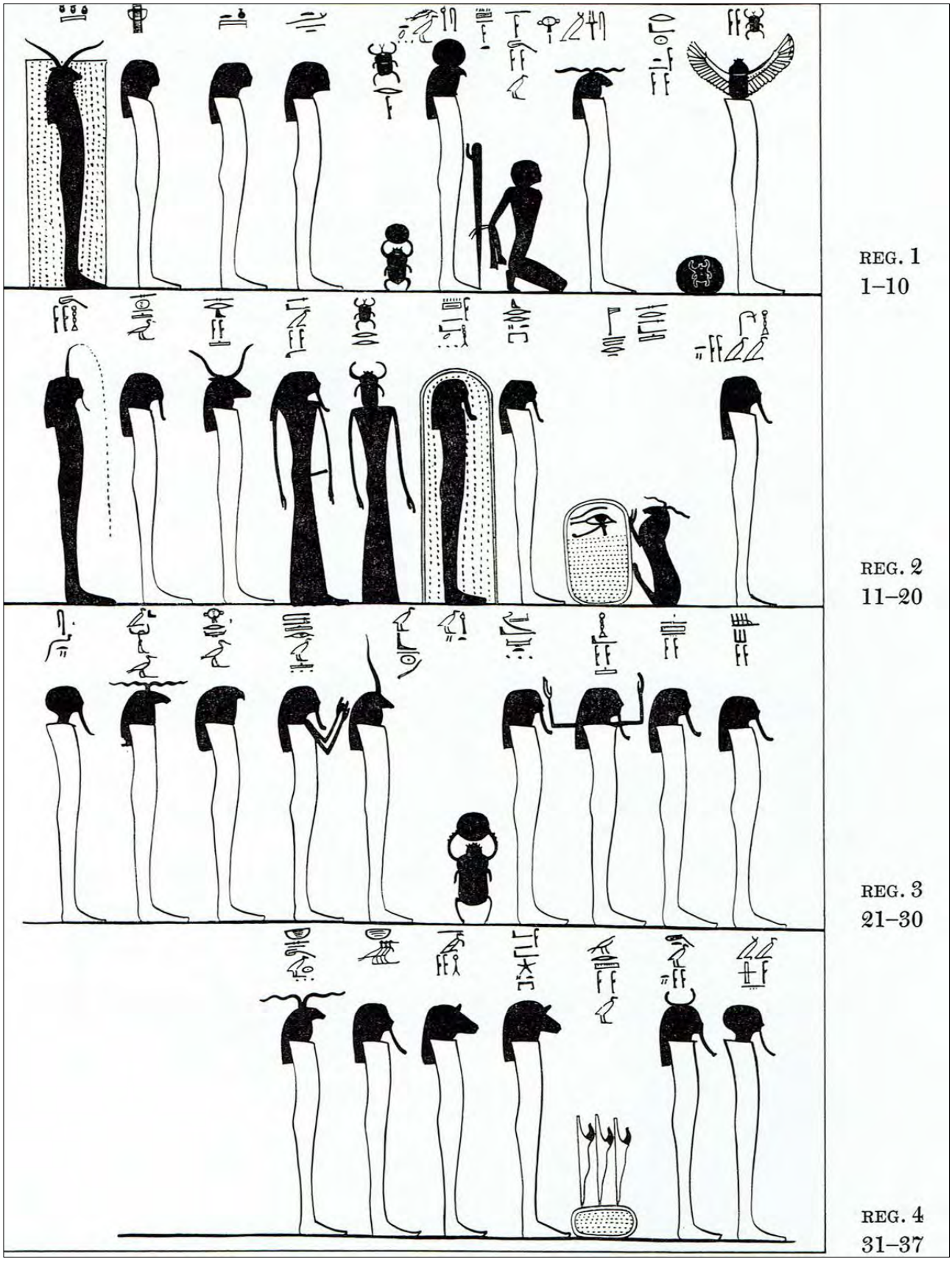


Plate 328. Litany of Re First Half.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15622, F. Dzikowski 5/2000)

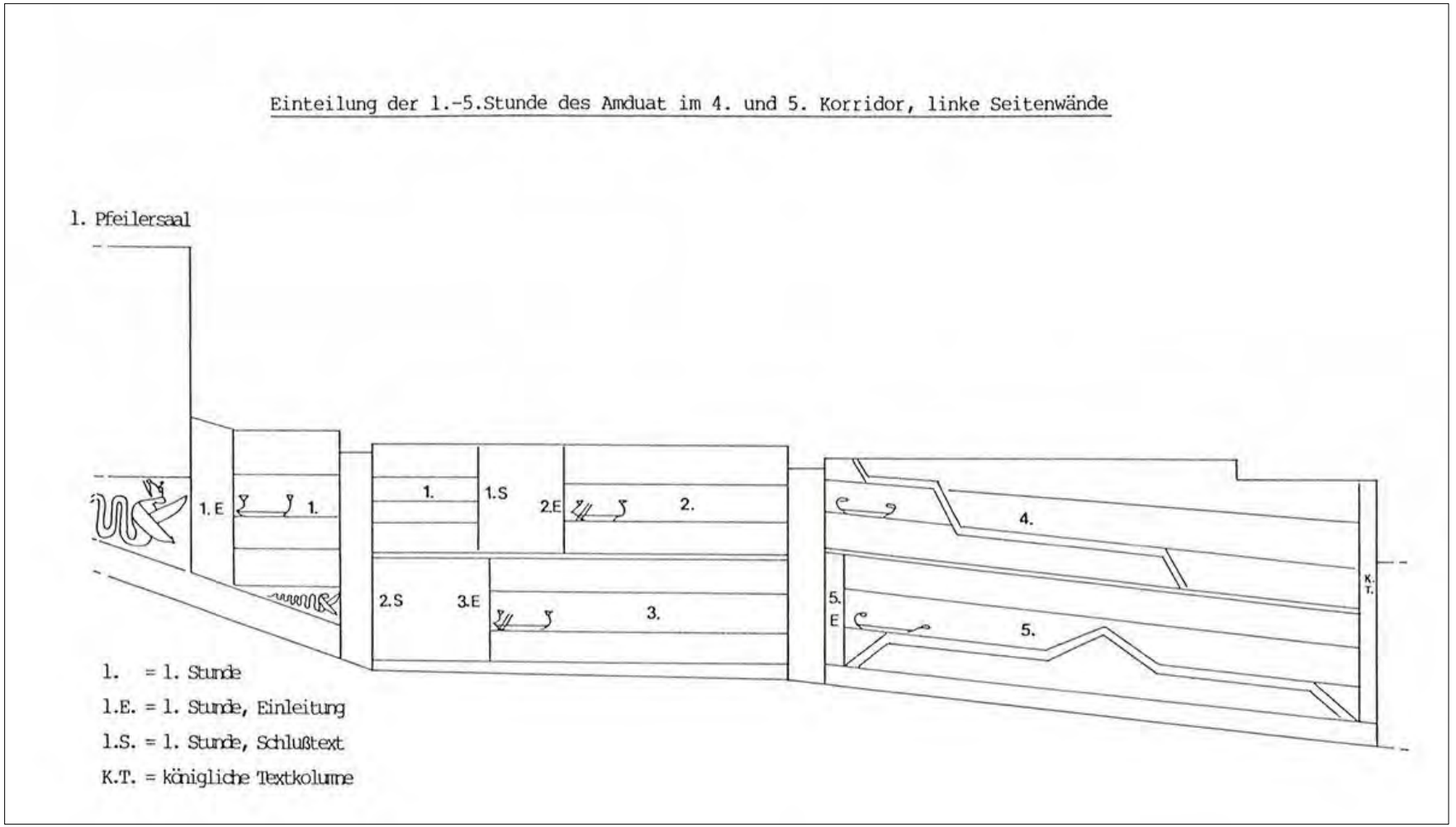


Plate 329. Amduat Hours 1-5 Arrangement in Corridors F and G Tomb of Ramesses VI.
(Abitz 1989, 104)

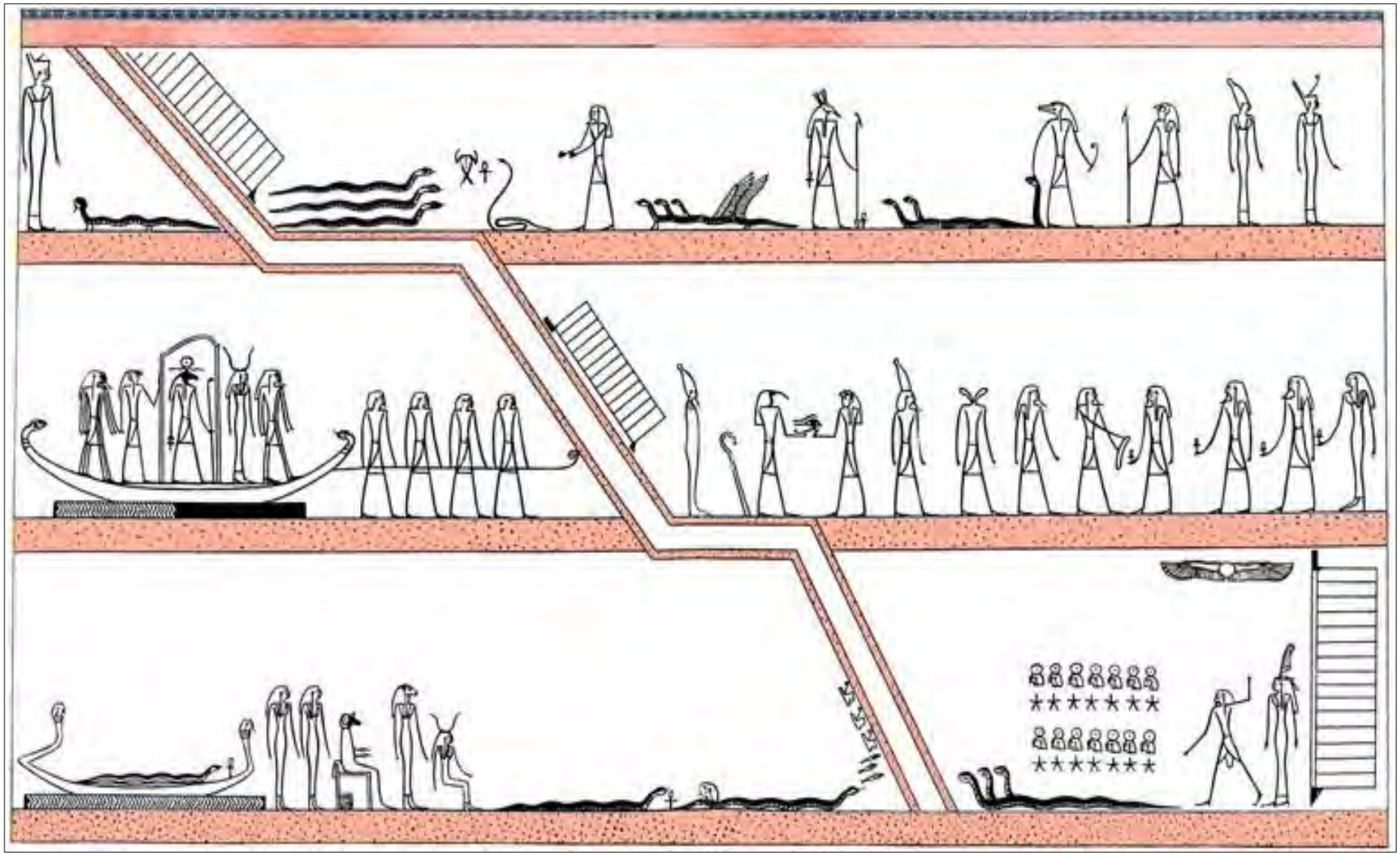


Plate 330. Amduat Fourth Hour.
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

Plate 331. Amduat Fourth Hour detail Udjat-eye middle register.
(Hornung & Abt 2007, 126)

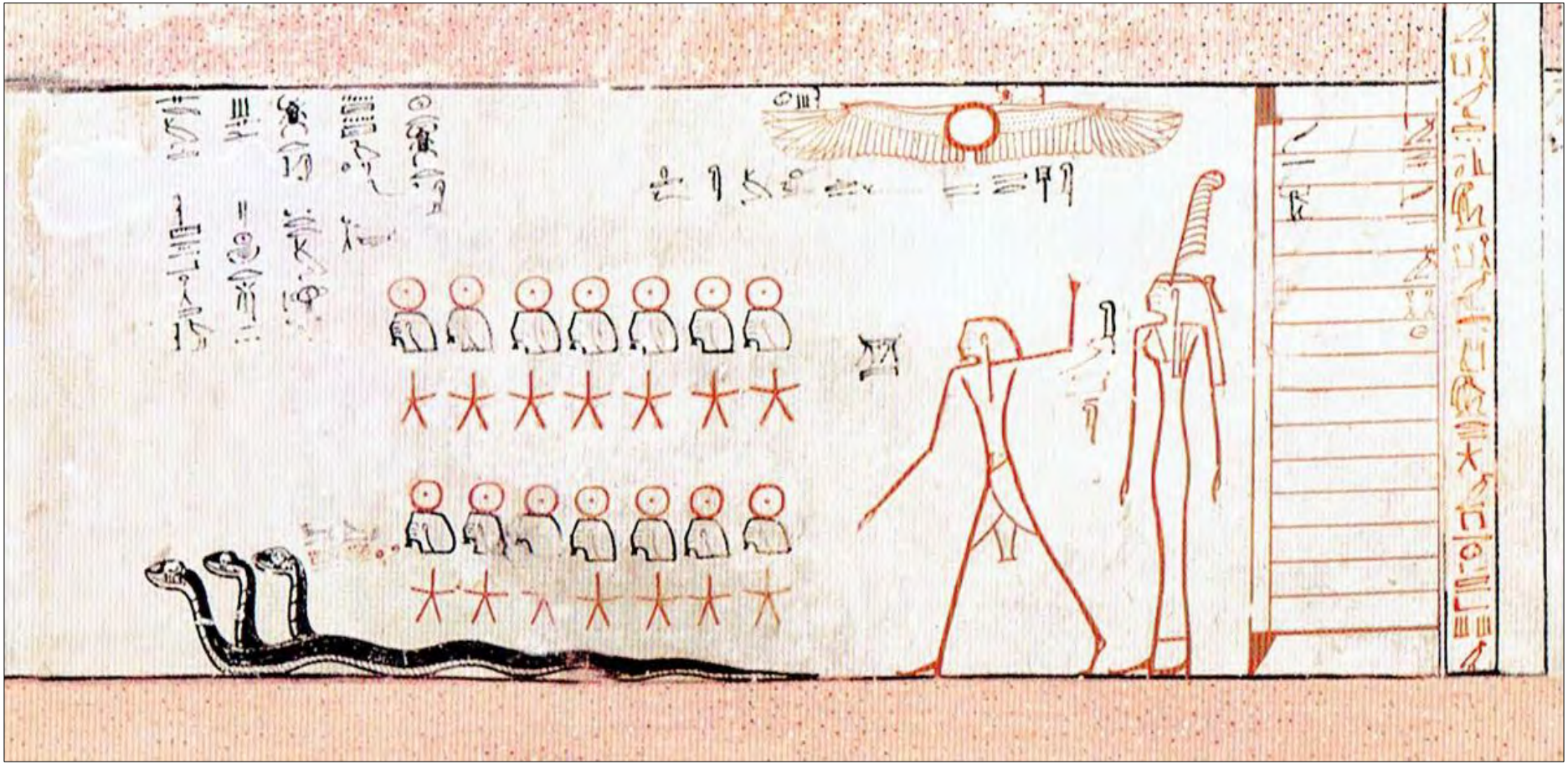


Plate 332. Amduat Fourth Hour detail bottom register.
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 55)

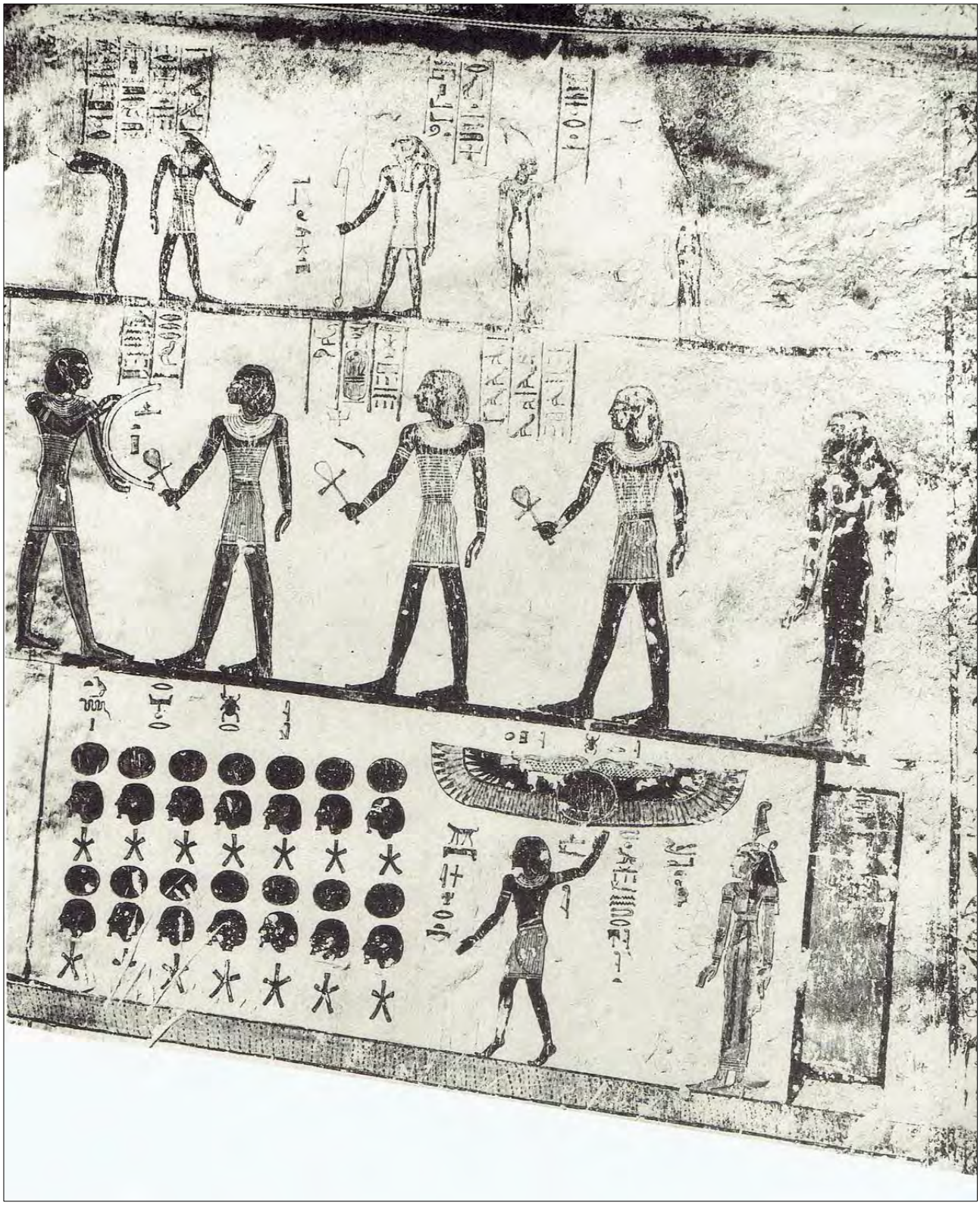


Plate 333. Amduat Fourth Hour detail end of register KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 83)

Plate 334. Amduat detail Chamber between Fourth and Fifth Hours KV 35 Amenhotep II. (Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 12166, F. Dzikowski 1996)

Plate 335. Amduat Fourth Hour at the Entrance of Sarcophagus Chamber KV 34 Thutmose III.
(Photo www.factum-arte.com)

Plate 336. Amduat Fifth and Sixth Hours with Related Chambers KV 34 Thutmose III.
(Richter 2008, Fig. 9) www.academia.edu/4749187/

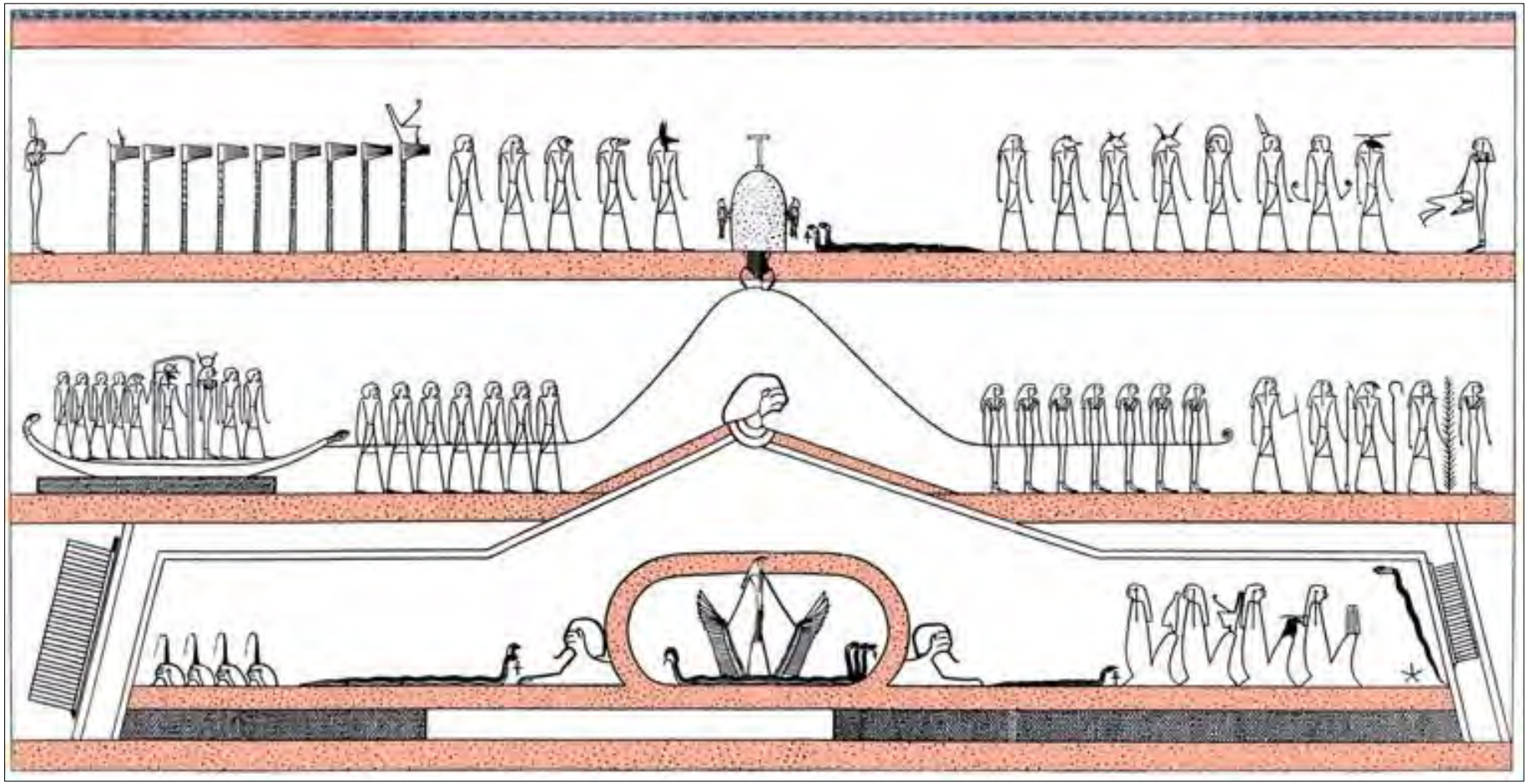


Plate 337. Amduat Fifth Hour.
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

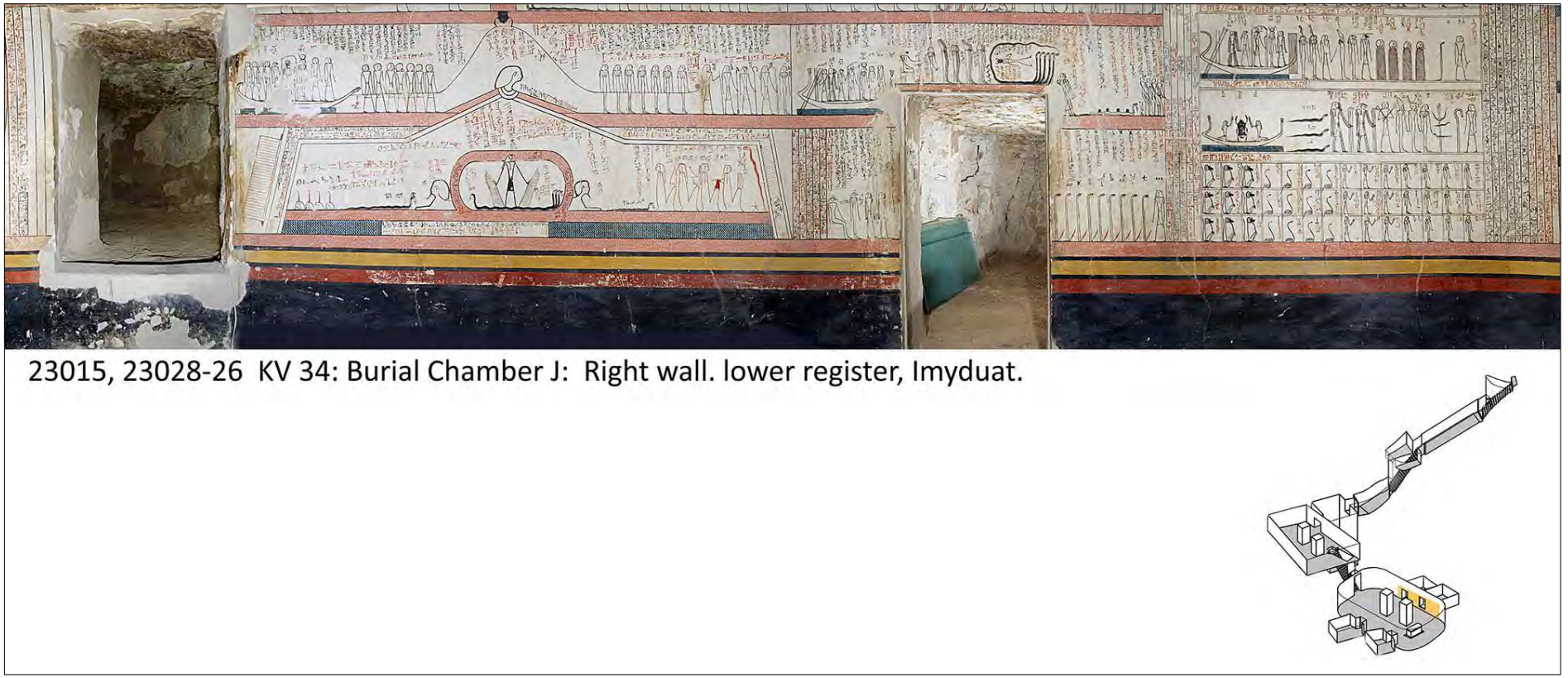


Plate 338. Amduat Fifth and Sixth Hours KV 34.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image #23015, 23028-26, F. Dzikowski, 2005)

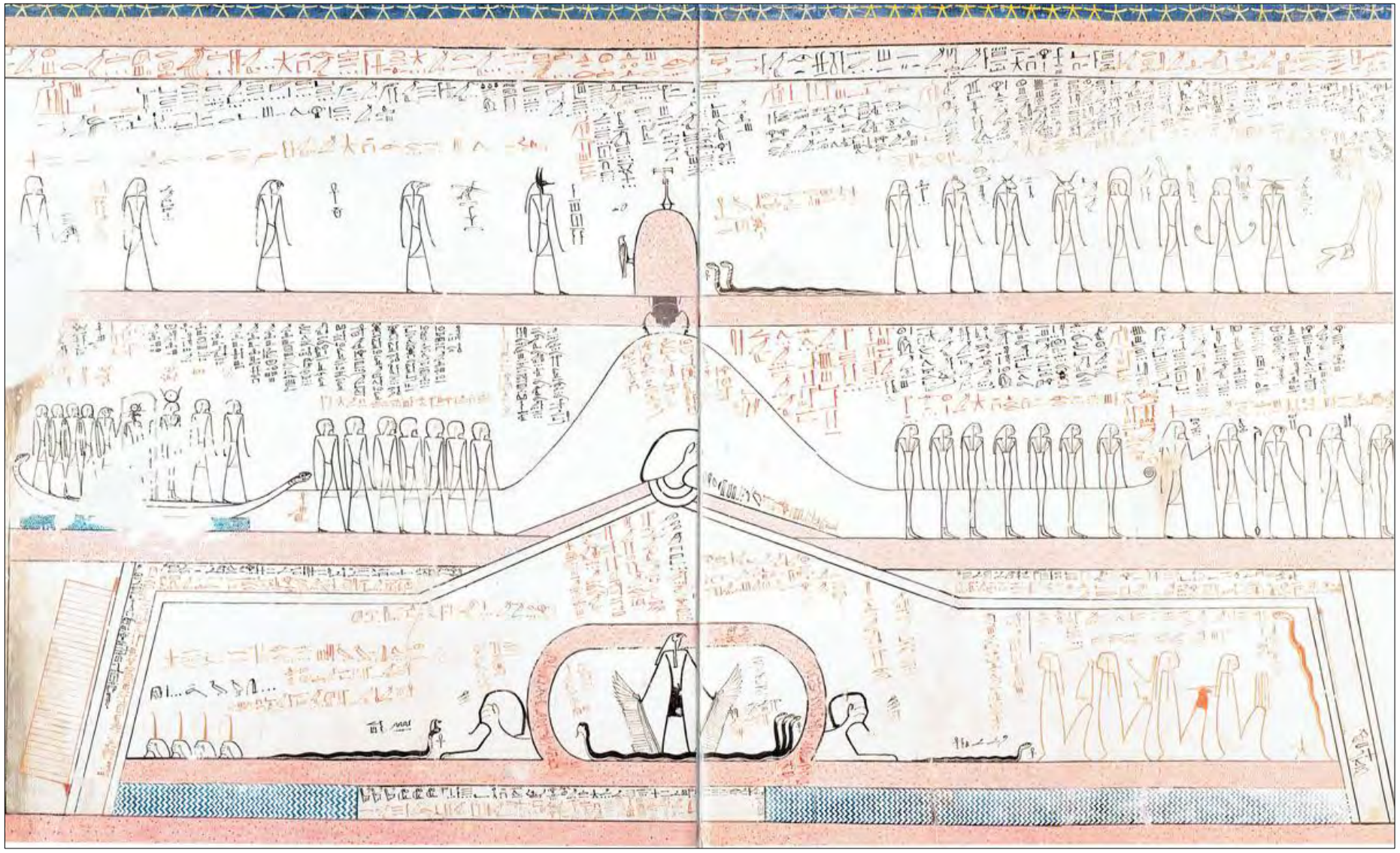


Plate 339. Amduat Fifth Hour.
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 64-65)

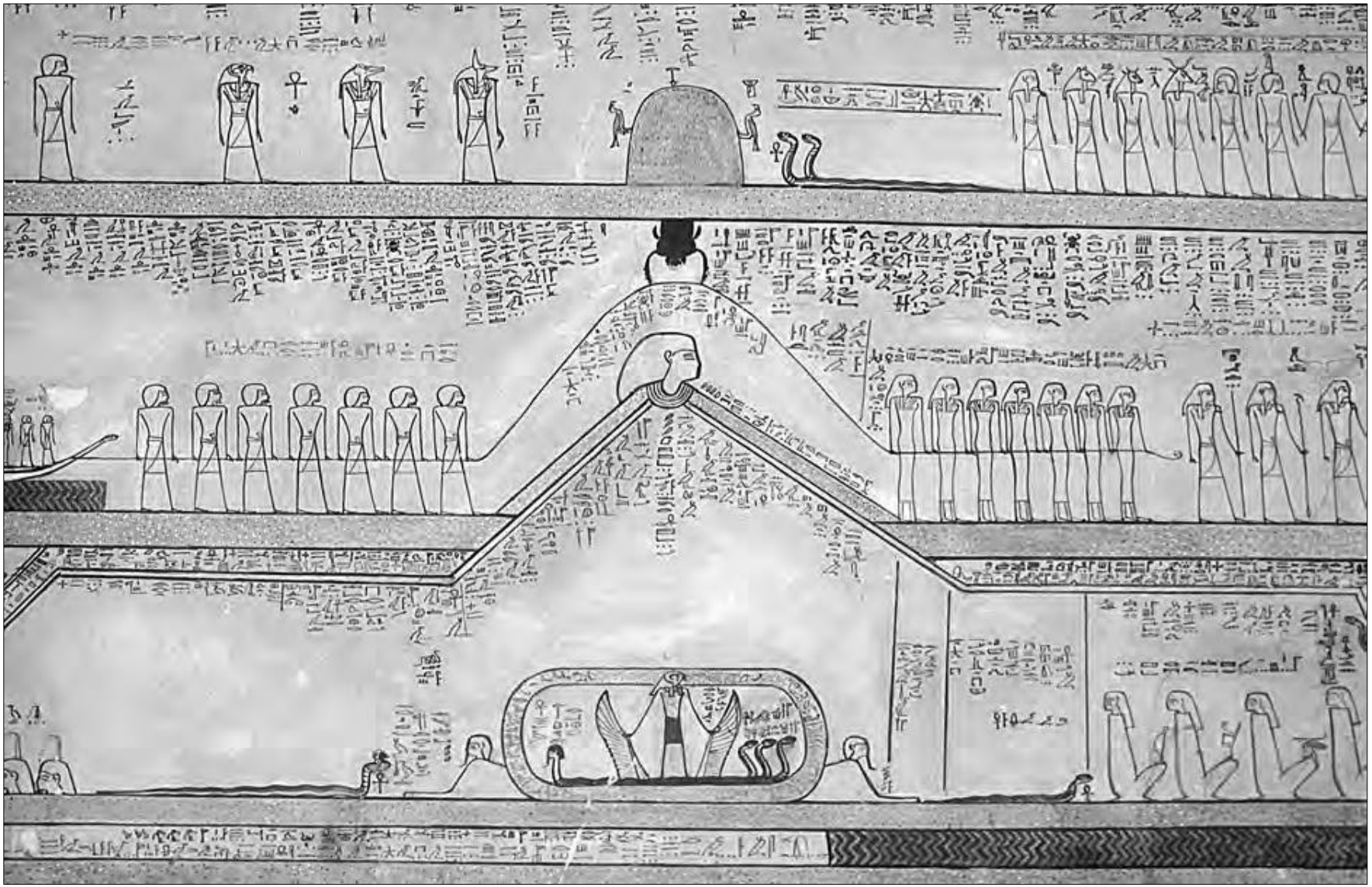


Plate 340. Amduat Fifth Hour KV 35 Amenhotep II.
(Richter 2008, Fig. 17) www.academia.edu/4749187/

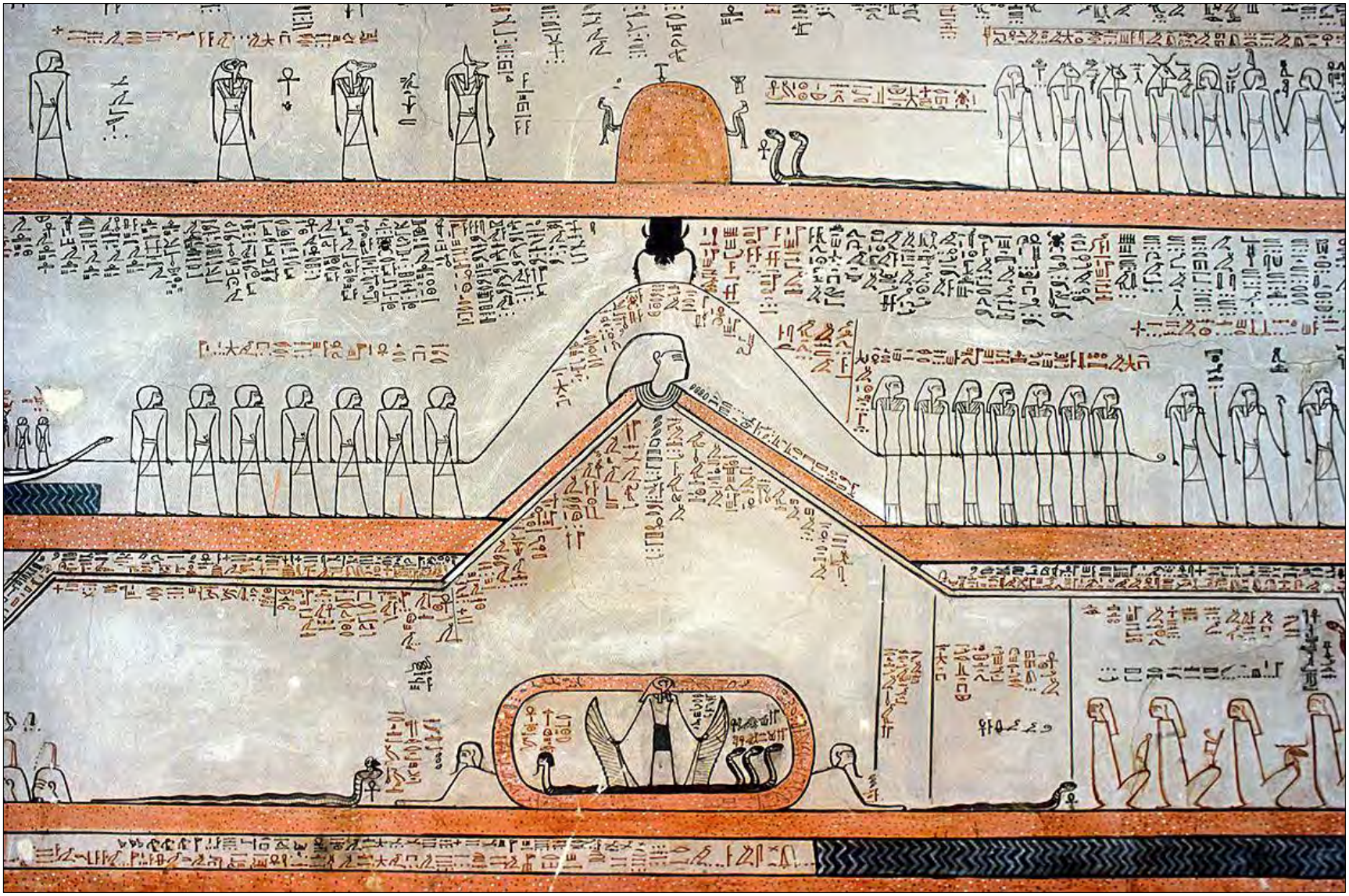


Plate 341. Amduat Fifth Hour Mound of Isis KV 35 Amenhotep II.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 14673, F. Dzikowski 4/1999)

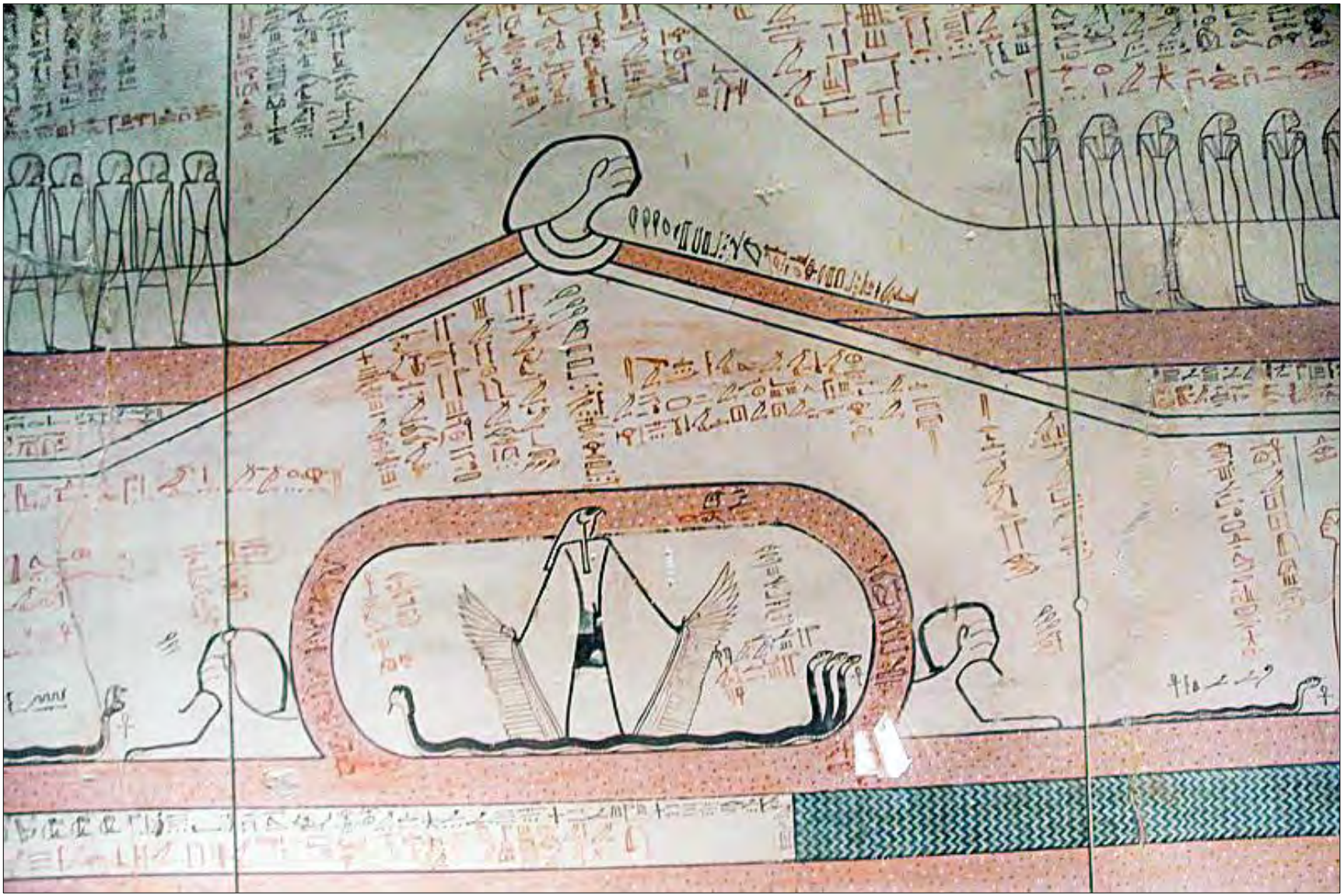


Plate 342. Amduat Fifth Hour detail Body of Isis with Egg of Sokar KV 34.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flickr__Gaspa__Valle_dei_Re,_tomba_di_Thutmosi_III_(7).jpg

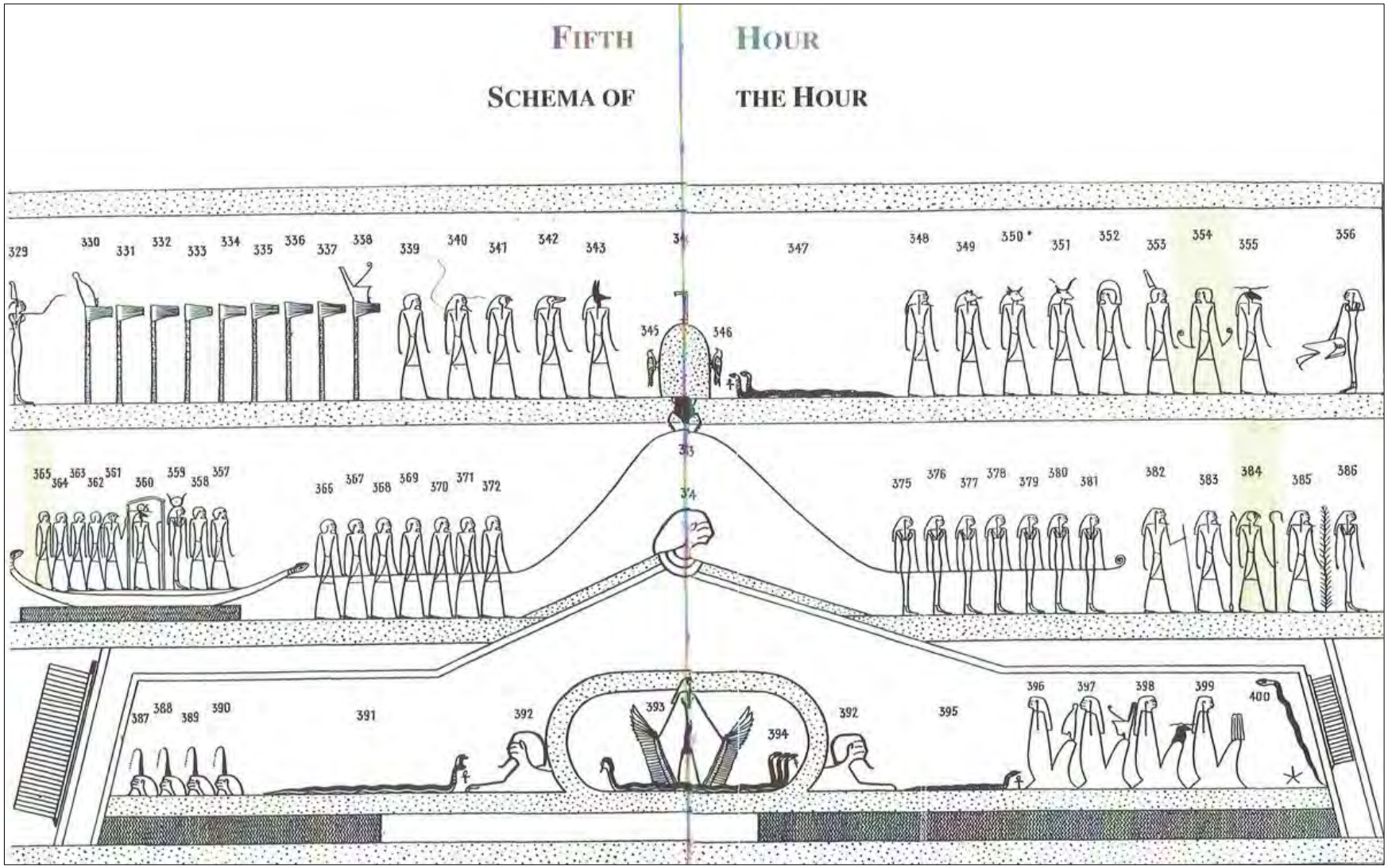


Plate 343. Amduat Fifth Hour Schema (Deities 354, 365, 384 highlighted).
(after Abt & Hornung 2003, 66-67)

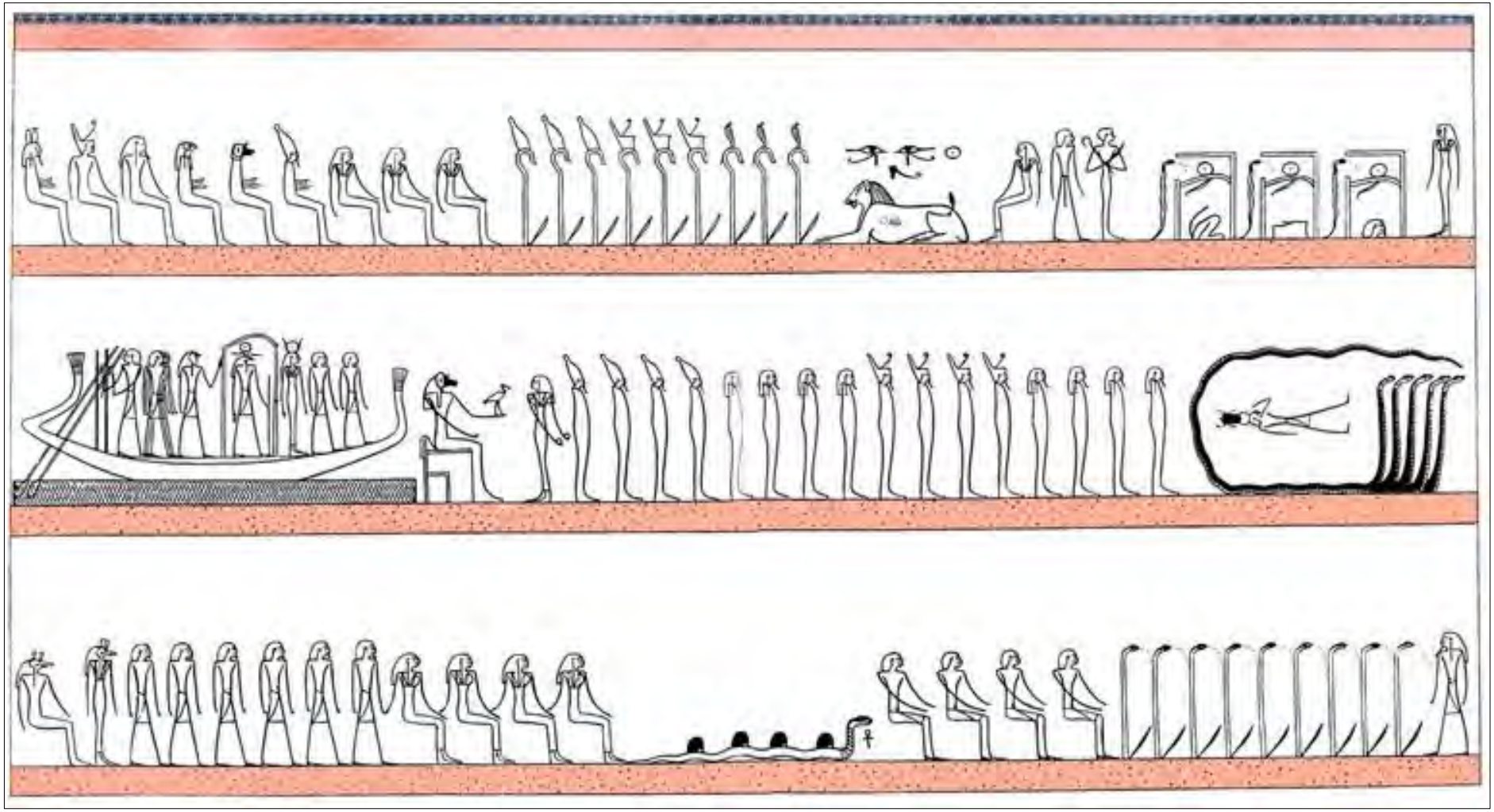


Plate 344. Amduat Sixth Hour.
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

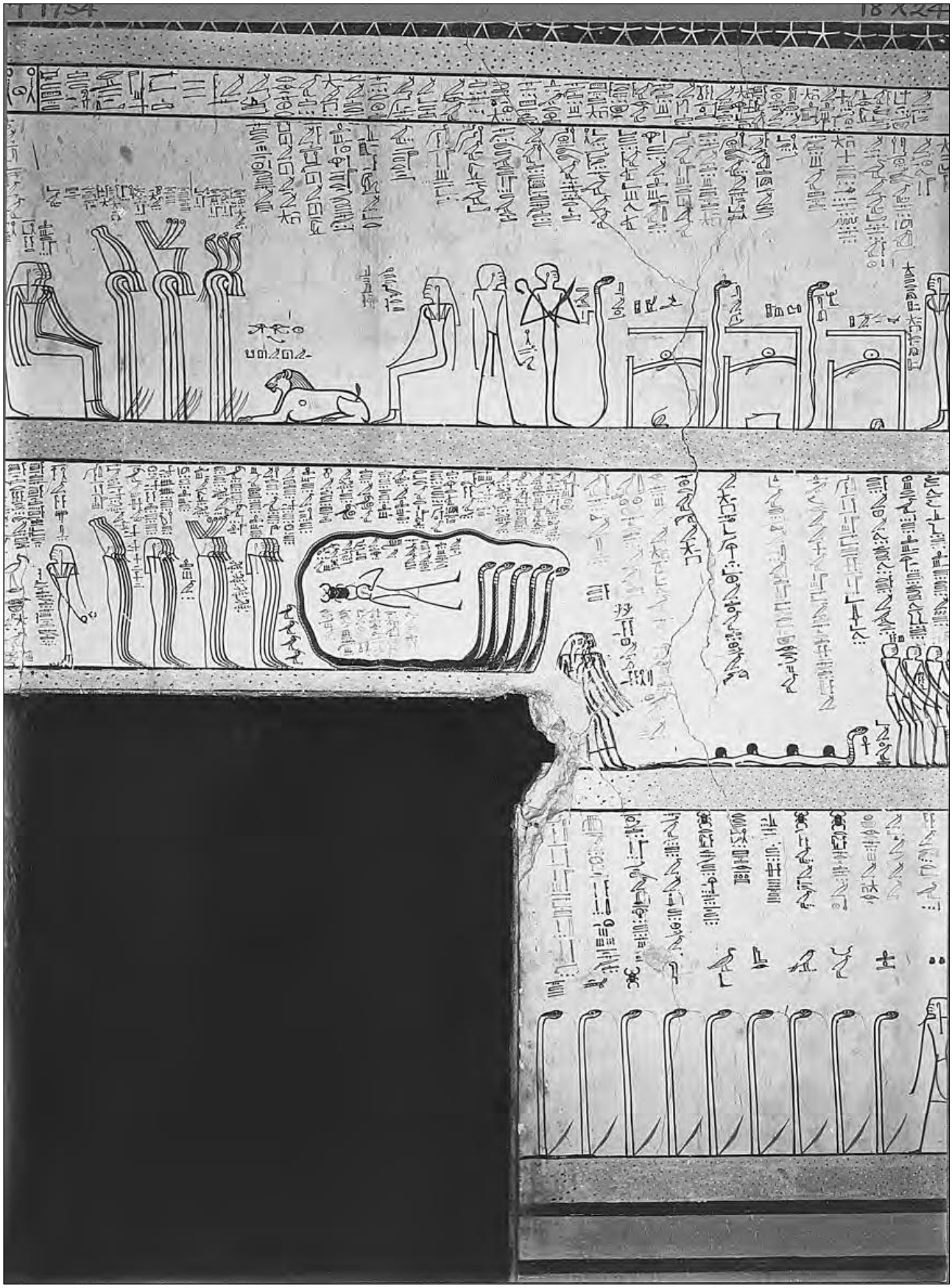


Plate 345. Amduat Sixth Hour detail Khepri Awakening above Chamber KV 34 Thutmose III. (Richter 2008, Fig. 8) www.academia.edu/4749187/

Plate 346. Amduat Sixth Hour detail Khepri Awakening.
(Photo https://egiptologia.org/?page_id=1021)

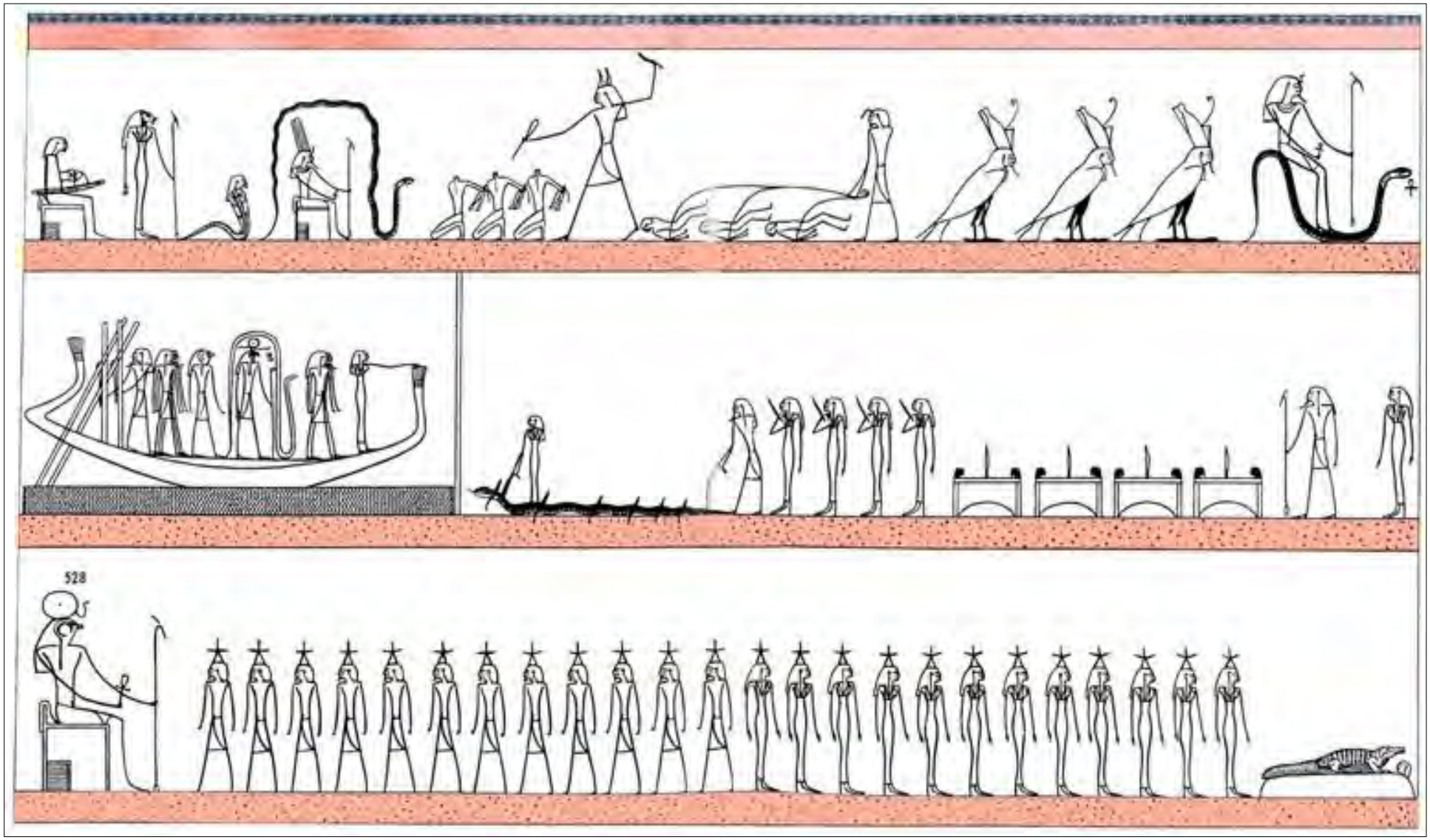


Plate 347. Amduat Seventh Hour.
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

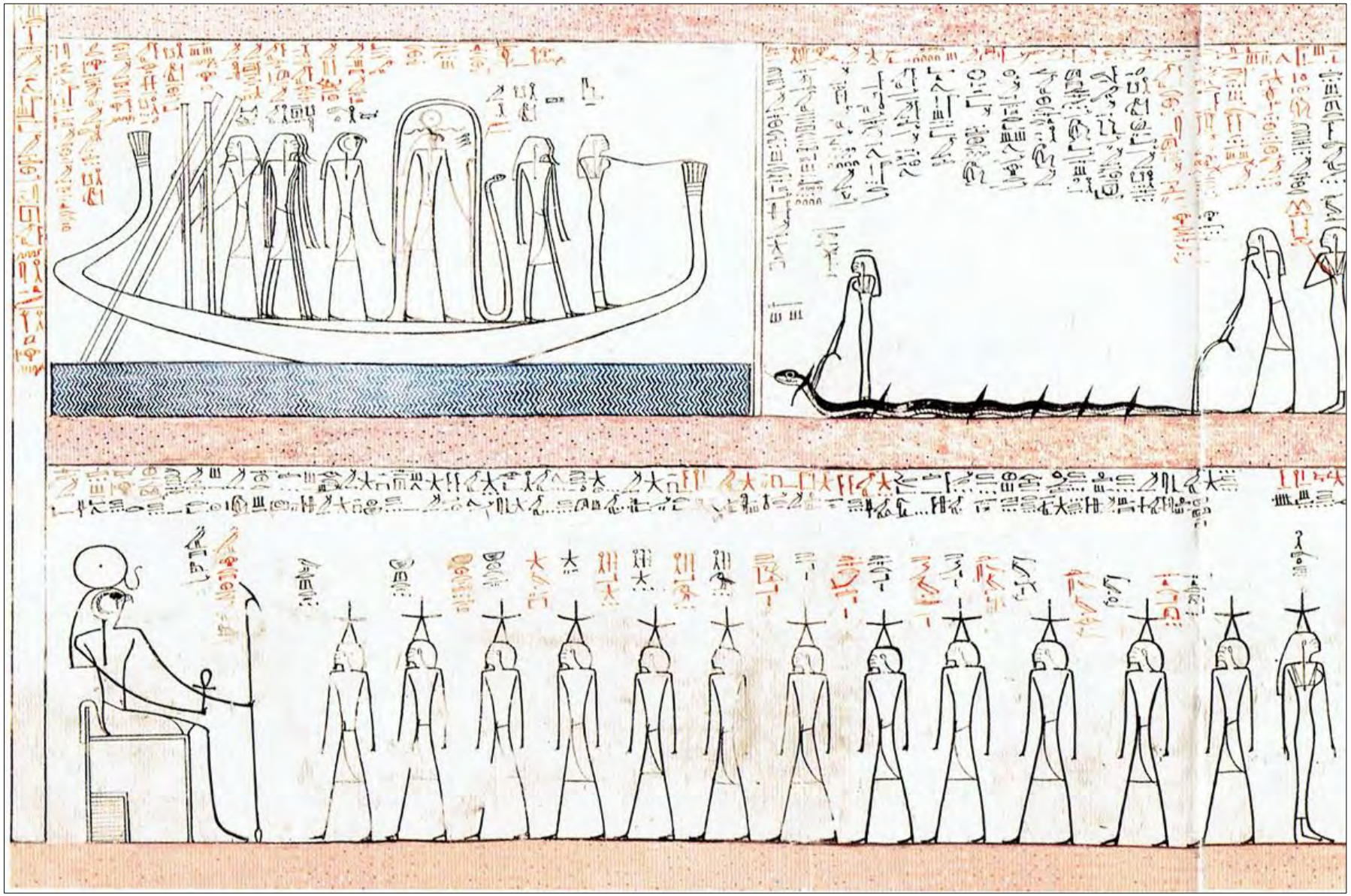


Plate 348. Amduat Seventh Hour detail Horus Who Sets the Stars Upright.
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 86)

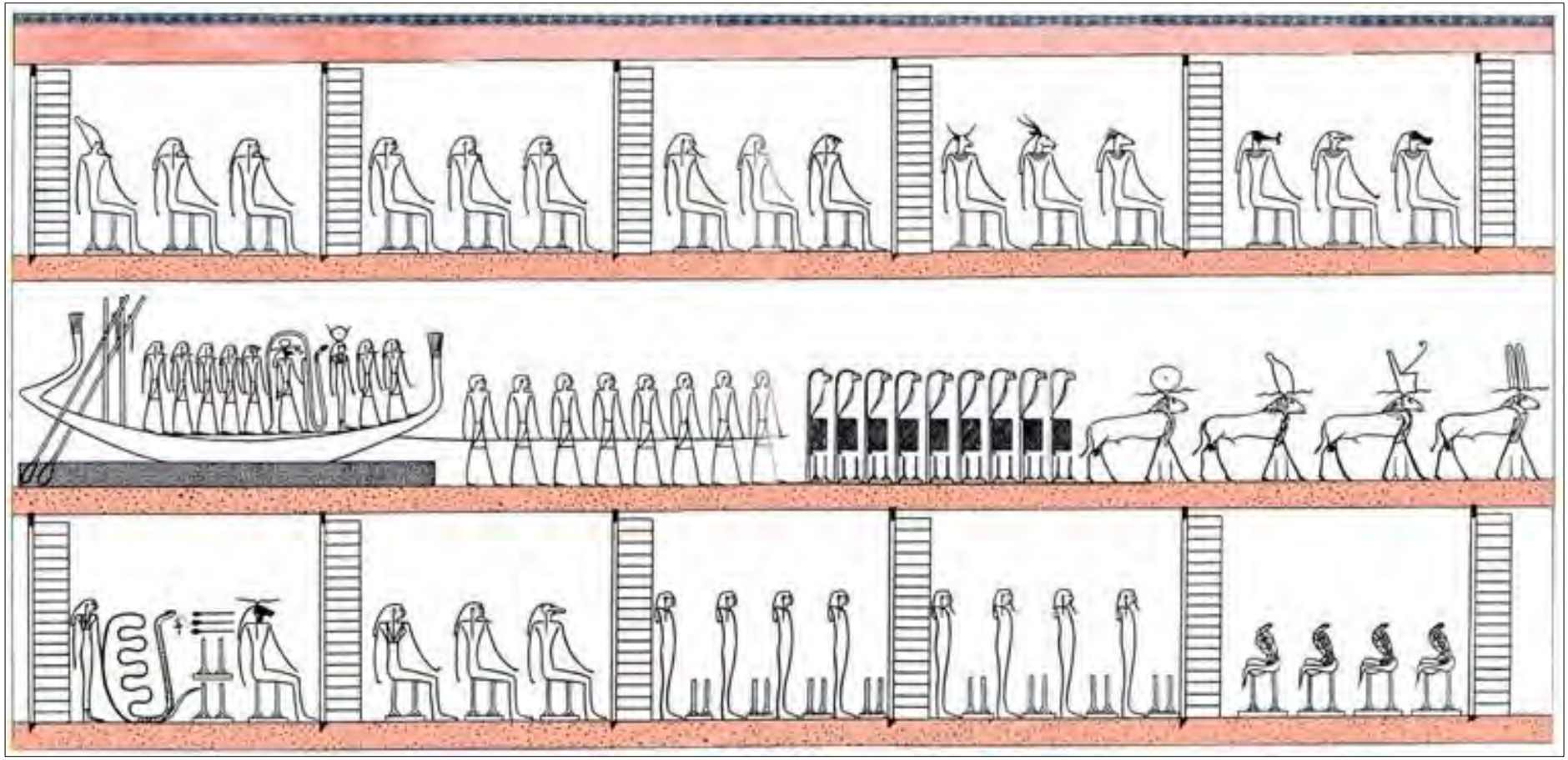


Plate 349. Amduat Eighth Hour.
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

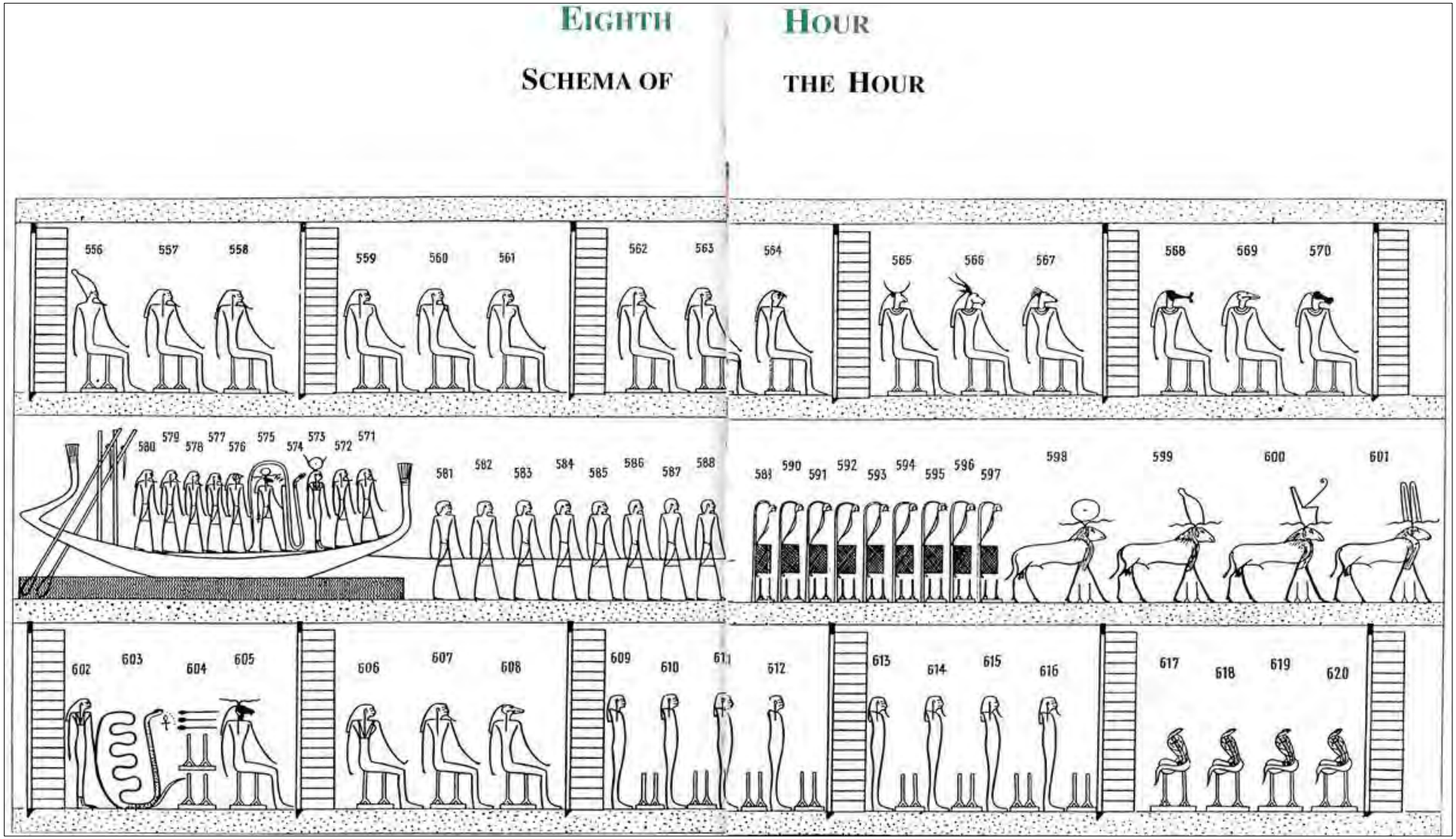


Plate 350. Amduat Eighth Hour Schema.
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 100-101)

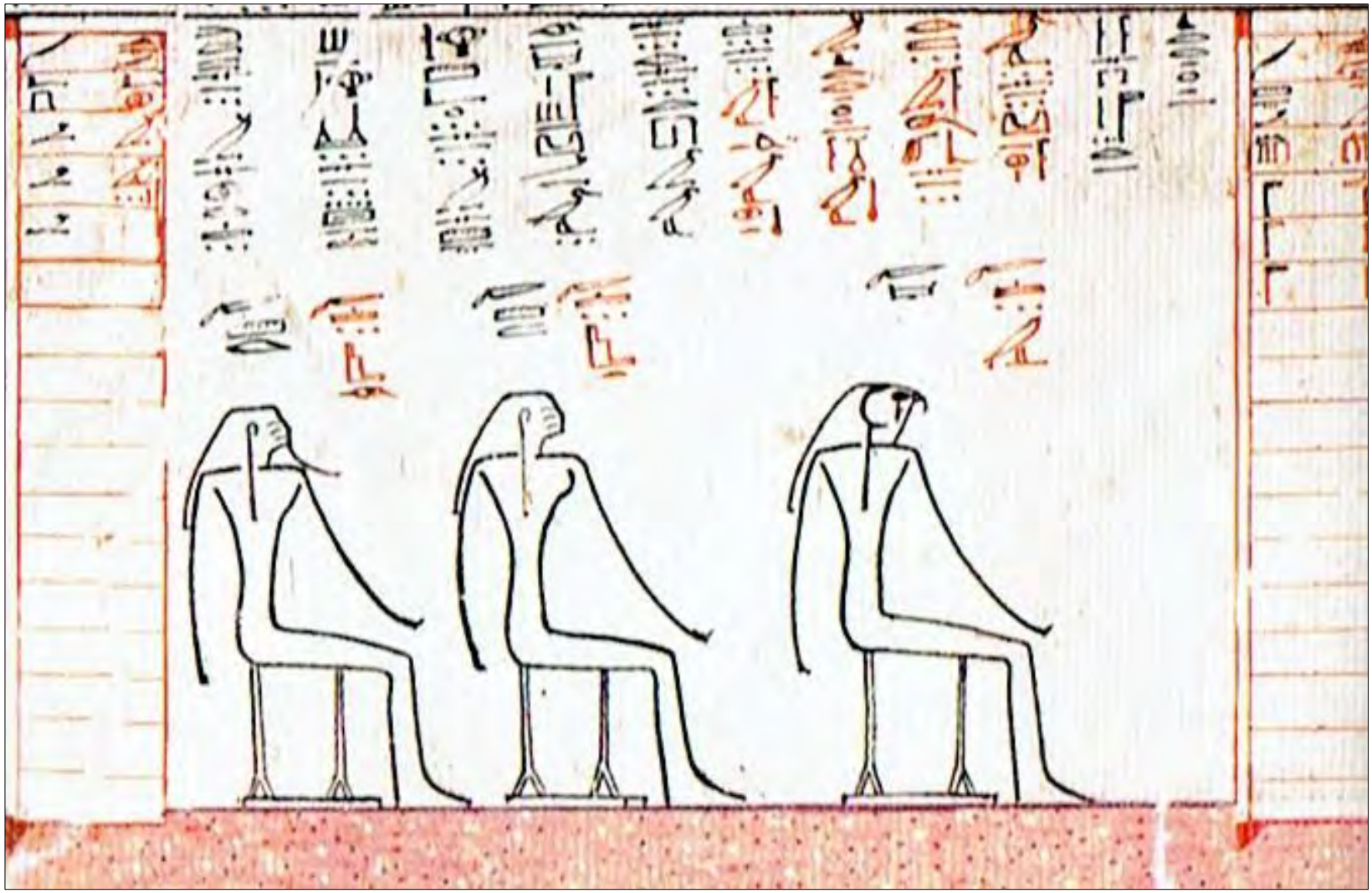


Plate 351. Amduat Eighth Hour detail top register Osiris, Isis, Horus in the Central Cavern.
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 98)

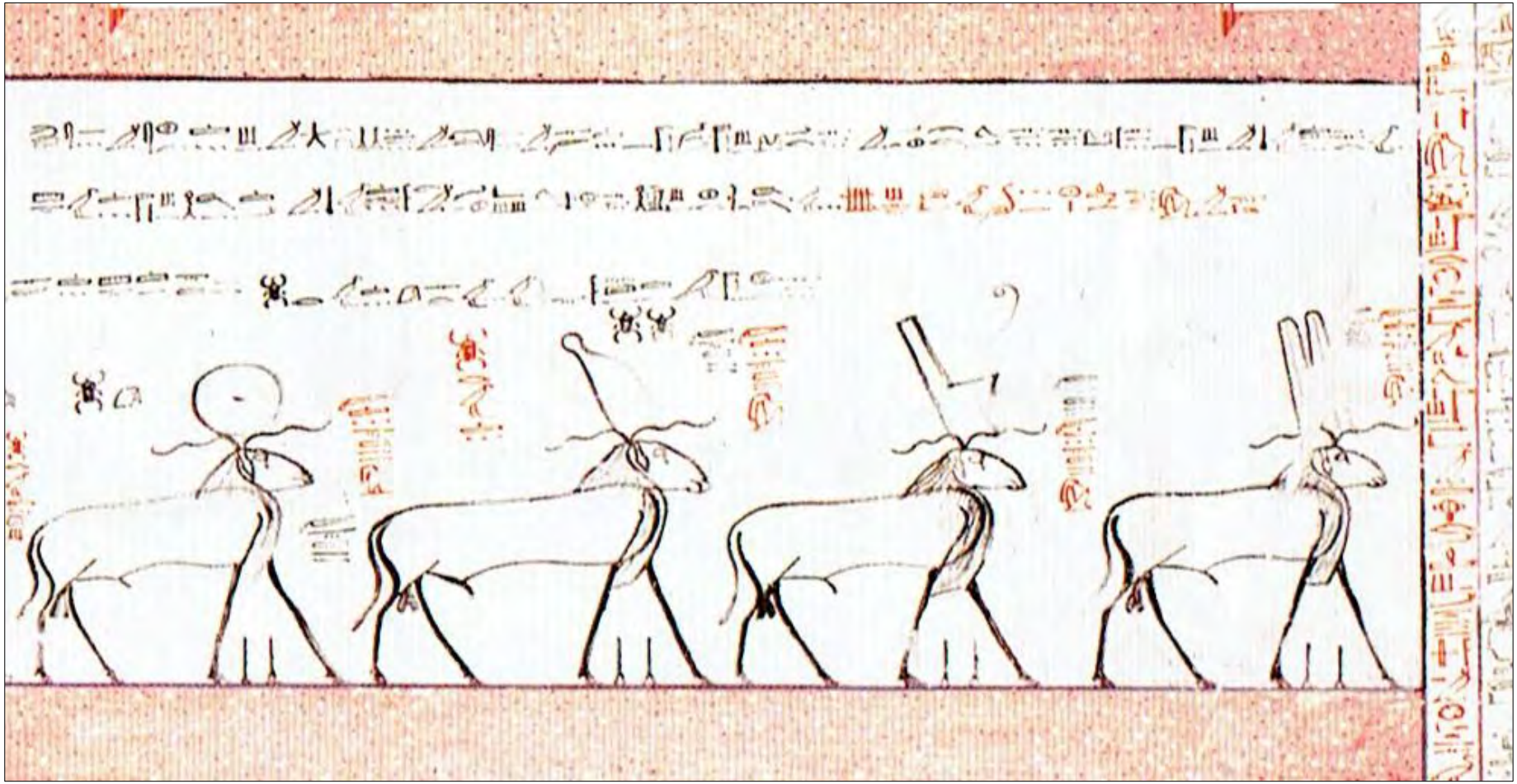


Plate 352. Amduat Eighth Hour detail middle register Four Rams of Tatenen.
(Abt & Hornung 2003, 99)

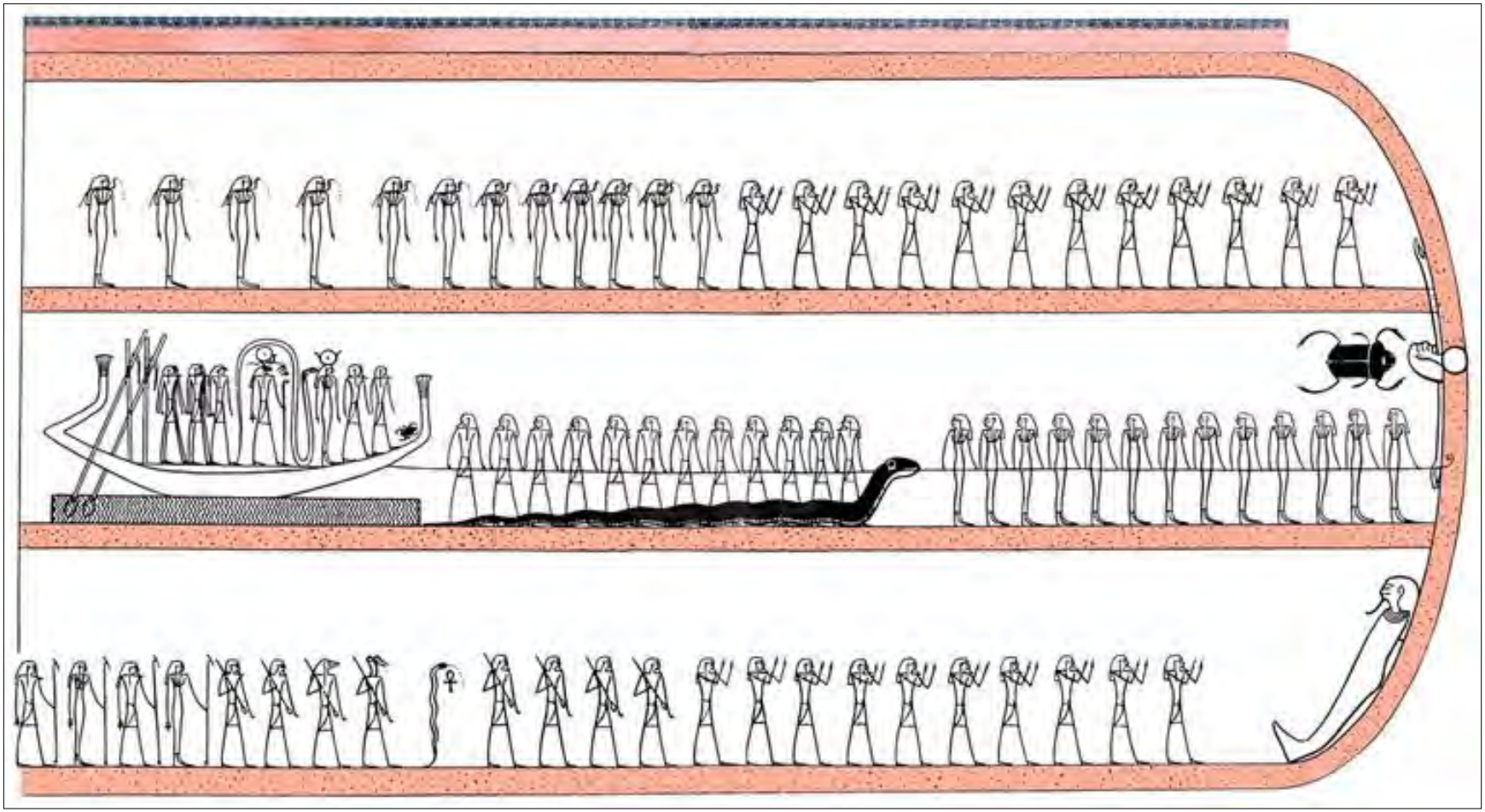


Plate 353. Amduat Twelfth Hour.
(after Shedid in Hornung,1999 https://maat.sofiatopia.org/hidden_chamber03.htm#1)

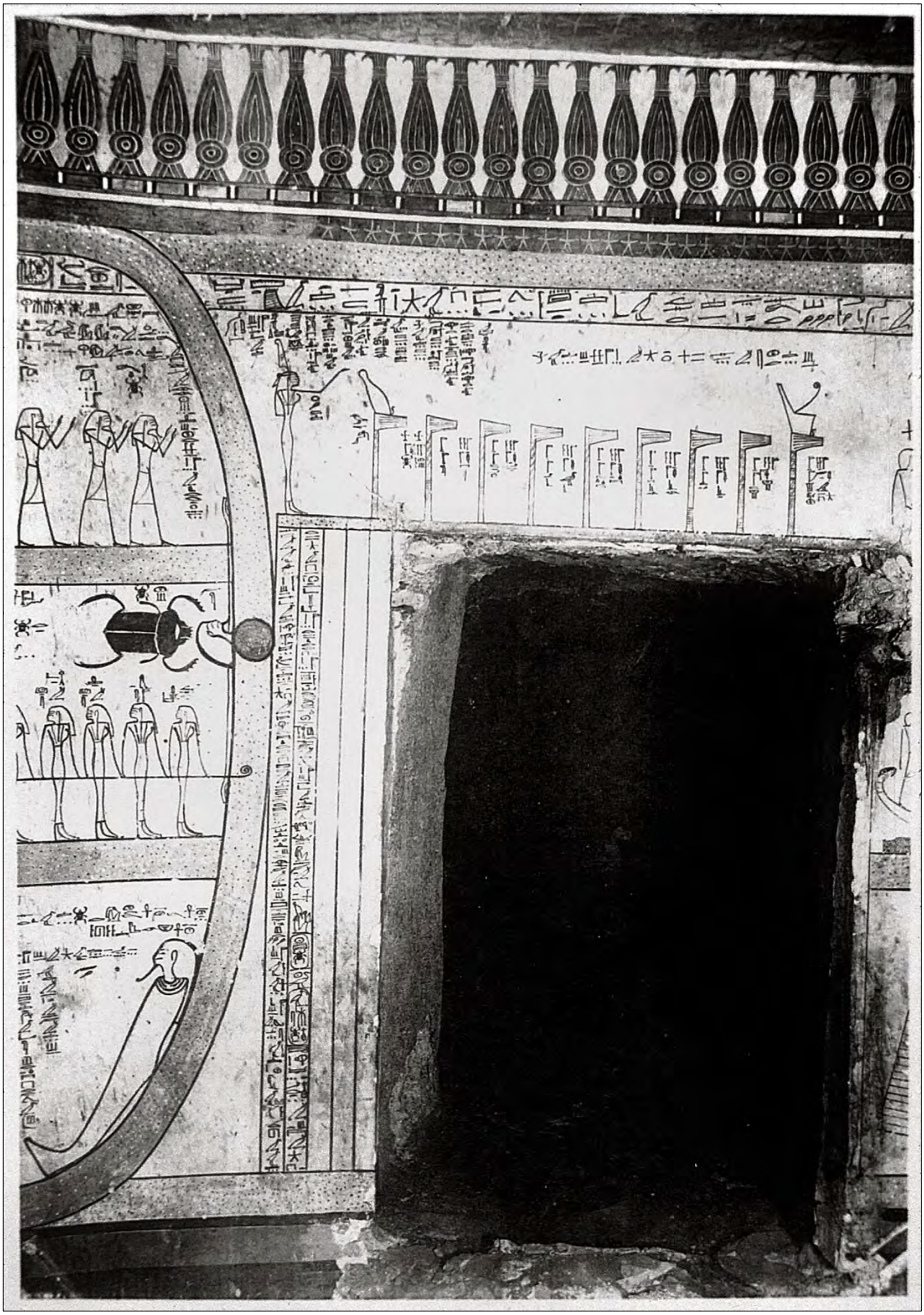


Plate 354. Amduat Twelfth Hour and Adjacent Doorway KV34.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image #12120, F. Dzikowski 1996)

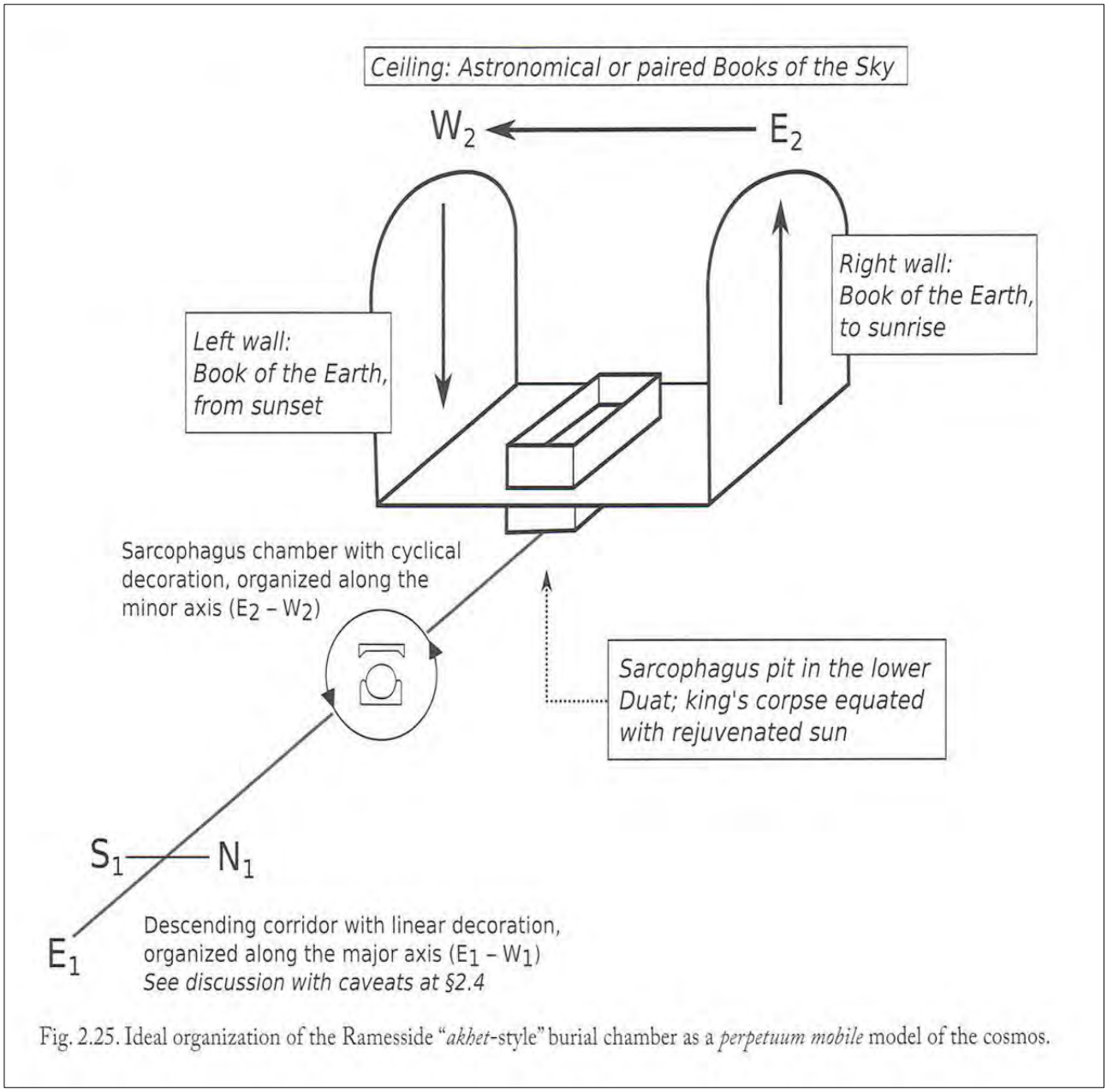


Fig. 2.25. Ideal organization of the Ramesside "*akhet*-style" burial chamber as a *perpetuum mobile* model of the cosmos.

Plate 355. Ramesside "akhet-style" Burial Chamber.
(Roberson, 2012, 57, Fig. 2.25 www.academia.edu/1044995/)

Plate 356. Tomb of Ramesses VI rough cut unfinished floor in the Burial Chamber KV9.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16284, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

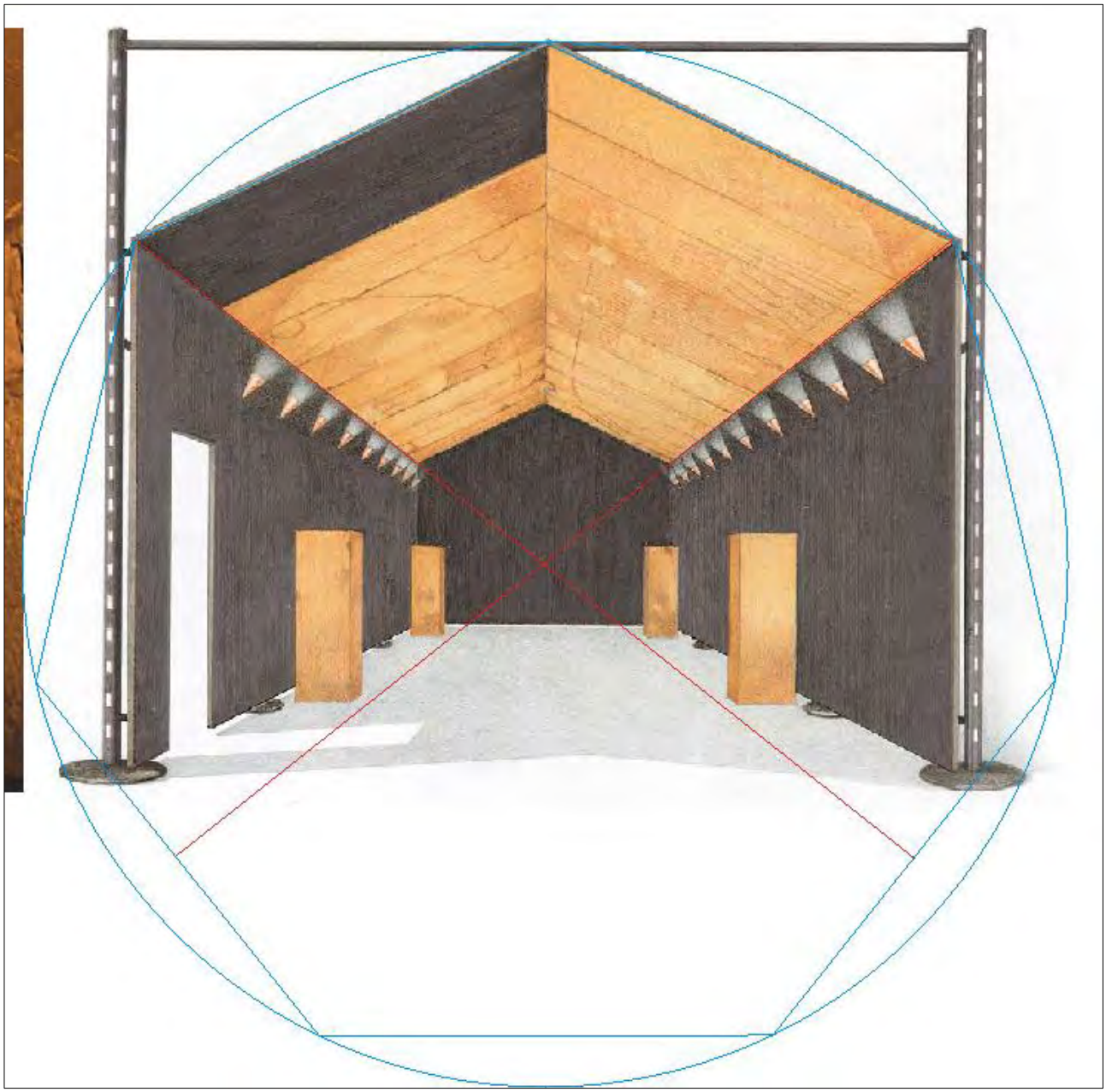


Plate 357. Osireion Second Transverse Hall Roof.
(after drawing Paolo Reiner Progetto Abydos www.studiorenierpaolo.it/paolorenier.html)

Plate 358. Second Transverse Hall crude quarried entrance.
http://www.flickr.com/photos/soloegipto/6796511217/in/album-7 2157624260294383 /

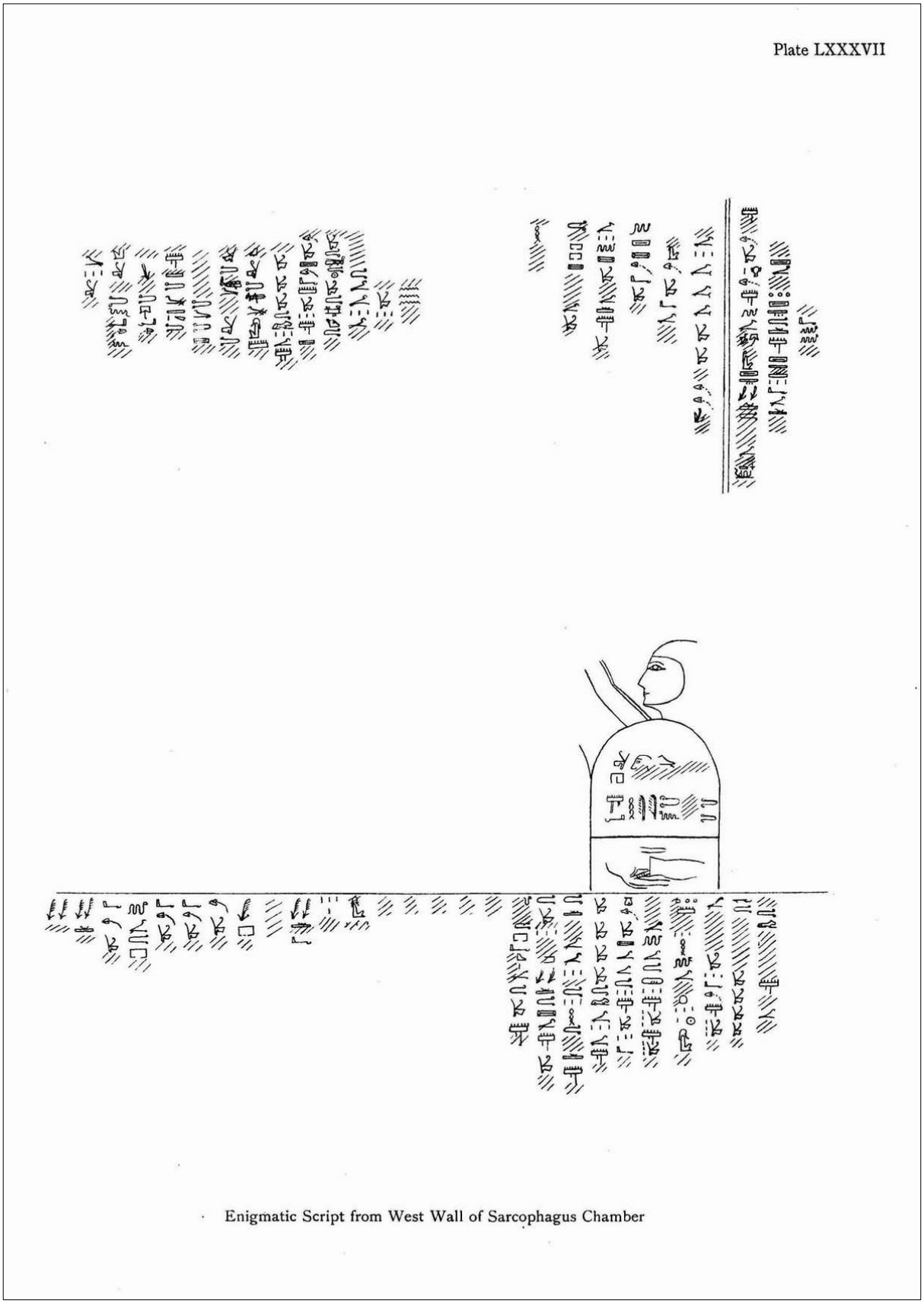
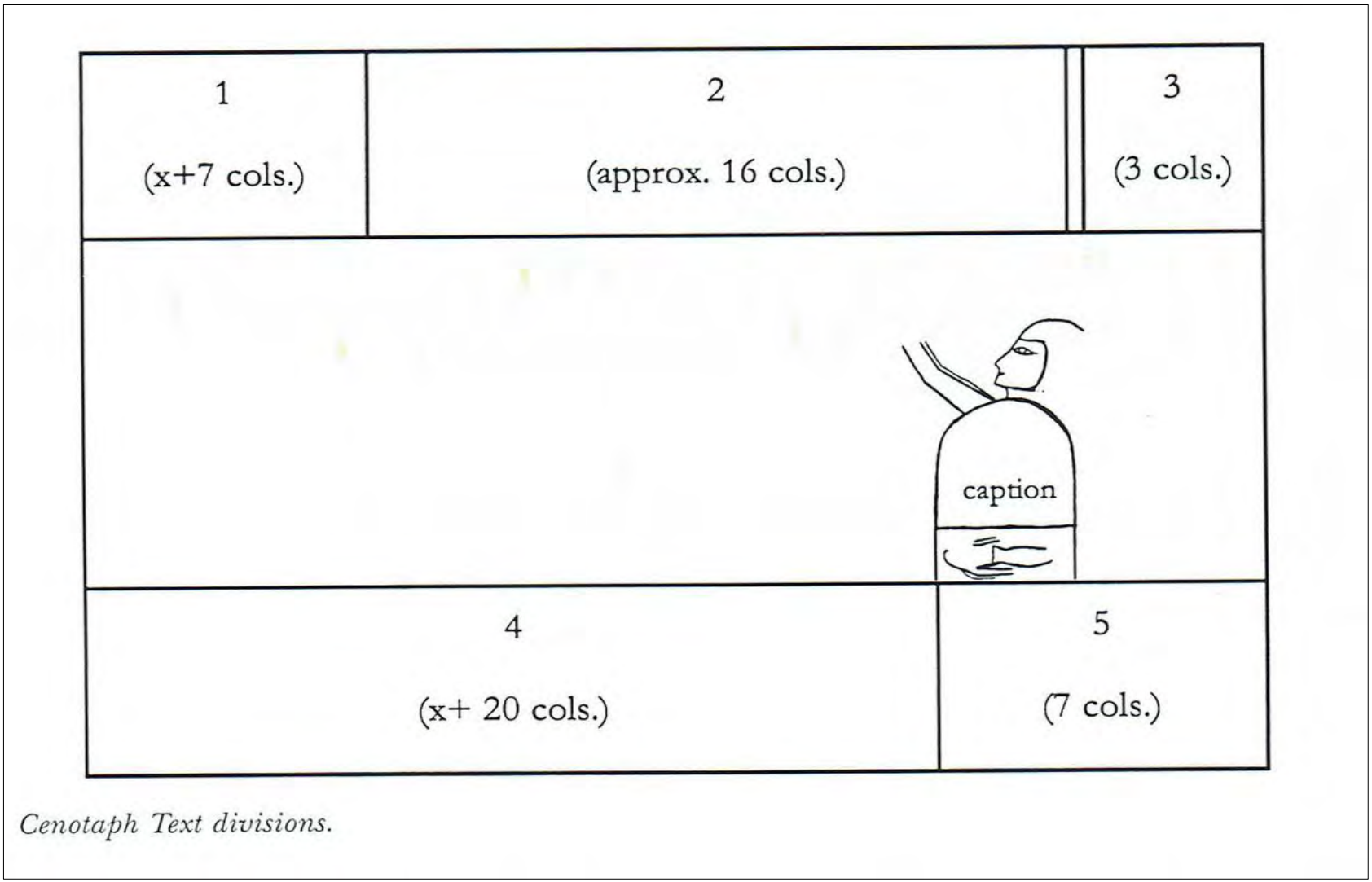


Plate 359. Second Transverse Hall Traces of the Book(s) of the Earth.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 87) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2



Cenotaph Text divisions.

Plate 360. Book of the Earth Text Divisions Osireion.
(Roberson 2007, 97)

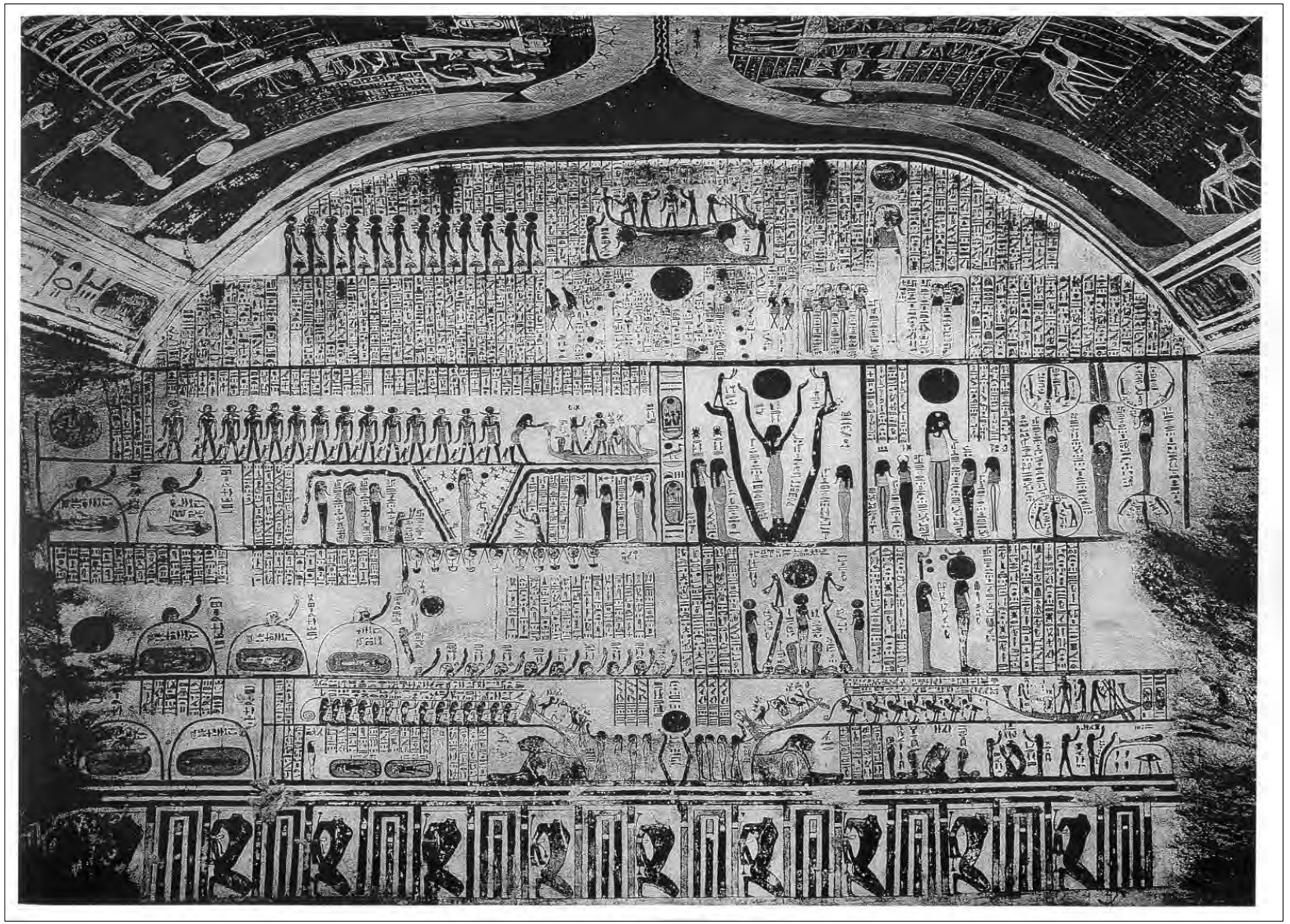


Plate 361. Book of the Earth Part A KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 117)

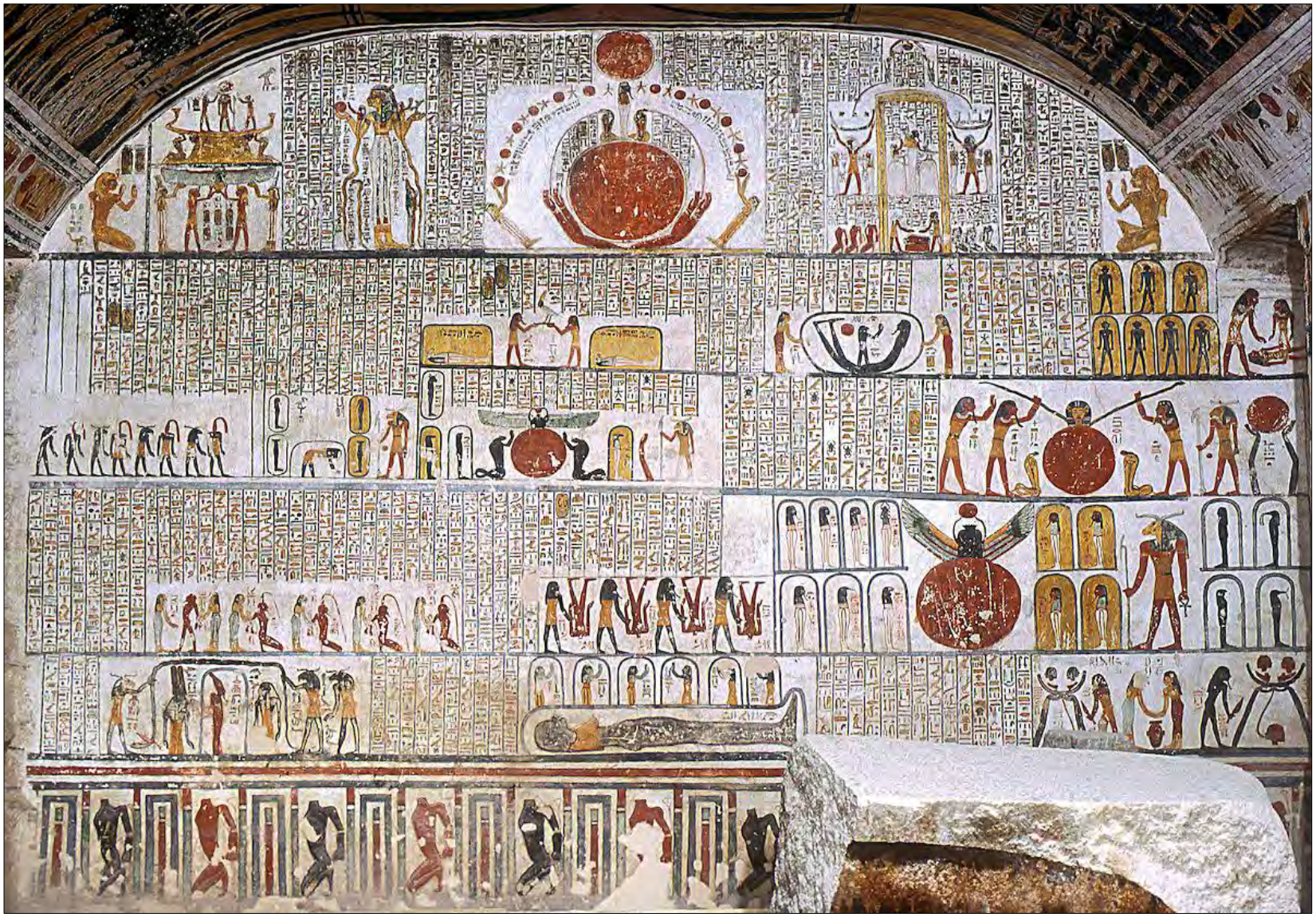


Plate 362. Book of the Earth Part D KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16282, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

Plate 363. Book of the Earth detail Birth Scenes 13 and 14 KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 130)

Plate 364. Book of the earth detail Birth of Horus (scene 14) KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16283, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

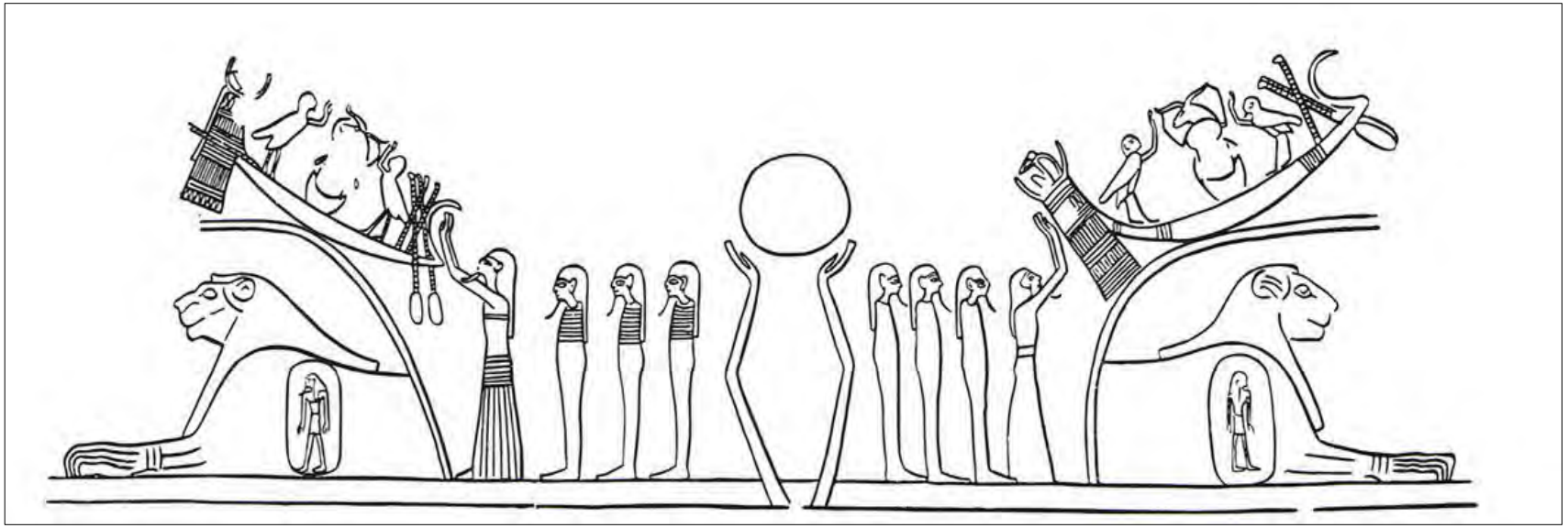


Plate 365. Book of the Earth Aker Scene.
(Roberson 2012, 146 Fig. 5.5)

Plate 366. Book of the Earth detail Descent into the Nun KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15074, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

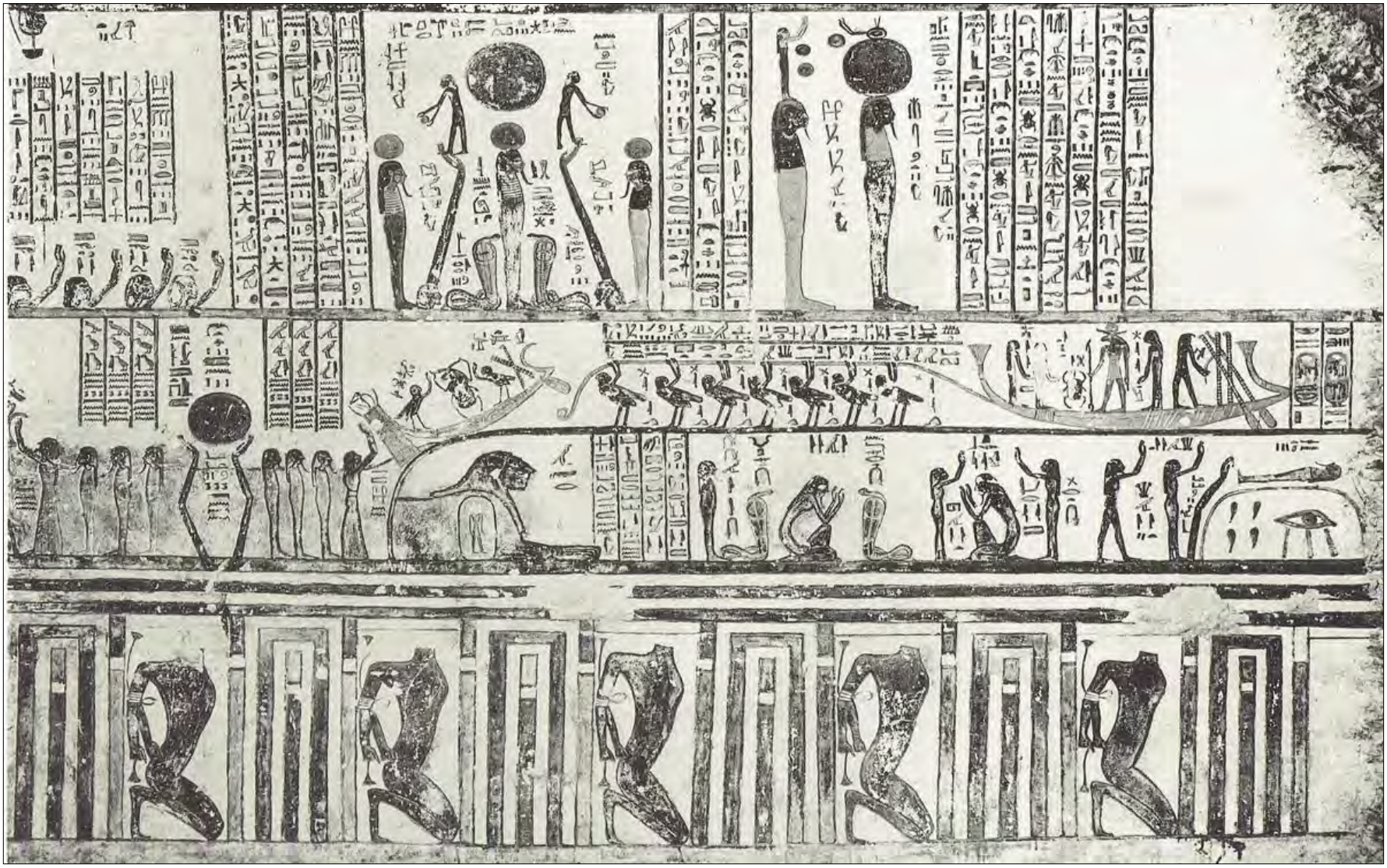


Plate 367. Book of the Earth detail Descent into the Nun KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 117)

Plate 368. Book of the Earth Part A detail Solar Barque Emerging from the Nun KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com 15077, Public domain, Wikimedia Commons)

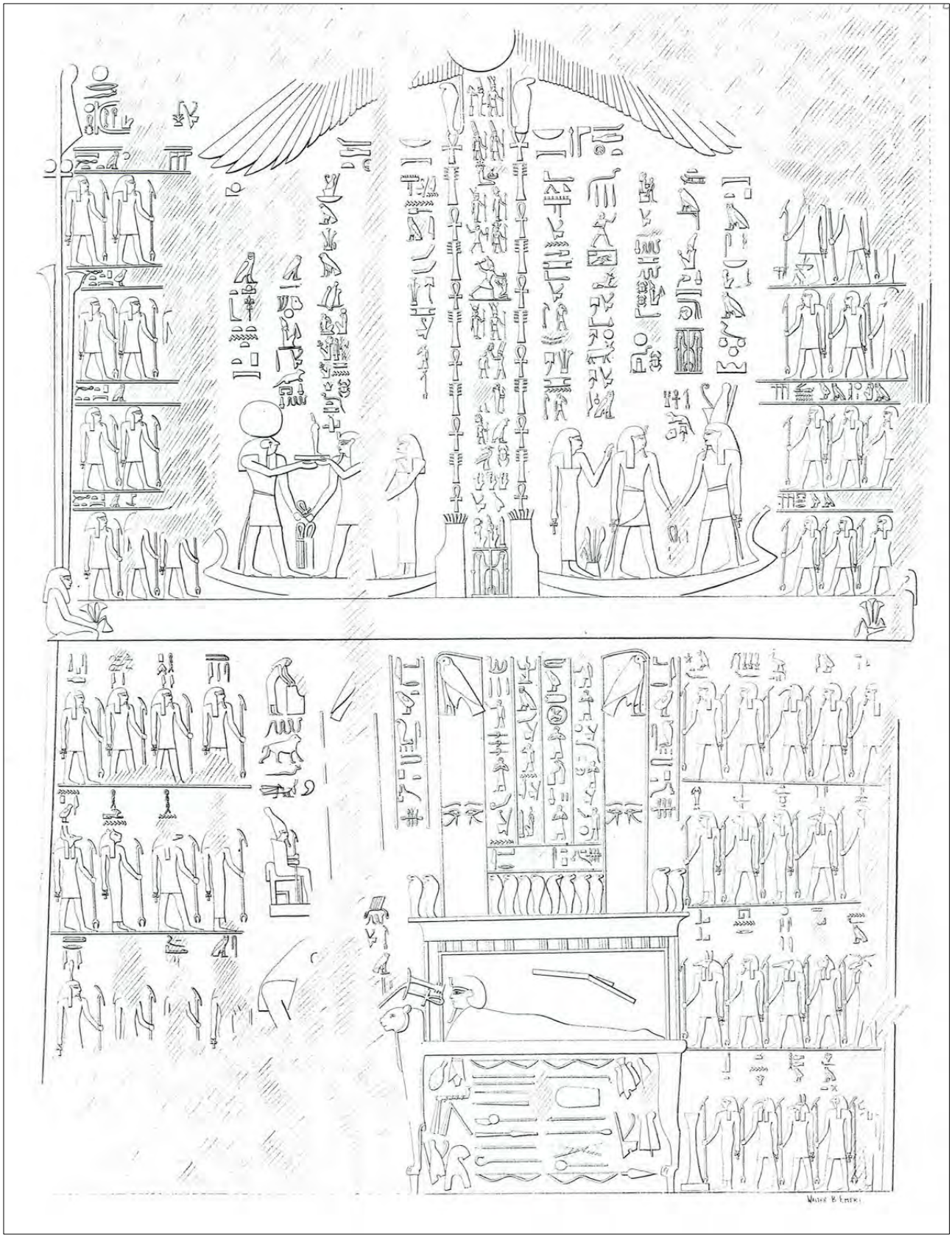
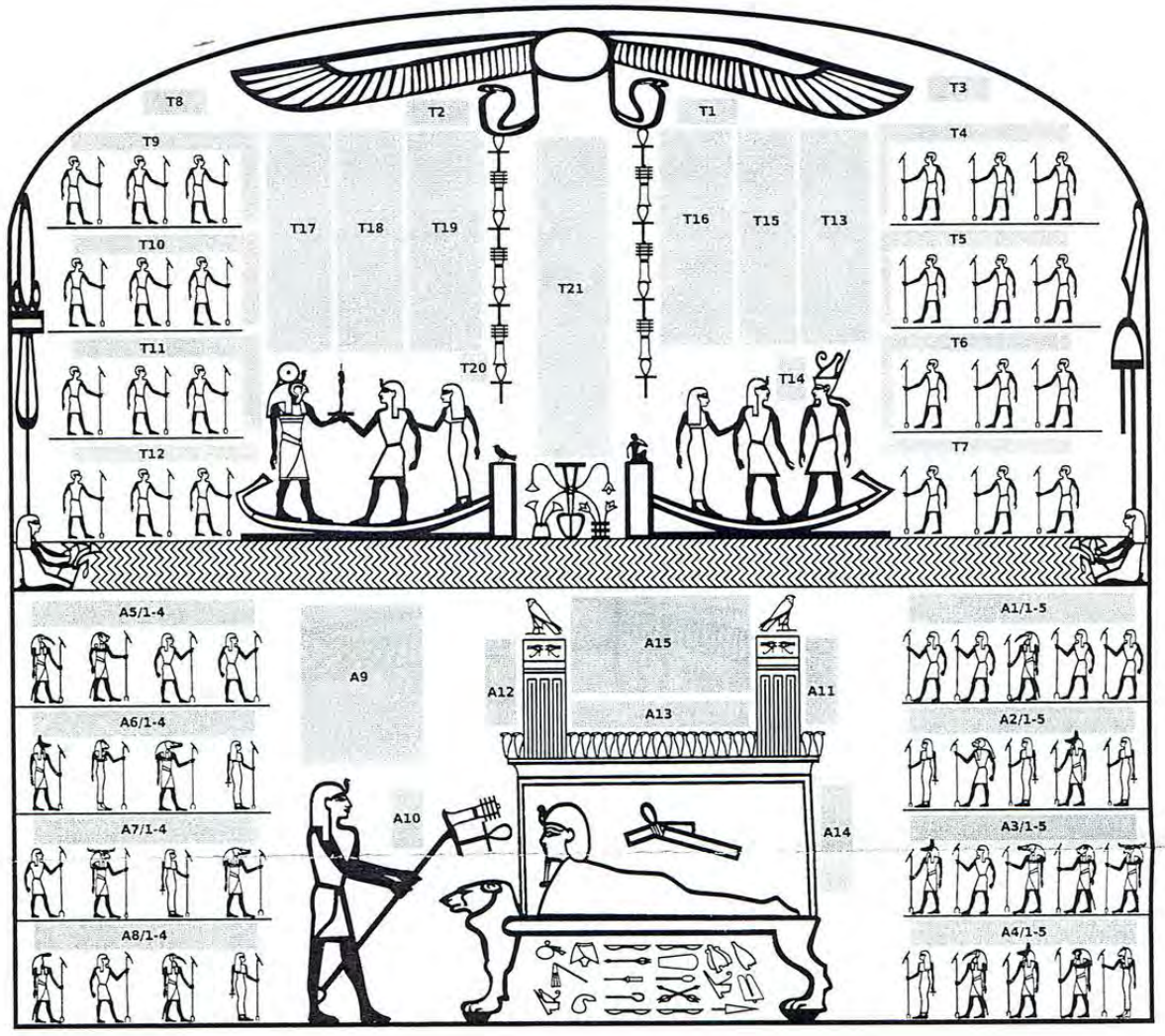


Plate 369. Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques Second Transverse Hall. (Frankfort 1933, plate 74) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2



p. 2, Figure 1 (corrected print).

Plate 370. Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques Drawing.
(Roberson 2013, Fig. 1 corrected)

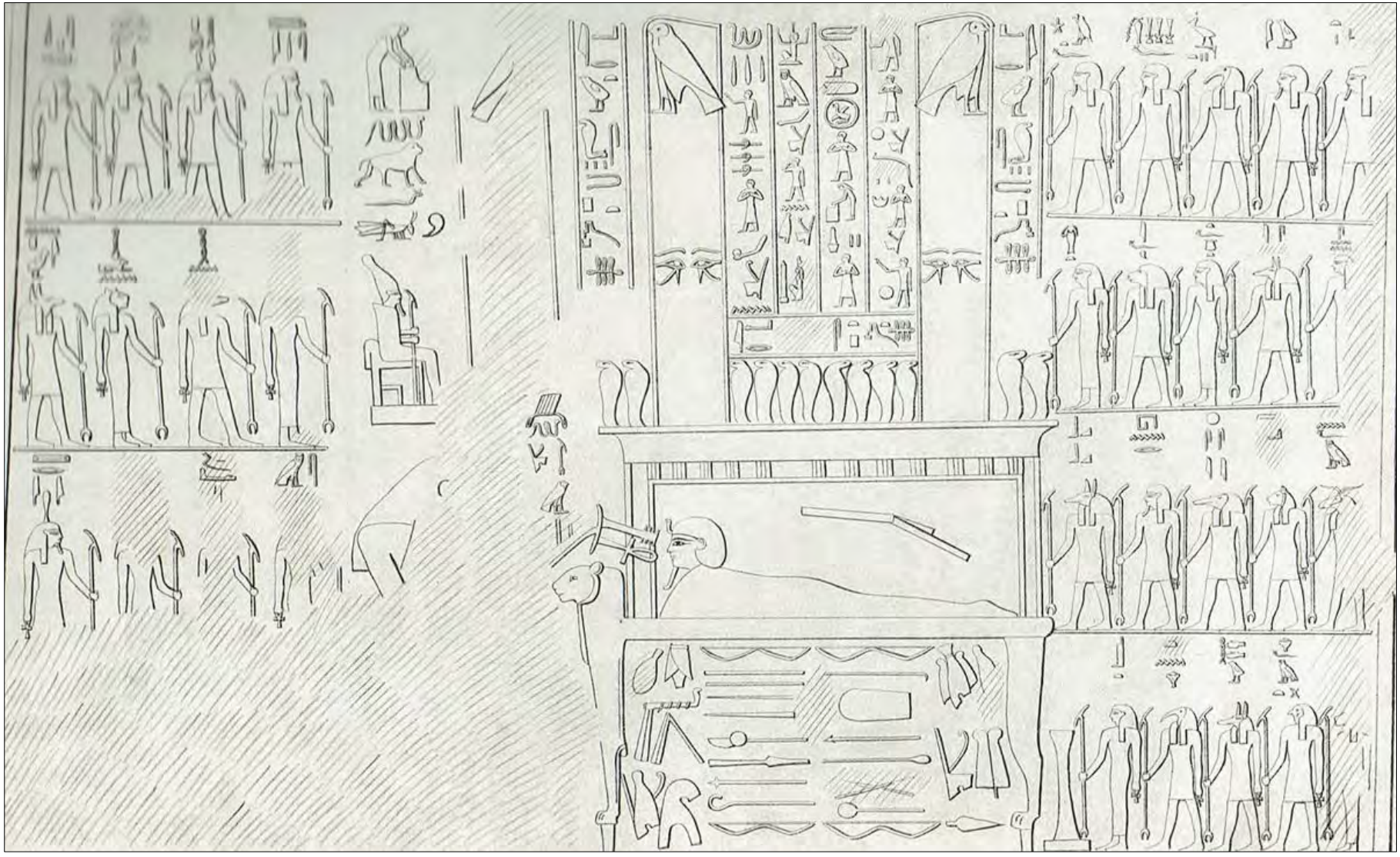


Plate 371. Awakening of Osiris detail Second Transverse Hall.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 74) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

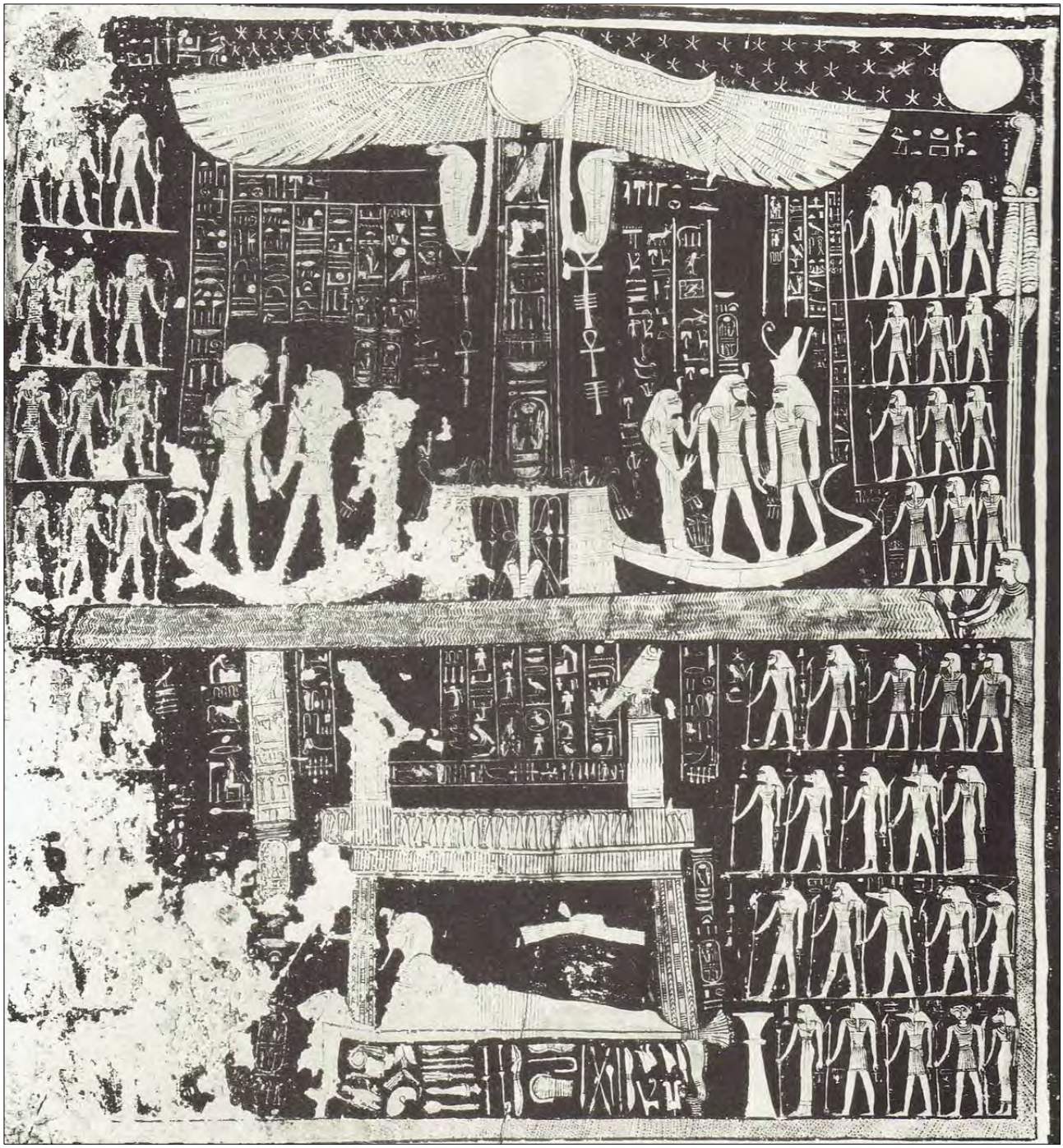


Plate 372. Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques Ceiling Hall H KV 9 Ramesses VI. (Piankoff 1954, plate 183)

Plate 373. Transit of the Solar Barques detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16287, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

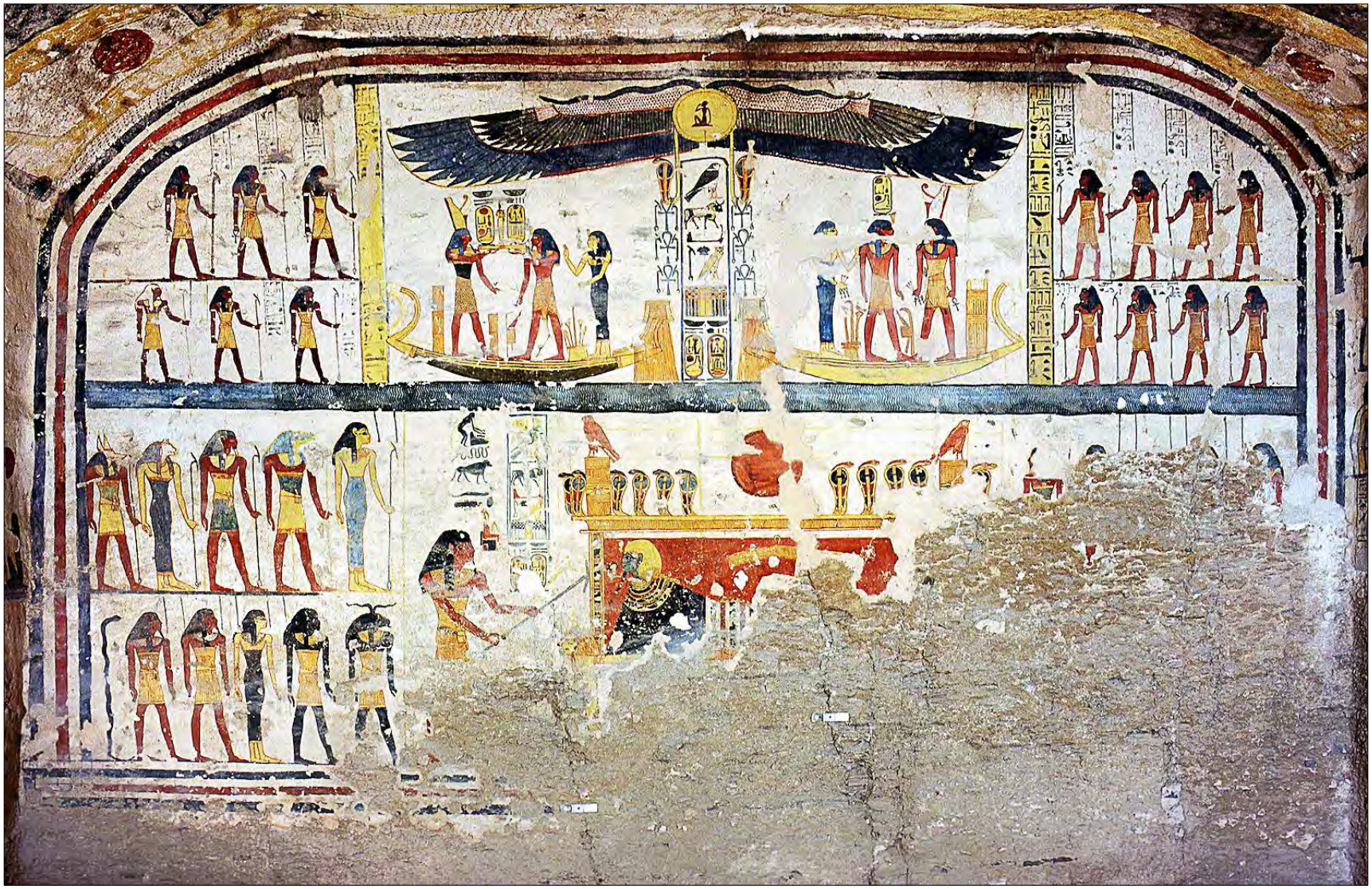


Plate 374. Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques KV 6 Ramesses IX.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15597, F. Dzikowski 5/2000)

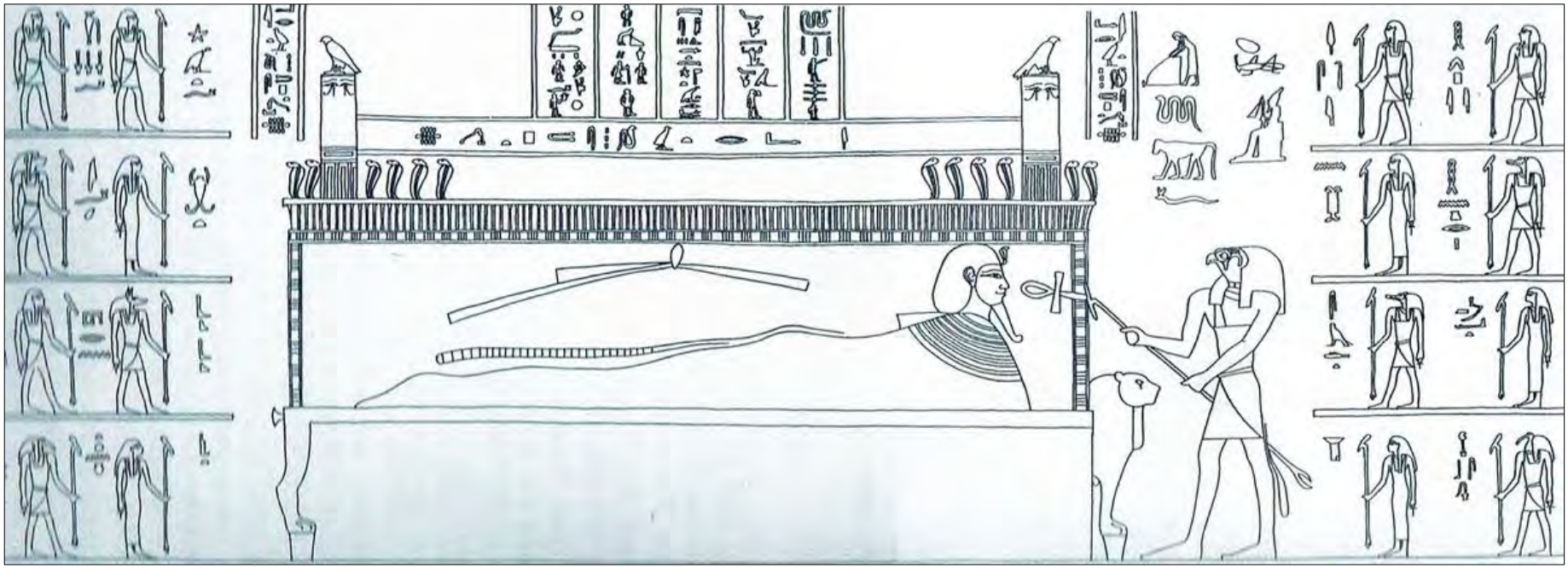


Plate 375. Awakening of Osiris Tomb of Mutirdis TT410.
(Assmann 1977, Ab. 41)

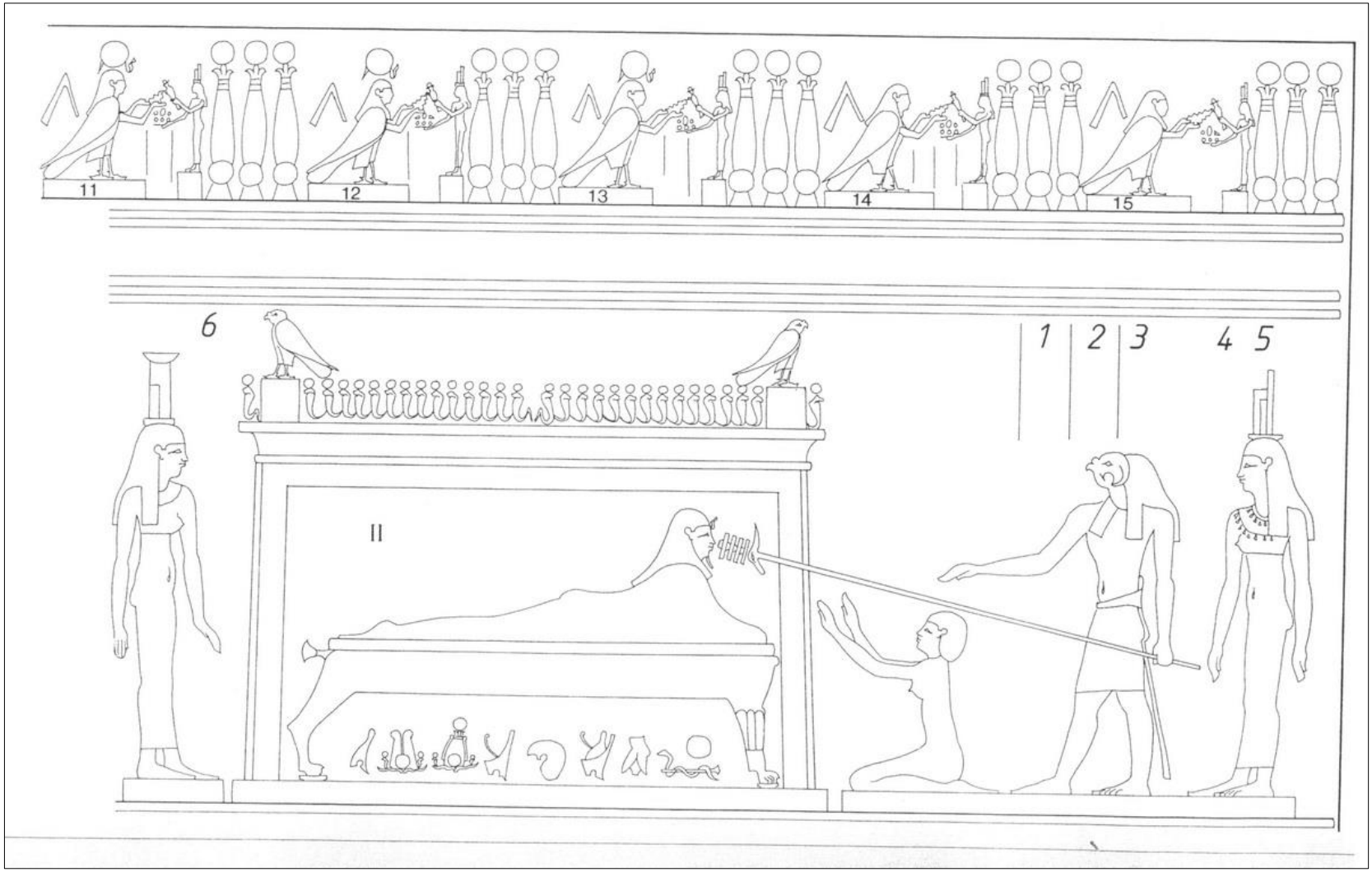


Plate 376. Awakening of Osiris Scene in the Temple of Dendera.
(Cauville 1997, plate 237)

Plate 377. Osiris Awakening Statue.
(Photo https://www.instagram.com/instakemet/?hl=en)

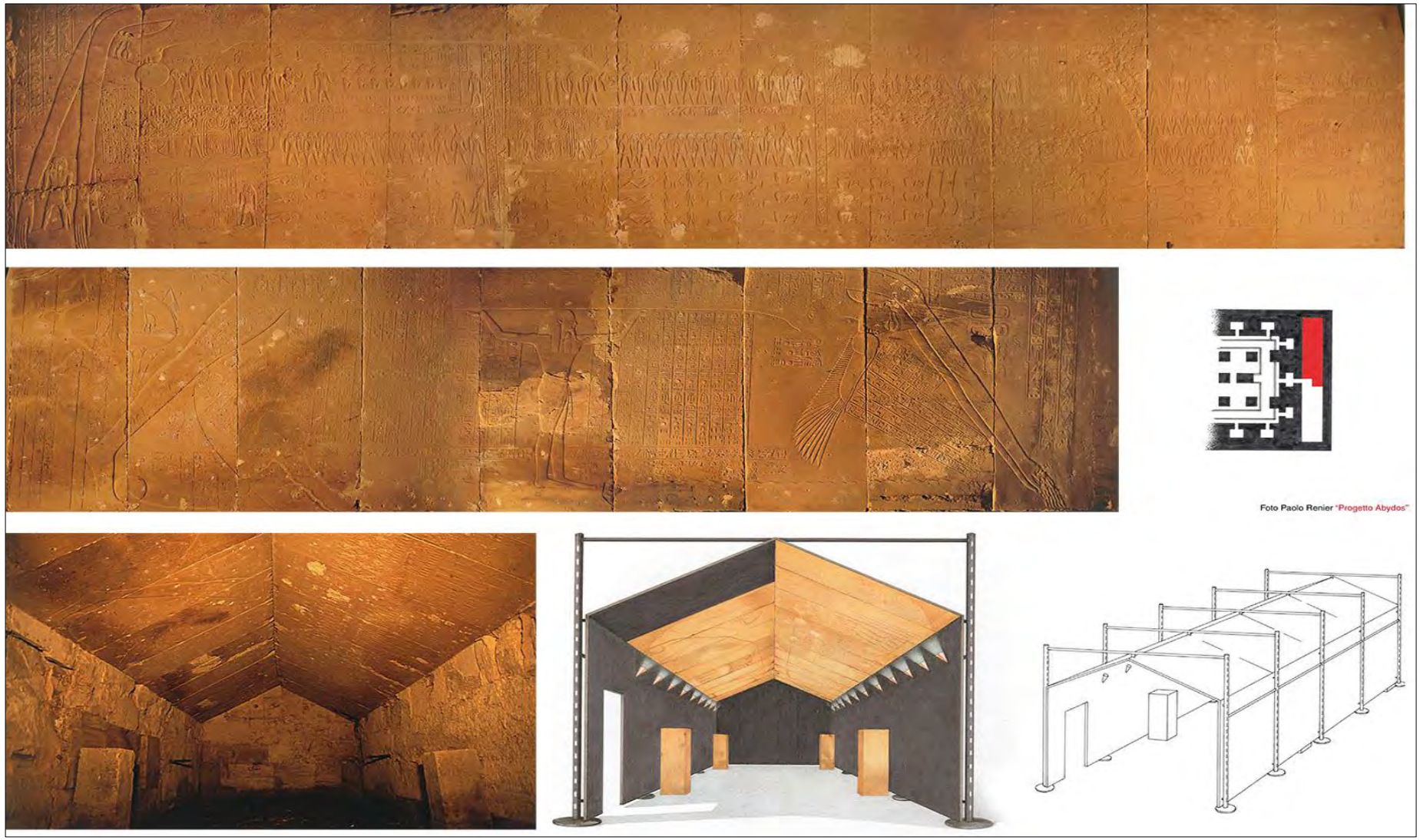


Plate 378. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Decoration.
(Photos Paolo Reiner Progetto Abydos www.studiorenierpaolo.it/paolorenier.html)

Plate 379. Book of the Night Opening Scene with the Awakening of Osiris and Transit of the Solar Barques.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 75) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

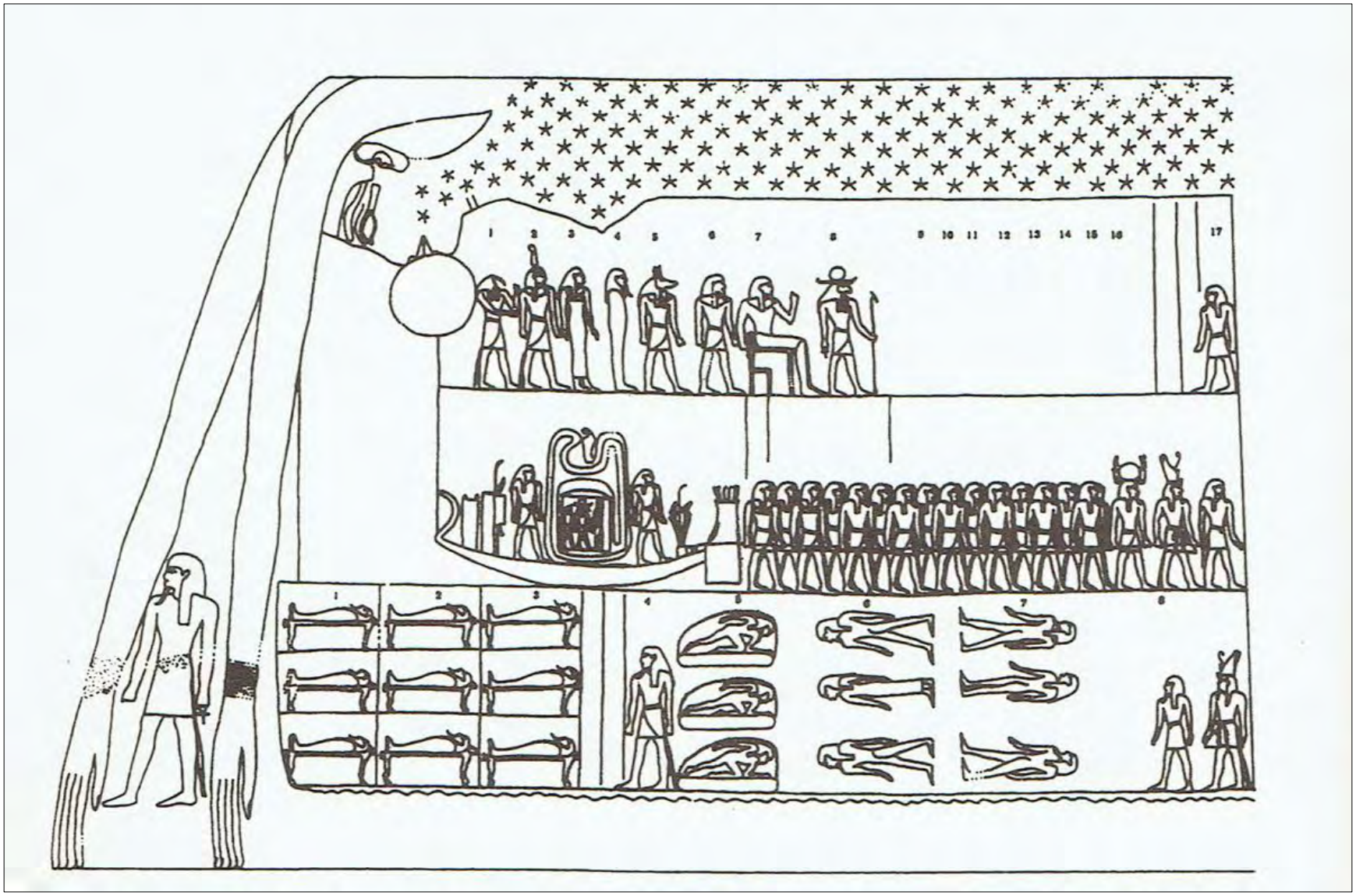
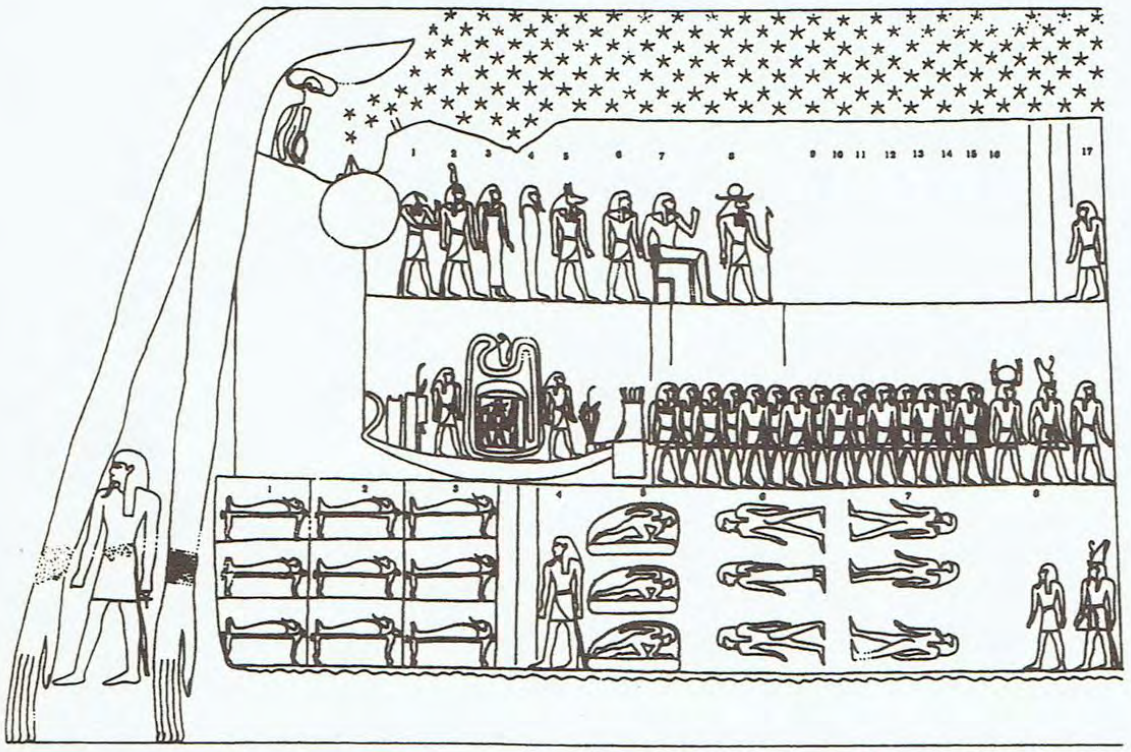
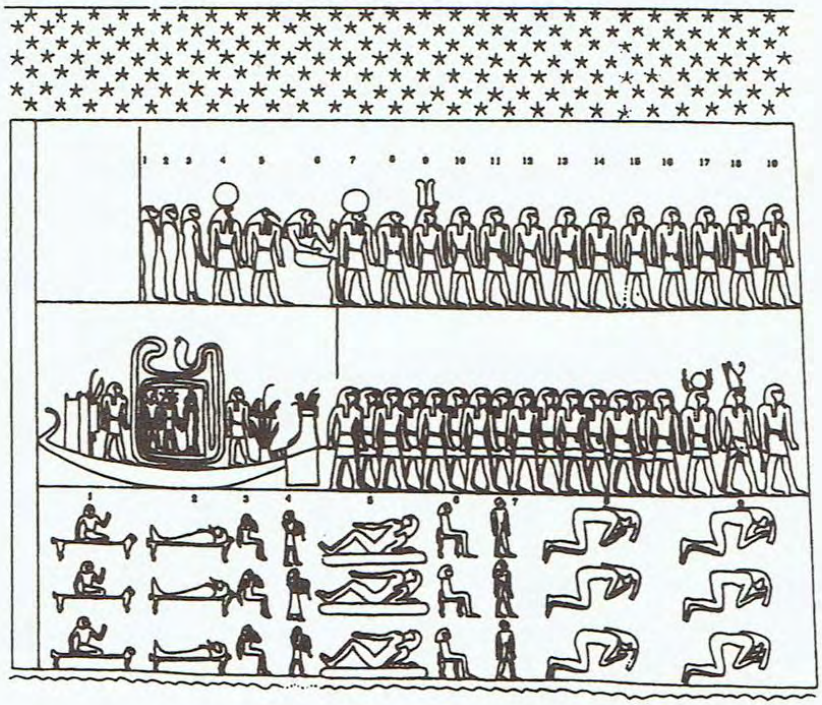


Plate 380. Book of the Night Opening and Second Hour.
(Hornung 1999, Fig. 72)



72. Book of the Night, first and second hours. After G. Roulin, *Le Livre de la nuit*, OBO 147 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1996), pt. II, plate I.



73. Book of the Night, third hour. After G. Roulin, *Le Livre de la nuit*, OBO 147 (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1996), pt. II, plate III.

Plate 381. Book of the Night Second and Third Hours.
(Hornung 1999, 126)

Plate 382. Book of the Night detail Unwearying Stars Second Transverse Hall.
(Photos Paolo Reiner Progetto Abydos www.studiorenierpaolo.it/paolorenier.html)

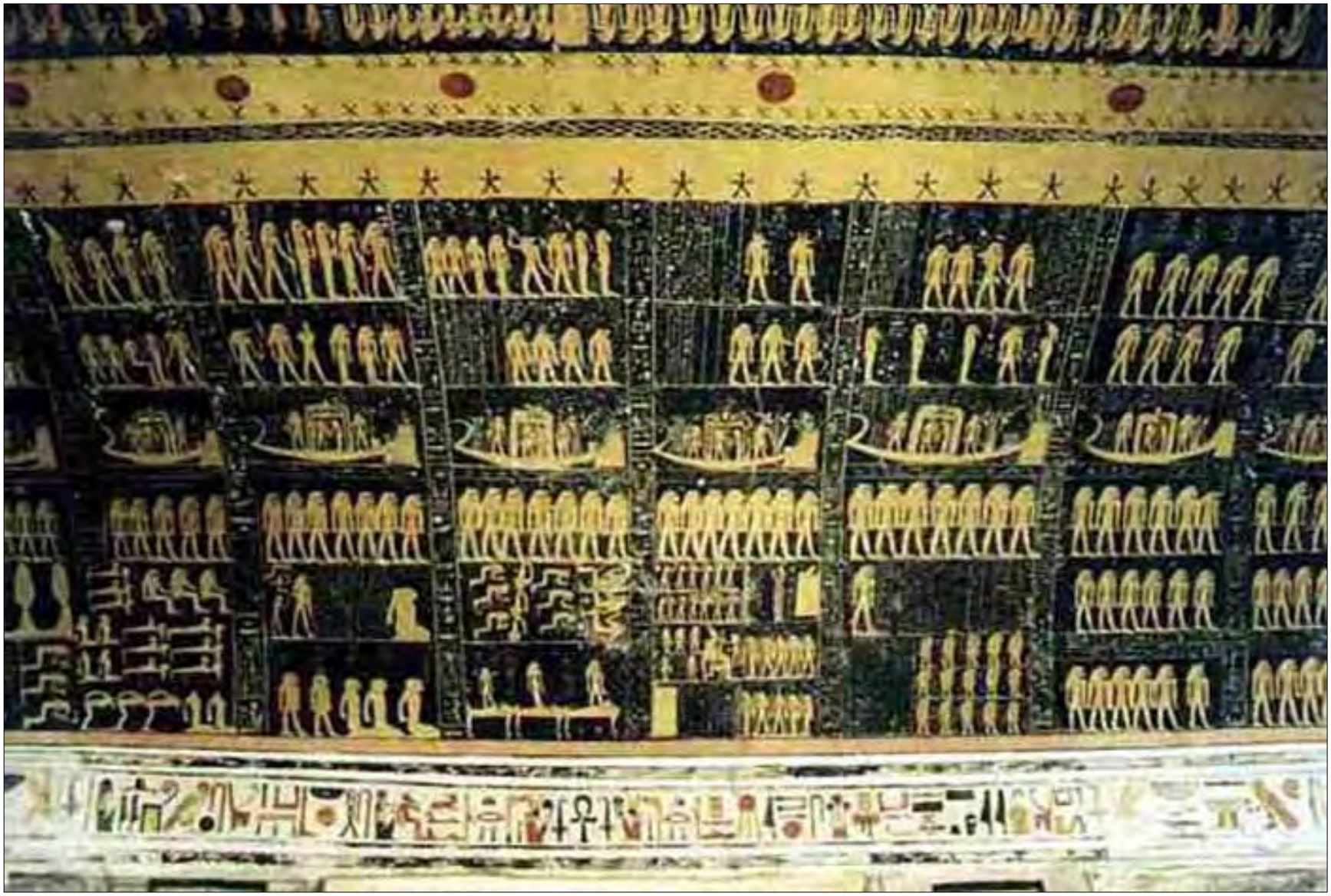


Plate 383. Book of the Night Hours 5-10 KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo www.crystalinks.com/dynasty20.html of ARCE TMP image # 15071)

Plate 384. Book of the Night Fifth-Sixth Hours Second Transverse Hall.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 78) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

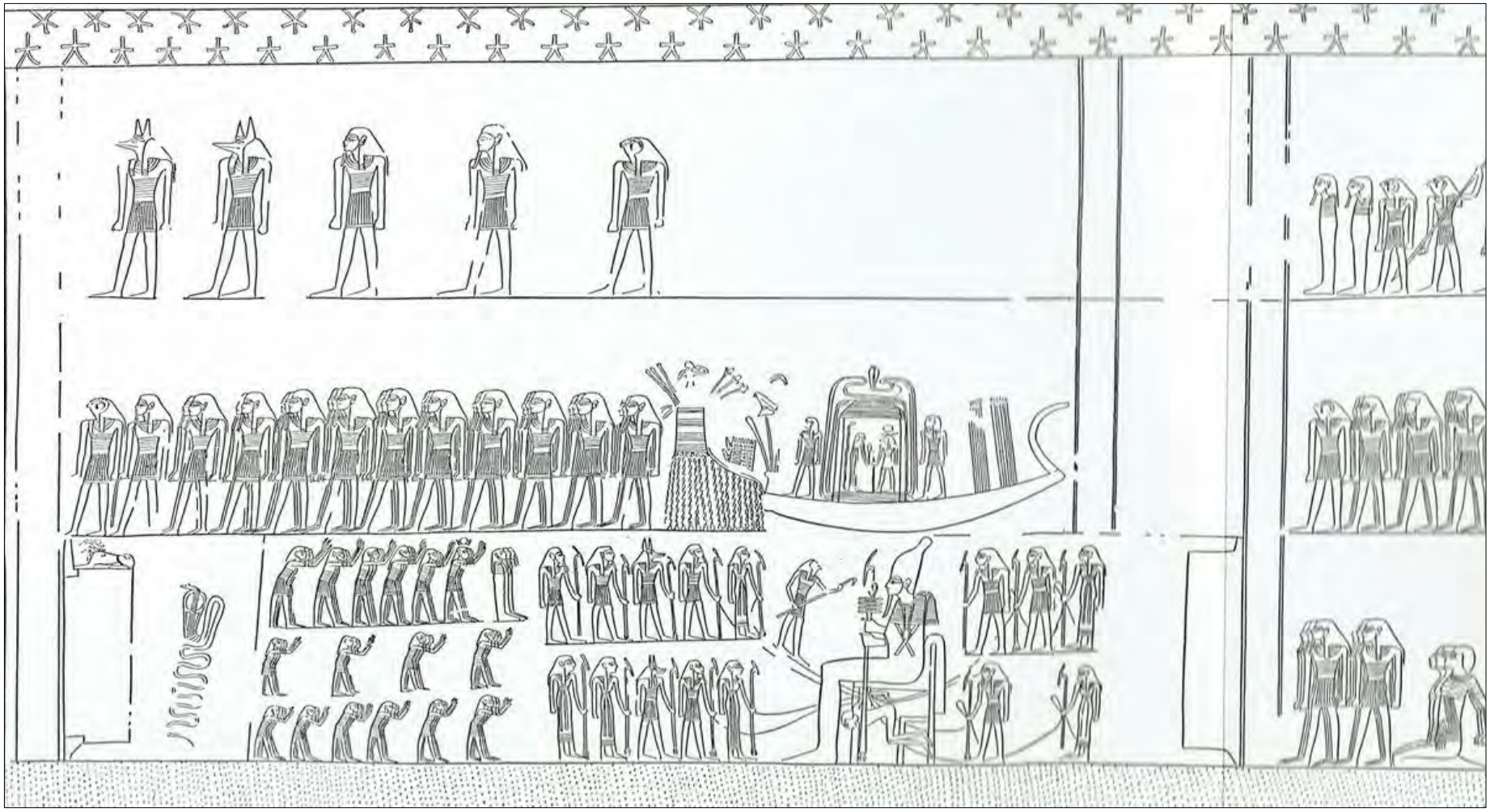


Plate 385. Book of the Night Eighth Hour detail Horus and Osiris KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, Fig. 133)

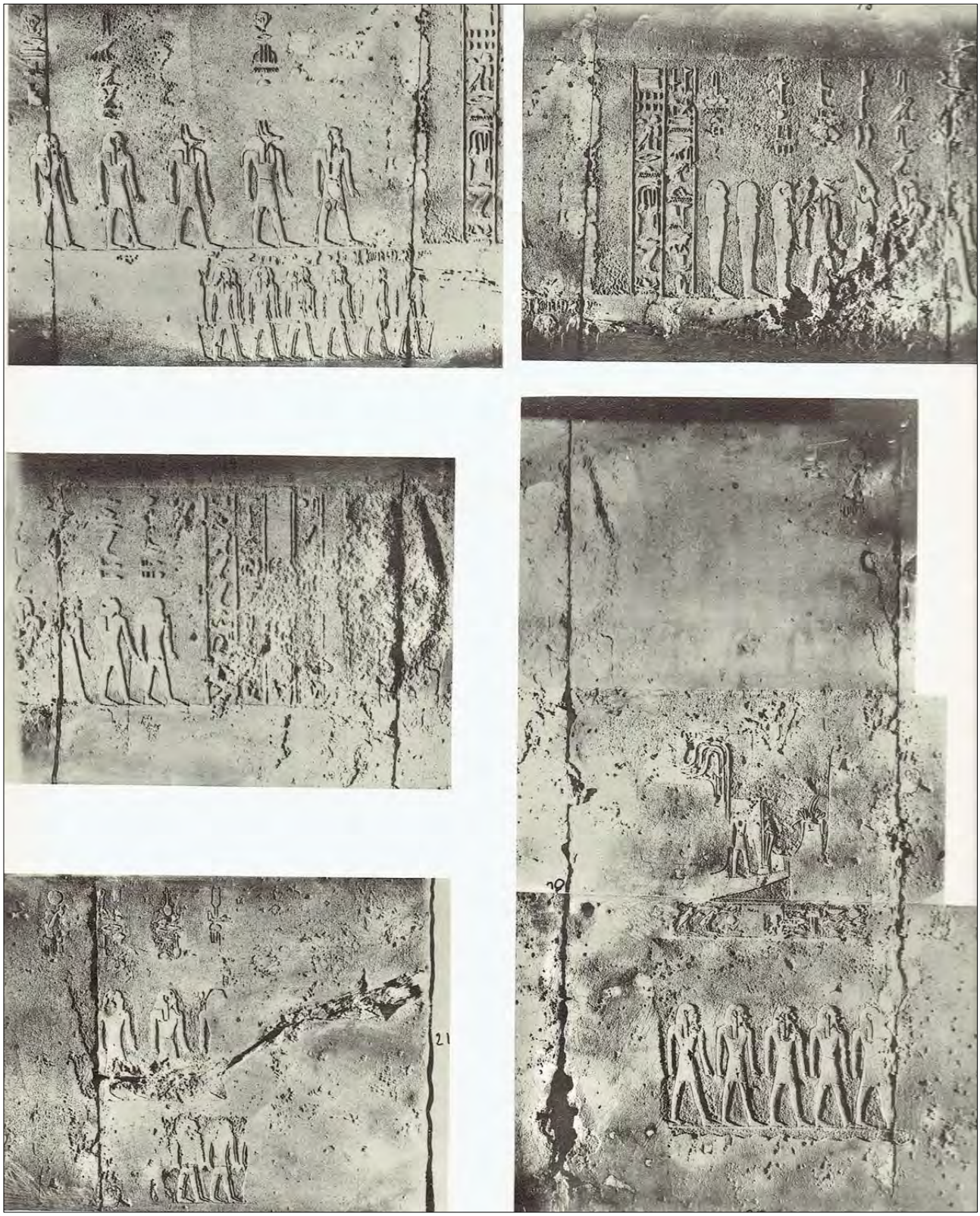


Plate 386. Book of the Night Traces of Hours 8-9 Second Transverse Hall.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 80) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

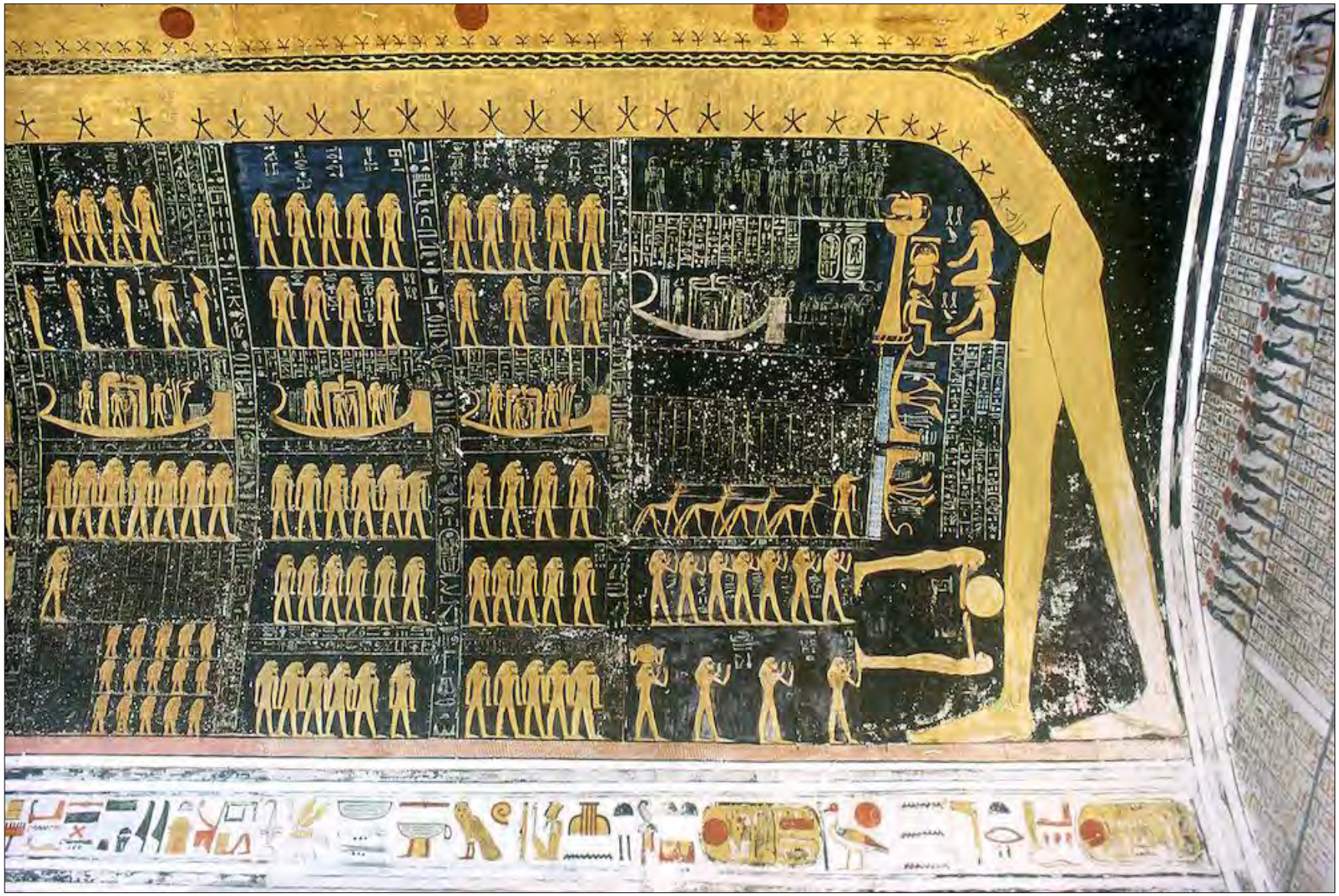


Plate 387. Book of the Night Hours 9-12 KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15073, F. Dzikowski 11/1999)

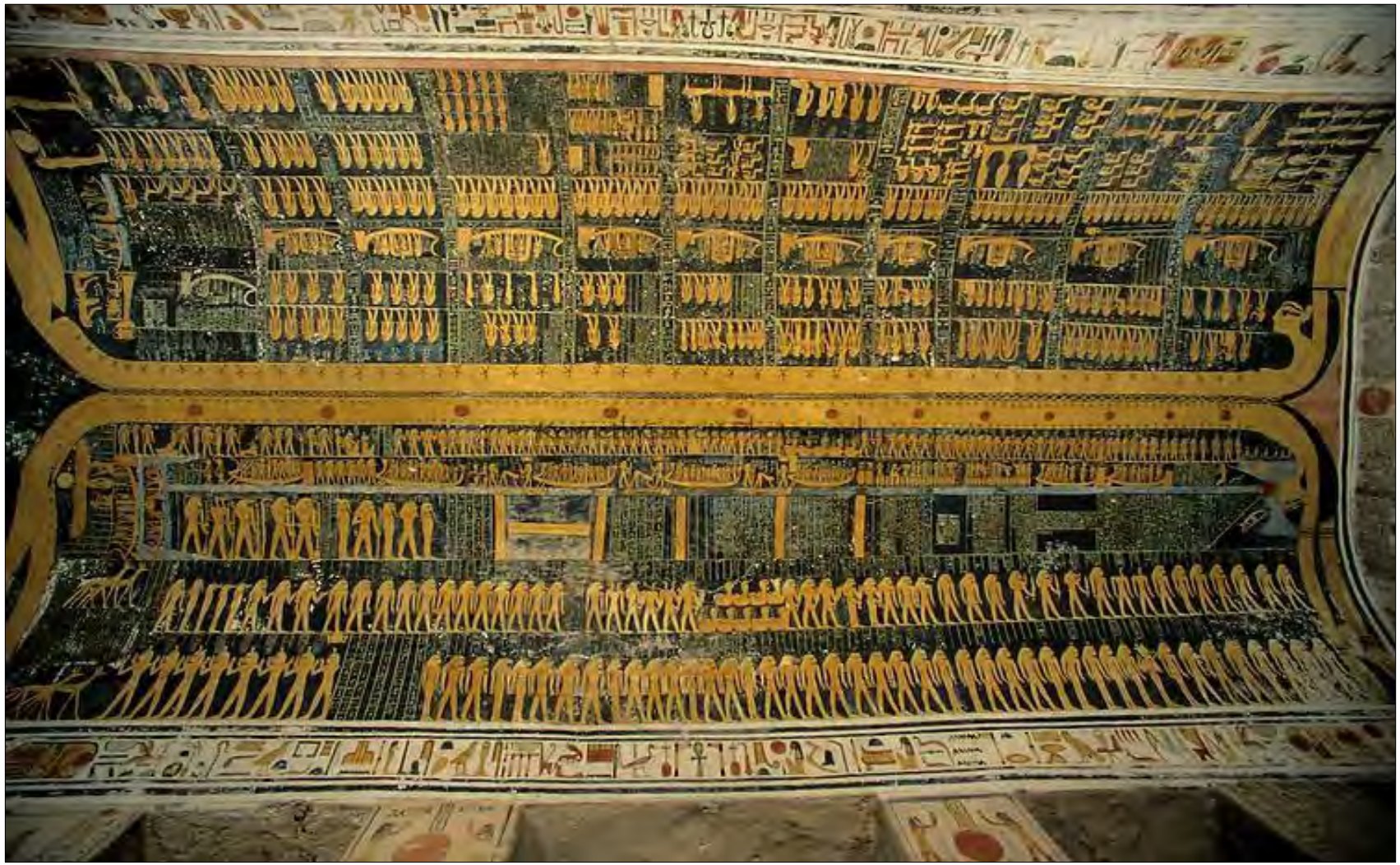


Plate 388. Books of the Night and Day KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Copyright Kenneth Garrett)

Plate 389. Book of the Night Sixth-Seventh Hours Second Transverse Hall.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 79) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

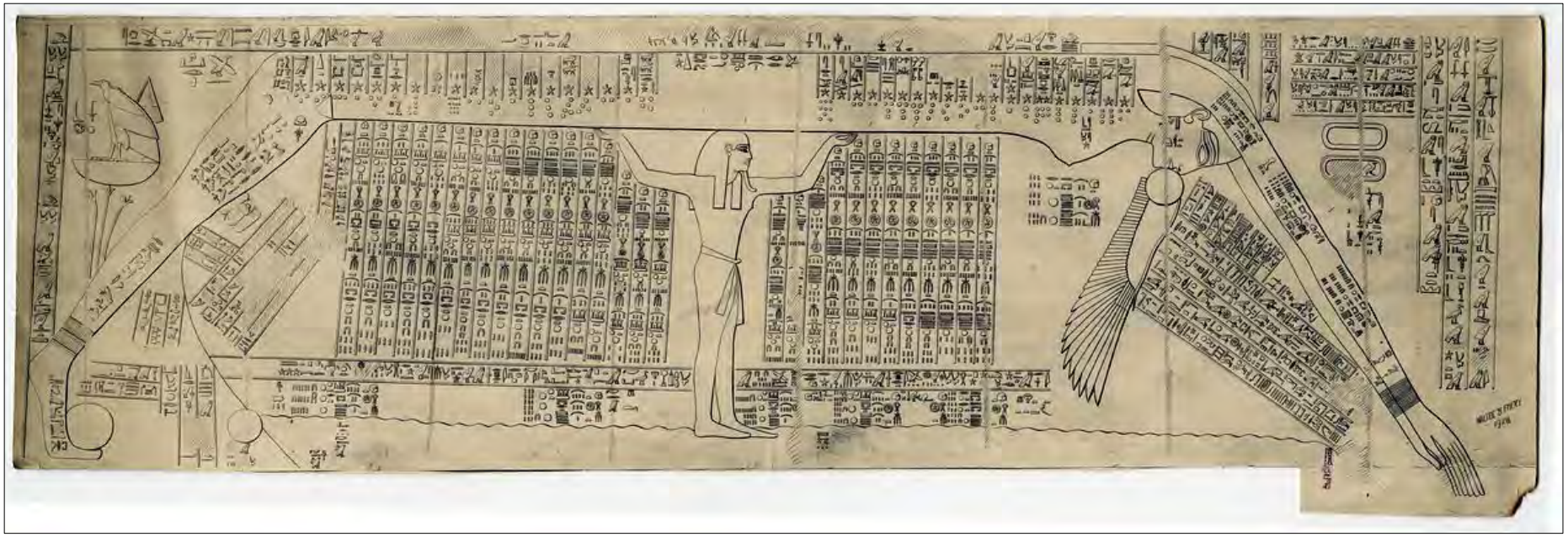


Plate 390. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Fundamentals of the Course of the Stars.
(Emery drawing EES Negative, posted on www.ees.ac.uk)

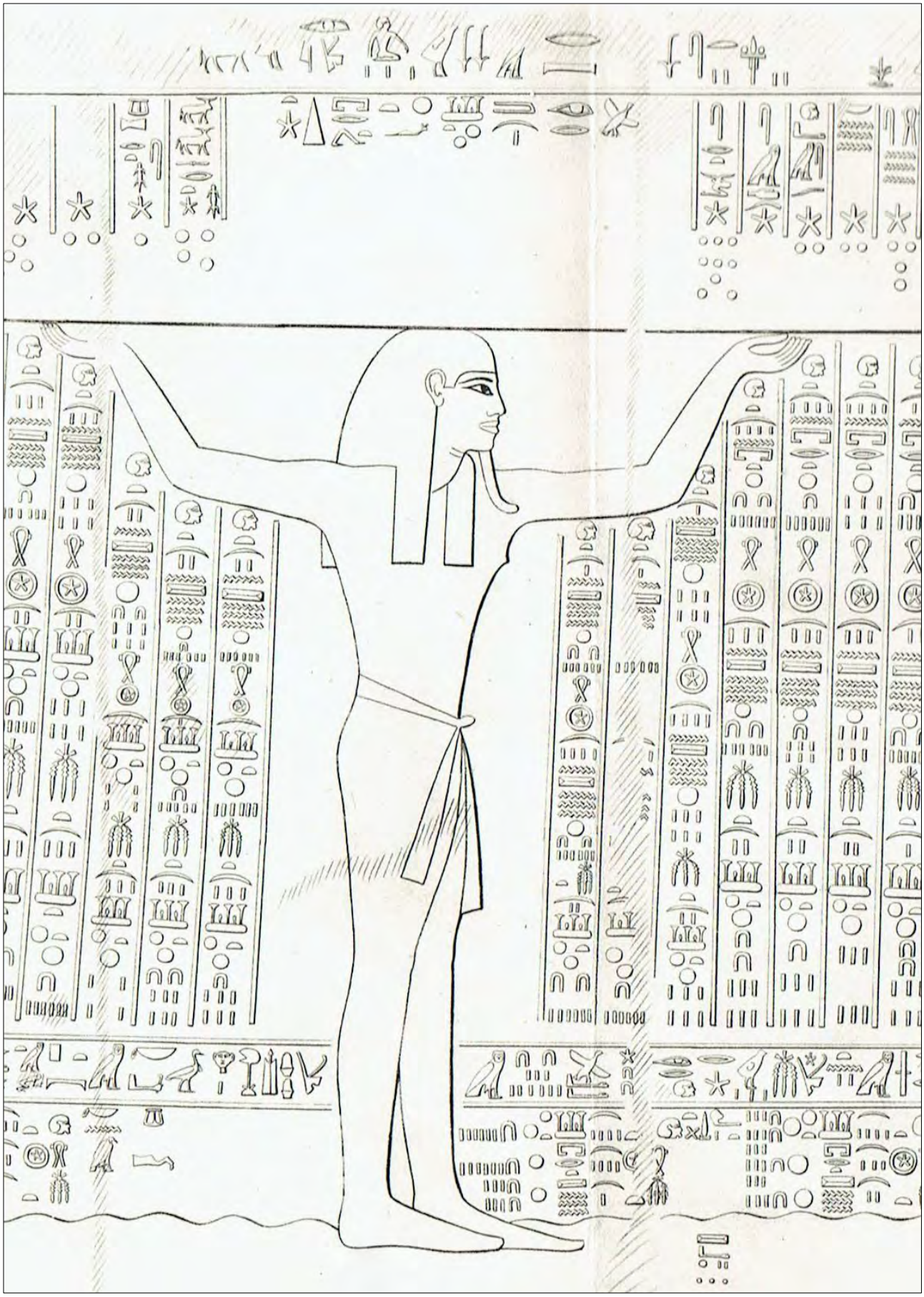


Plate 391. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette Text T2 Above Shu.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

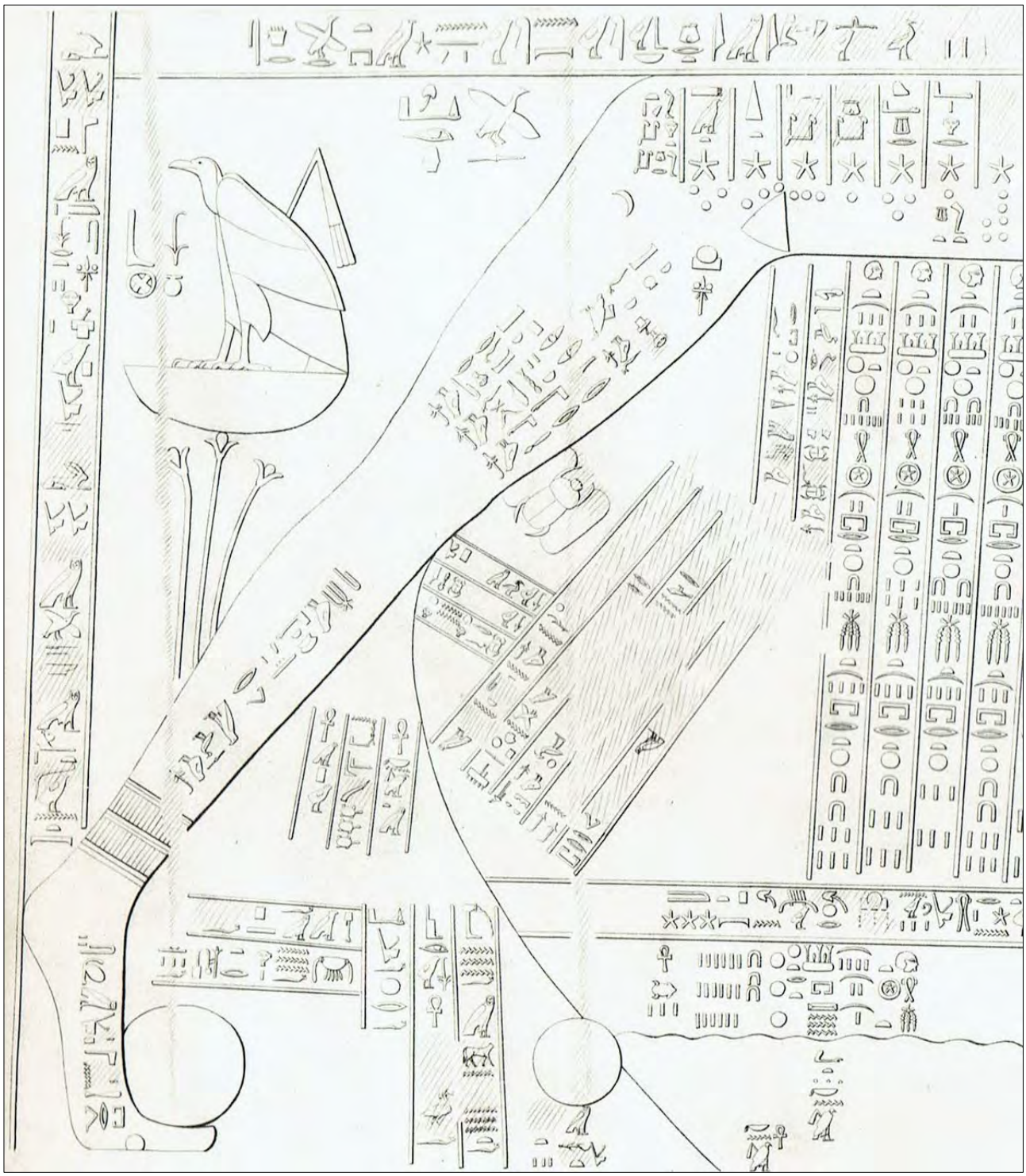


Plate 392. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette Crescent Moon and the Eastern Horizon. (Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

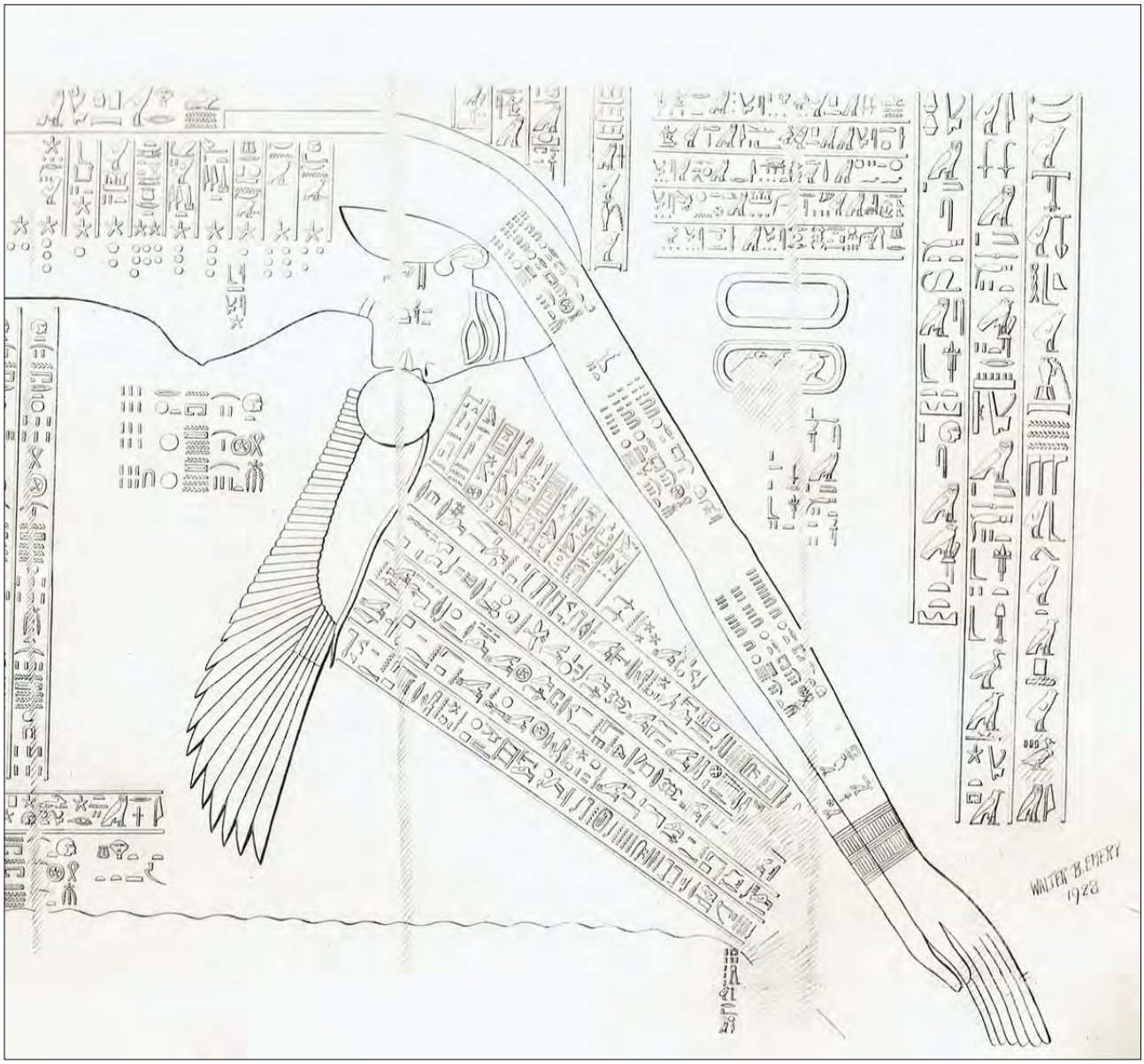


Plate 393. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette Sunset western Horizon.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

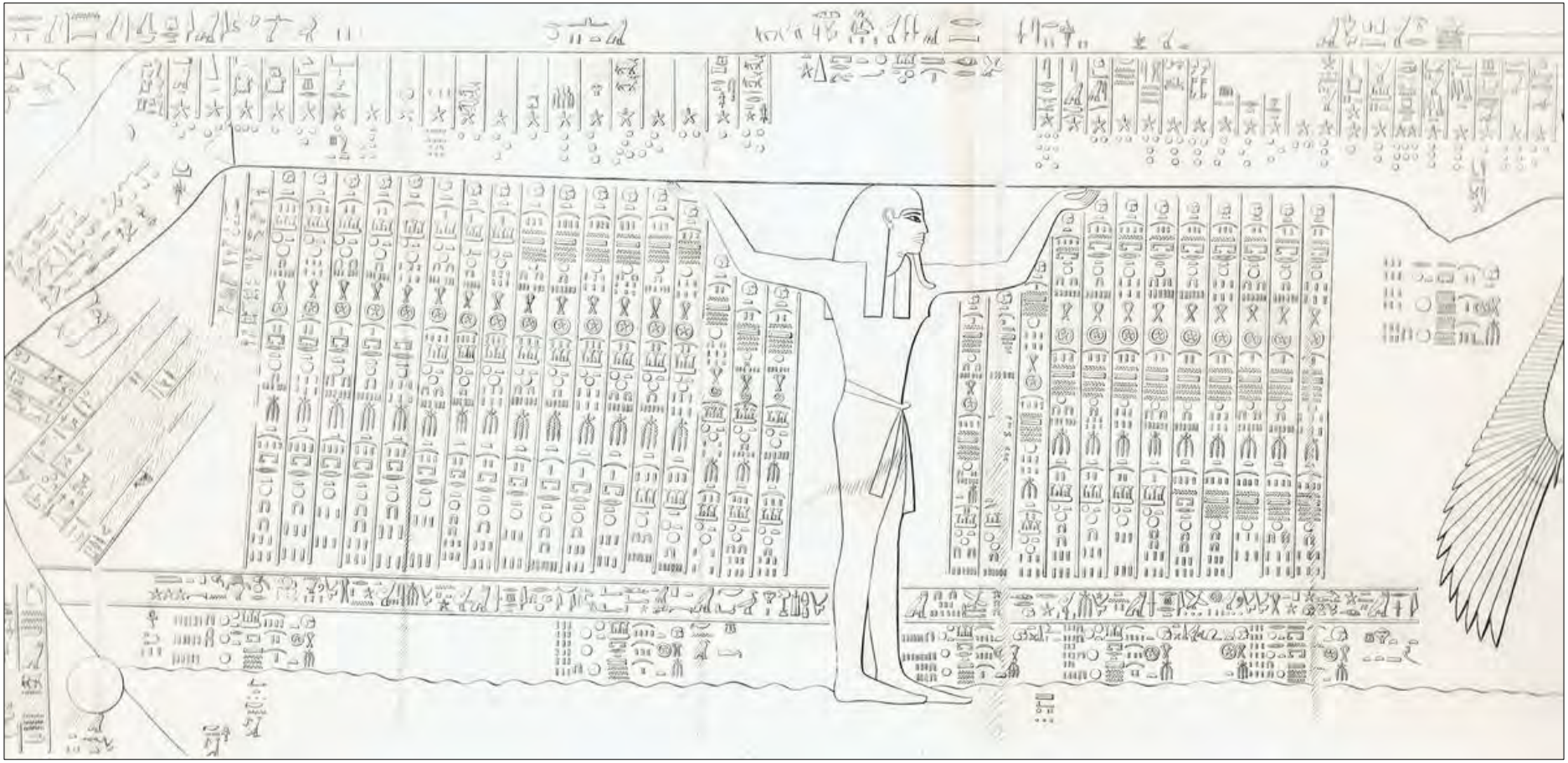
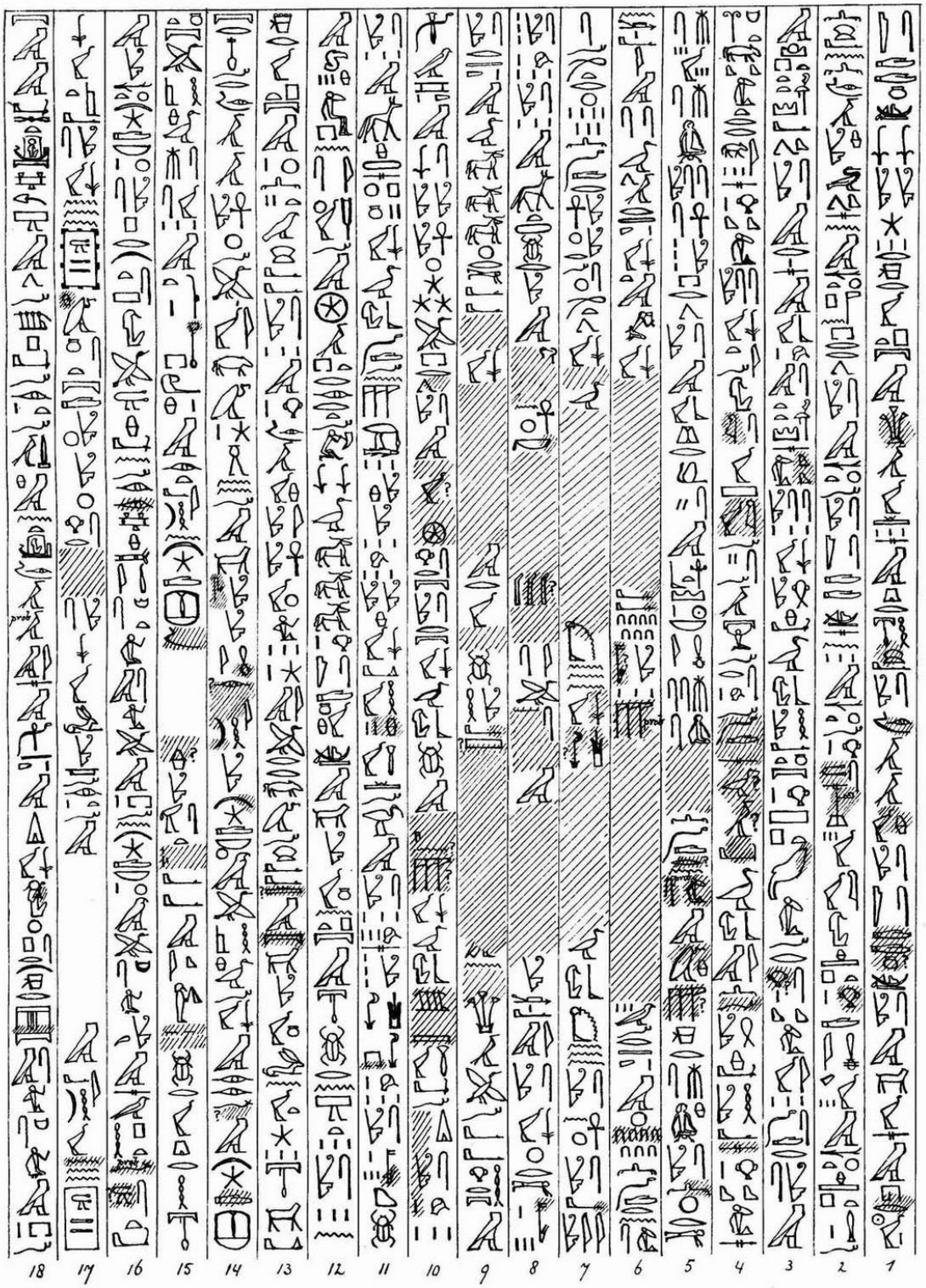


Plate 394. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Nut Vignette detail Central Section Decanal Lists.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 81) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2



West Side of Roof of Sarcophagus Chamber

Dramatic Text

By A. de Buck

Plate 395. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Dramatic Text I.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 84) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

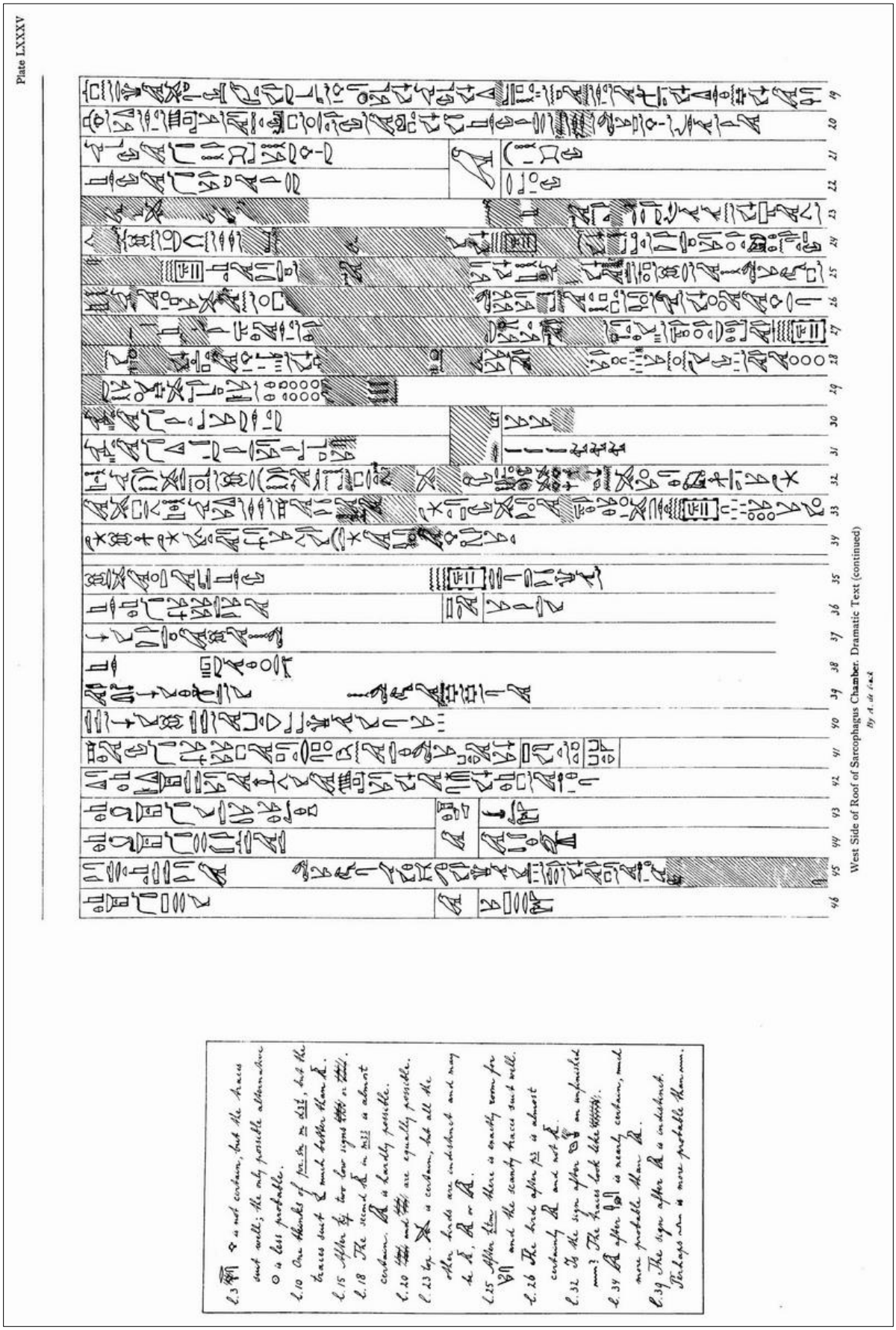
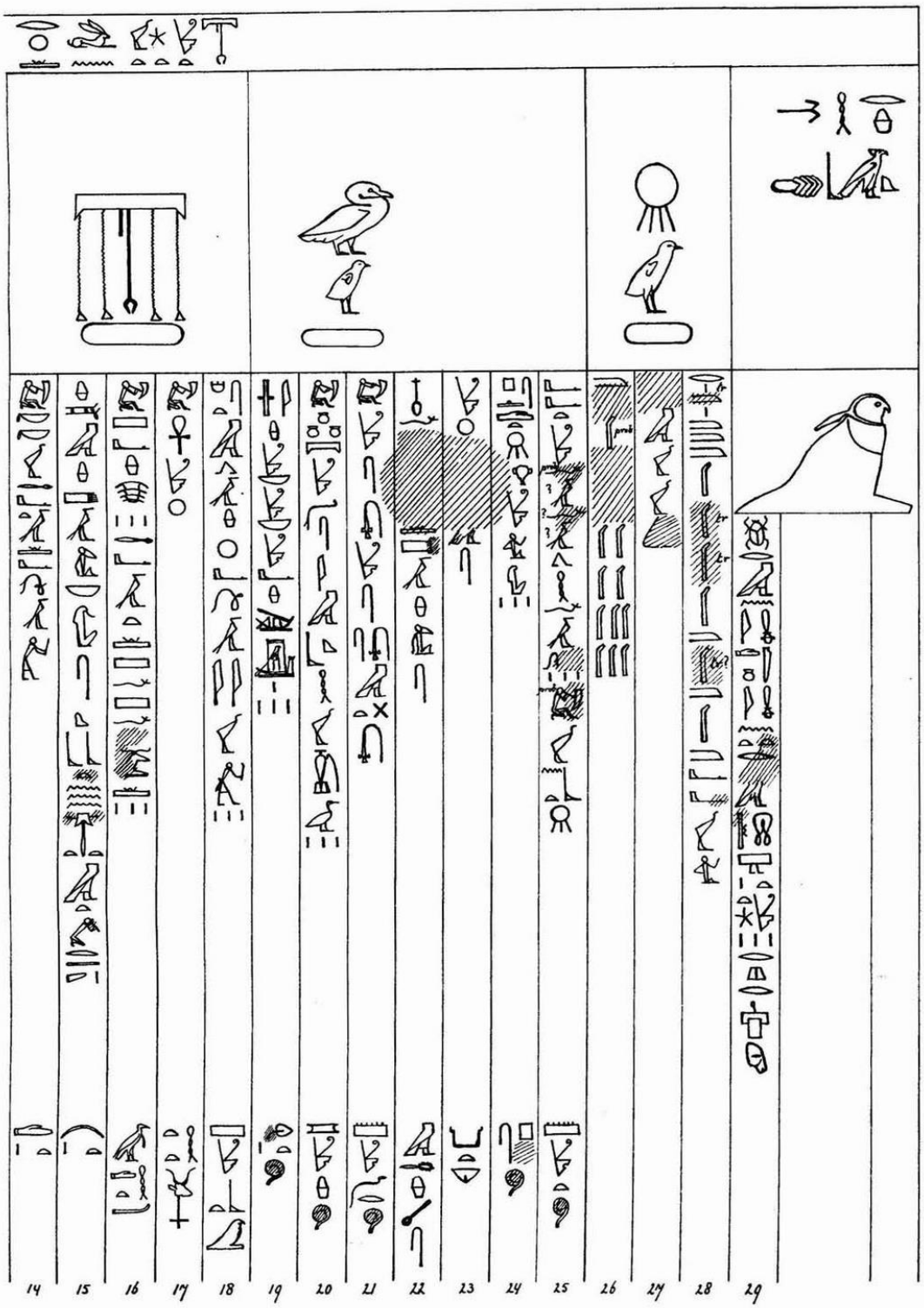


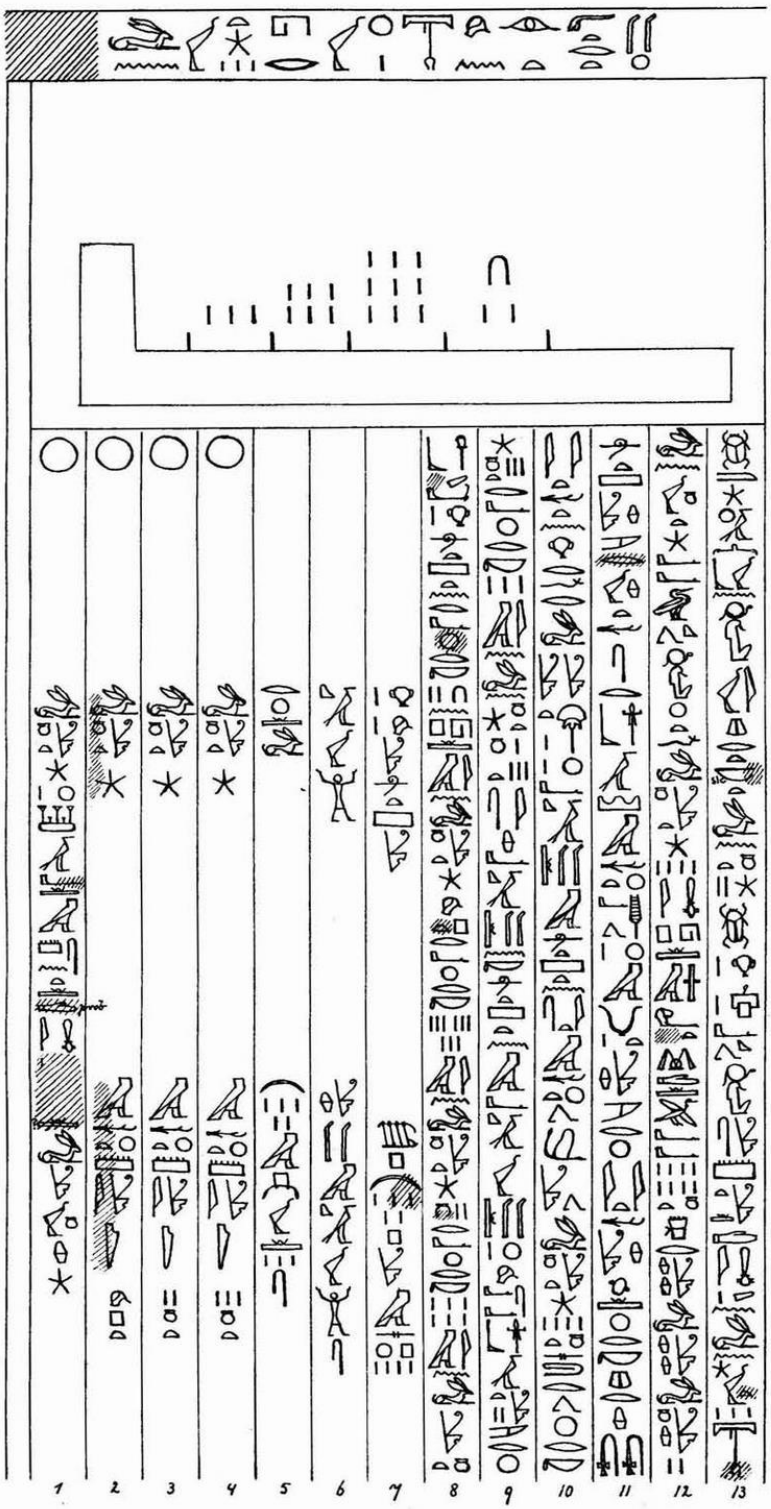
Plate 396. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Dramatic Text II.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 85) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2



West Side of Roof of Sarcophagus Chamber. Shadow Clock Text

By A. de Buck

Plate 397. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Shadow Clock Text I.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 82) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2



West Side of Roof of Sarcophagus Chamber. Shadow Clock Text

By A. de Buck

Plate 398. Second Transverse Hall Ceiling Shadow Clock Text II.
(Frankfort 1933, plate 83) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

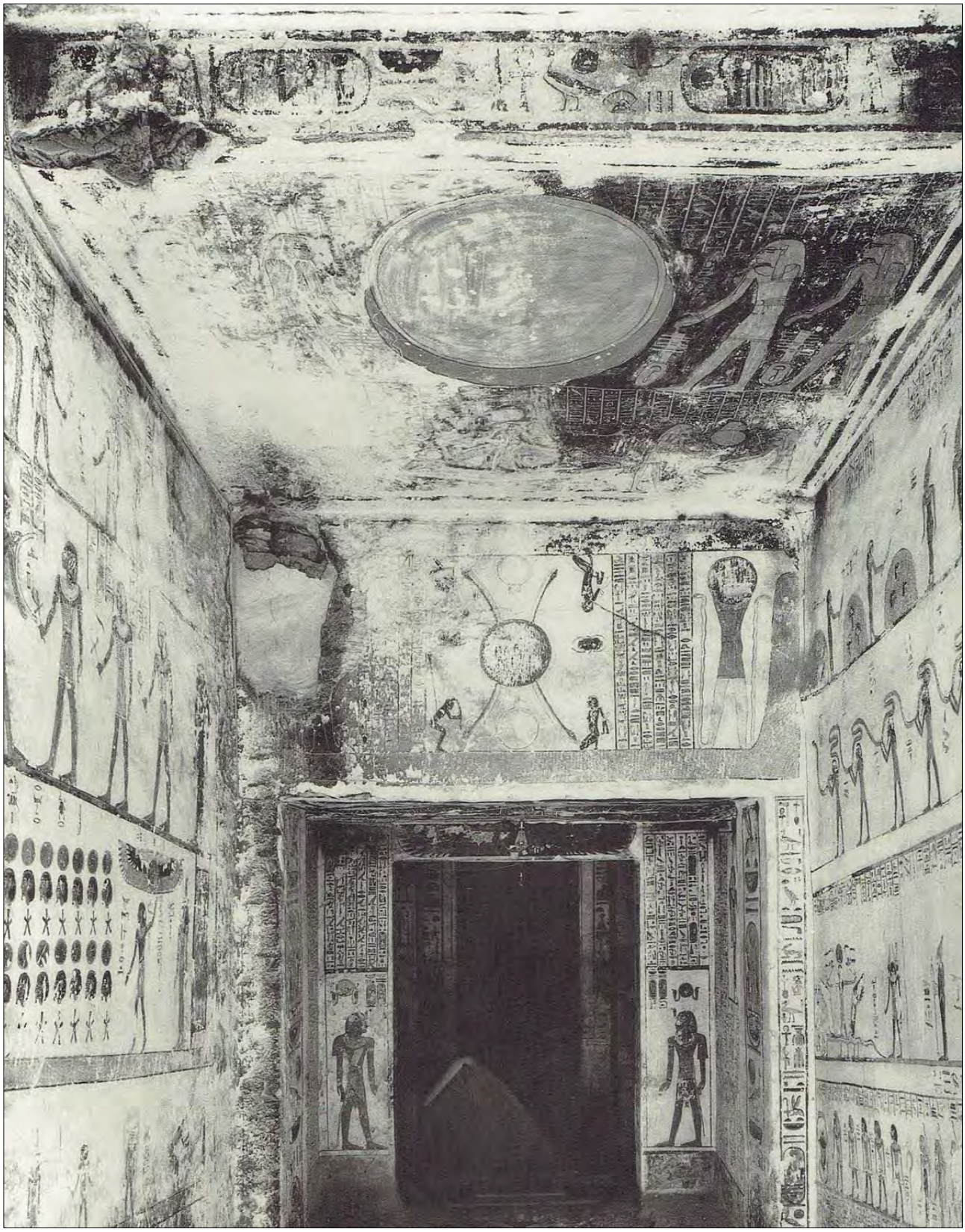


Plate 399. Astronomical Ceiling Corridor G KV 9 Showing Alterations for the Breach.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 101)

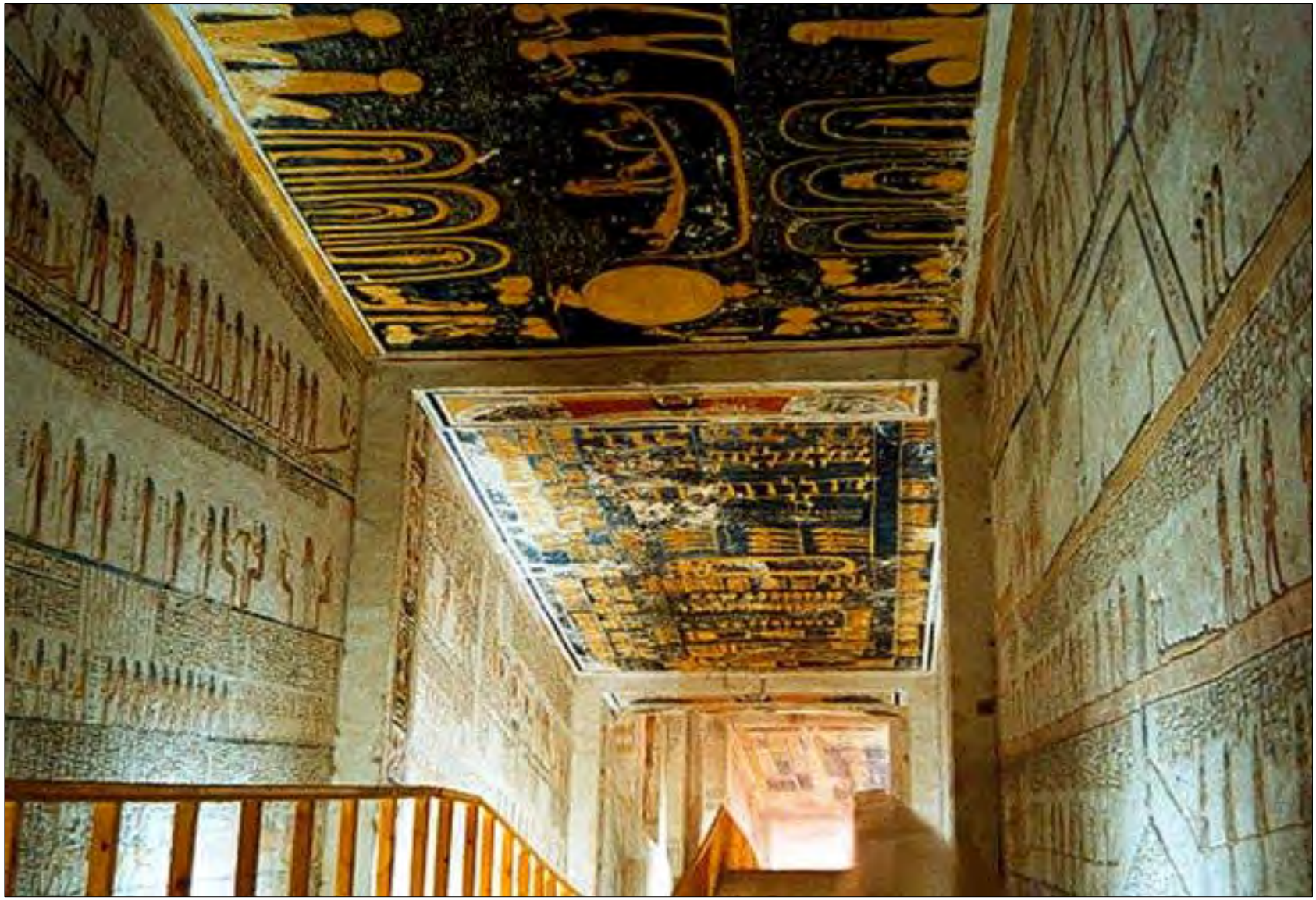


Plate 400. Astronomical Ceilings Corridors G and F detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Egypt Tailor Made Tours - Goddess Isis Program – Valley of the Kings Photo 19)

Plate 401. Astronomical Ceilings Corridors G and F detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

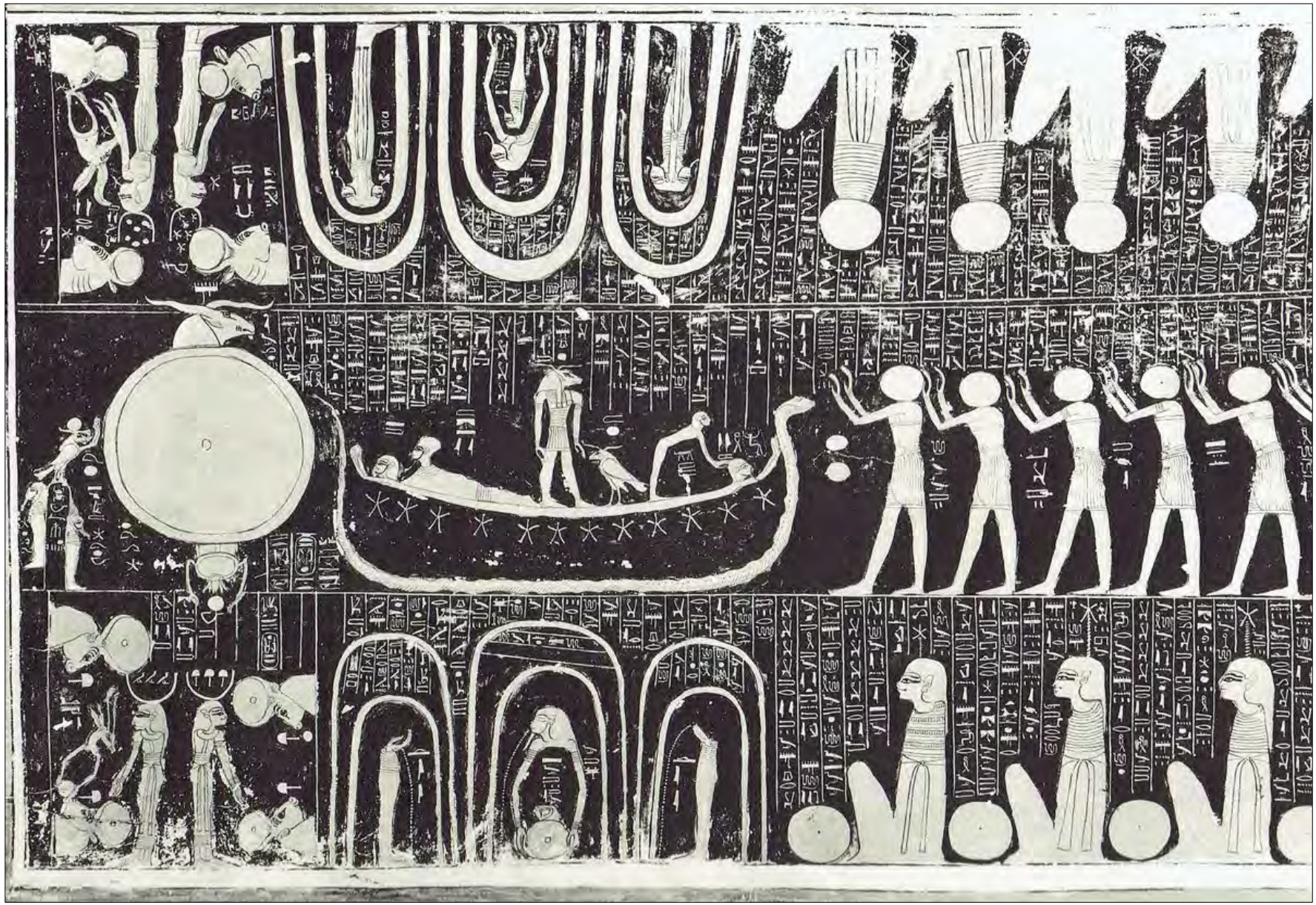


Plate 402. Astronomical Ceiling Solar Cycle Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 179)

Plate 403. Astronomical Ceiling Solar Composition Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Diego Delso delso.photo CC-BY-SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

Plate 404. Ceiling at the Breach "Schutzbild" Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 16291, F. Dzikowski 4/2001)

Plate 405. Solar Barques Composition Ceiling Corridor F KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo Diego Delso, CC_BY_SA 4.0 via Wikimedia Commons)

Plate 406 .Solar Barques Composition Ceiling Corridor F detail KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo ARCE https://thebanmappingproject.com image # 15147, F. Dzikowski 12/1999)

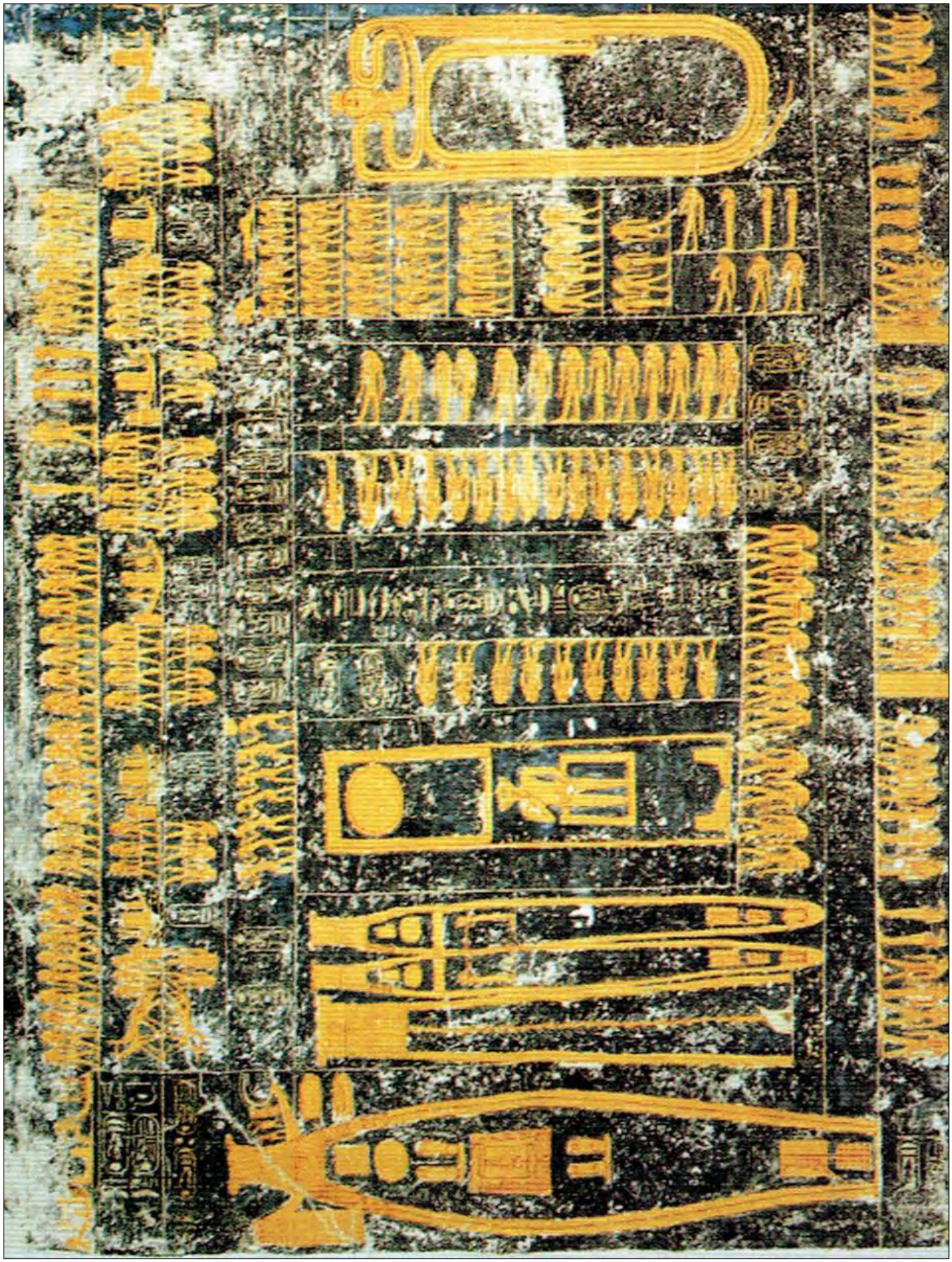


Plate 407. Solar Barques Composition detail Mehen and the Solar Barques Corridor F KV 9 Ramesses VI. (Weeks 2001, 254)

Plate 408. Solar Barques Composition detail second half KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Weeks 2001, 254)

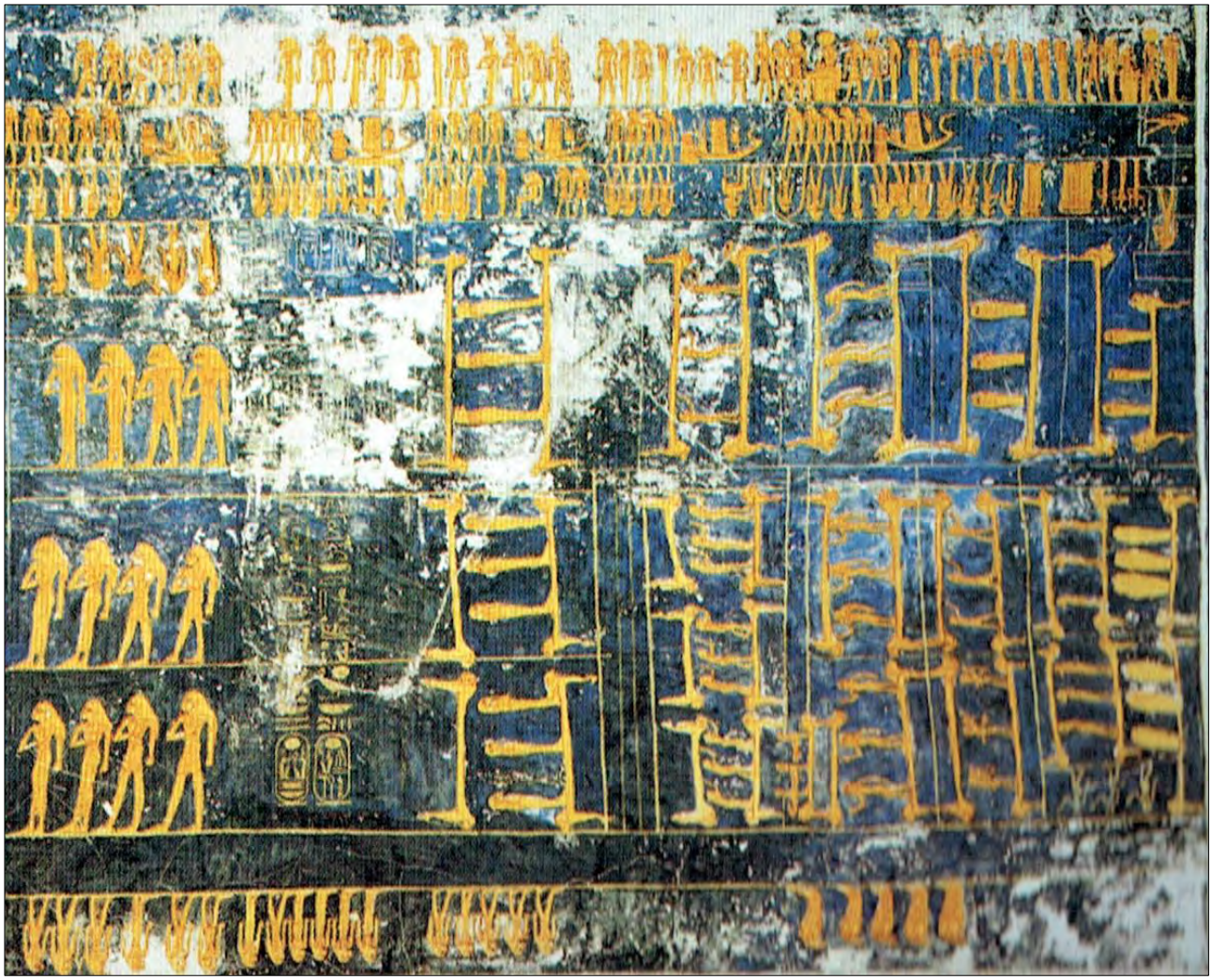


Plate 409. Solar Barques Composition Flow of Figures' Movements KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Weeks 2001, 254)

Plate 410. Solar Barques Composition detail the Naked and the Mummies KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo www.jlcarroll.net no longer posted)

Plate 411. Solar Barques Composition detail Double Lion-headed Biers KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Photo www.jlcarroll.net no longer posted)

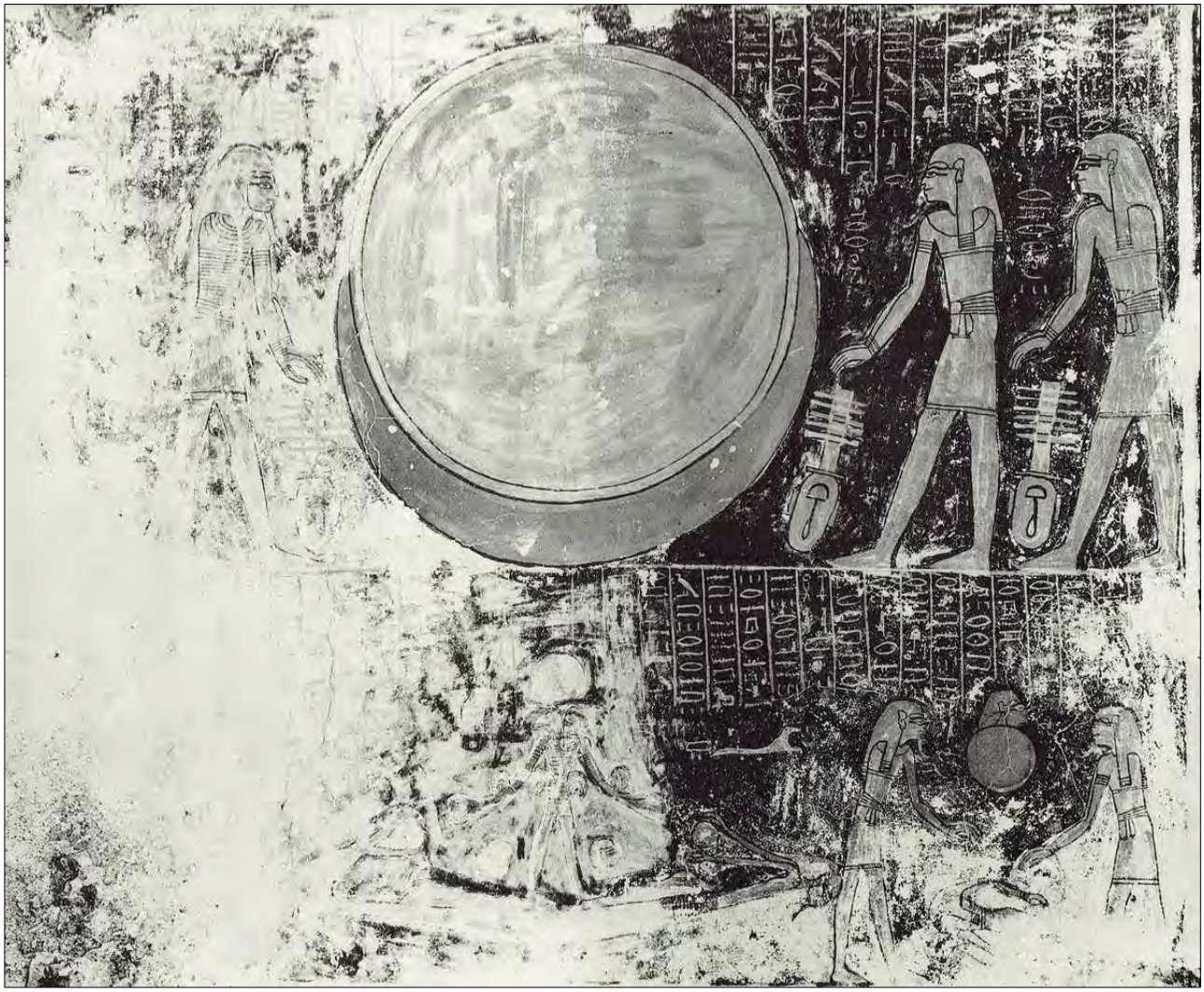


Plate 412. Astronomical Ceiling Lunar Cycle Corridor G KV 9 Ramesses VI.
(Piankoff 1954, plate 181)

Plate 413. Astroomical Ceiling Sarcophagus Chamber KV 17 Seti I.
(Weeks 2001, 207)

Plate 414. Astronomical Ceiling detail KV 17 Seti I.
(Photo www.crystalinks.com/Seti_I.html)

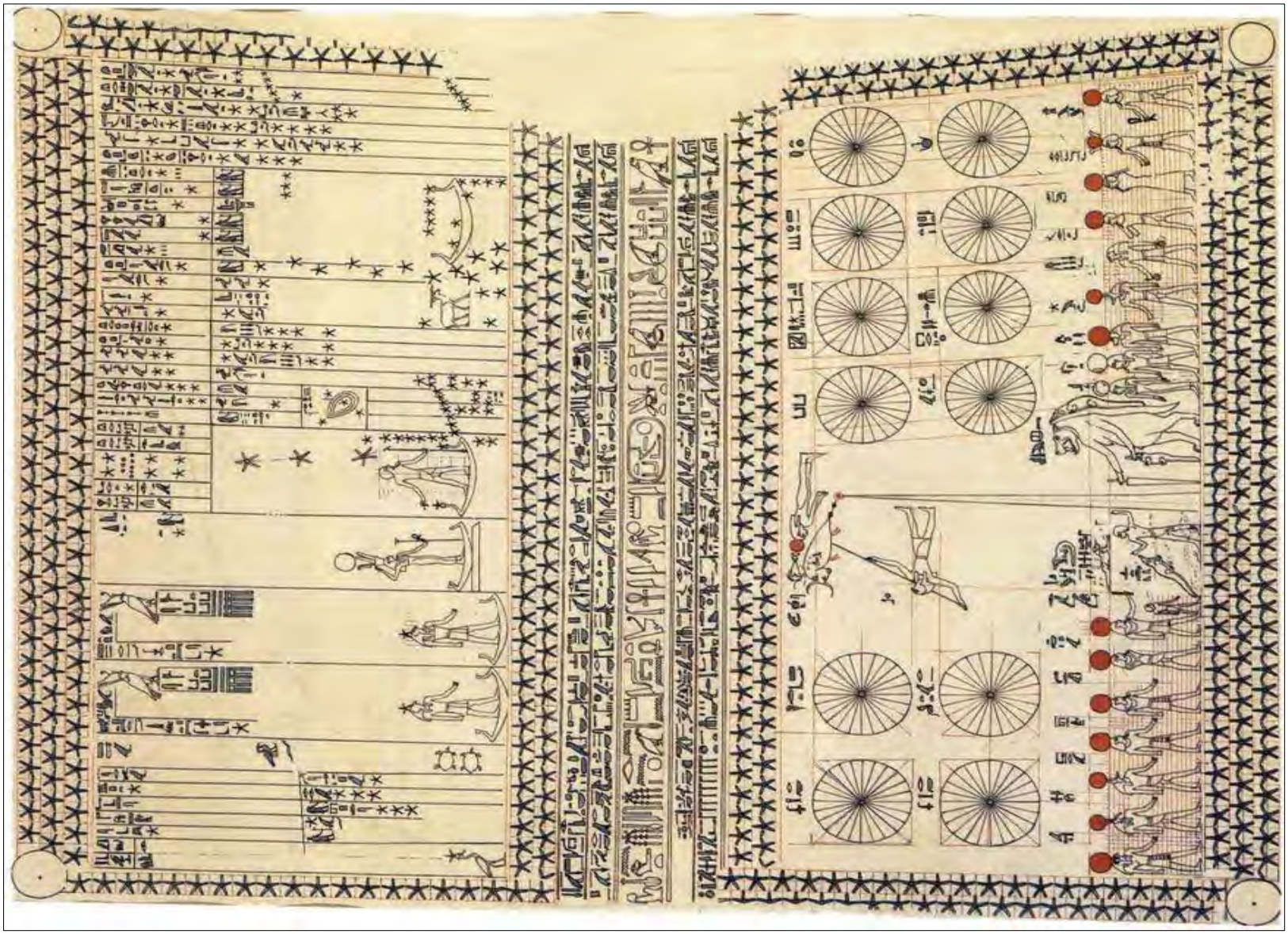


Plate 415. Astronomical Ceiling Senenmut TT 353.
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544566

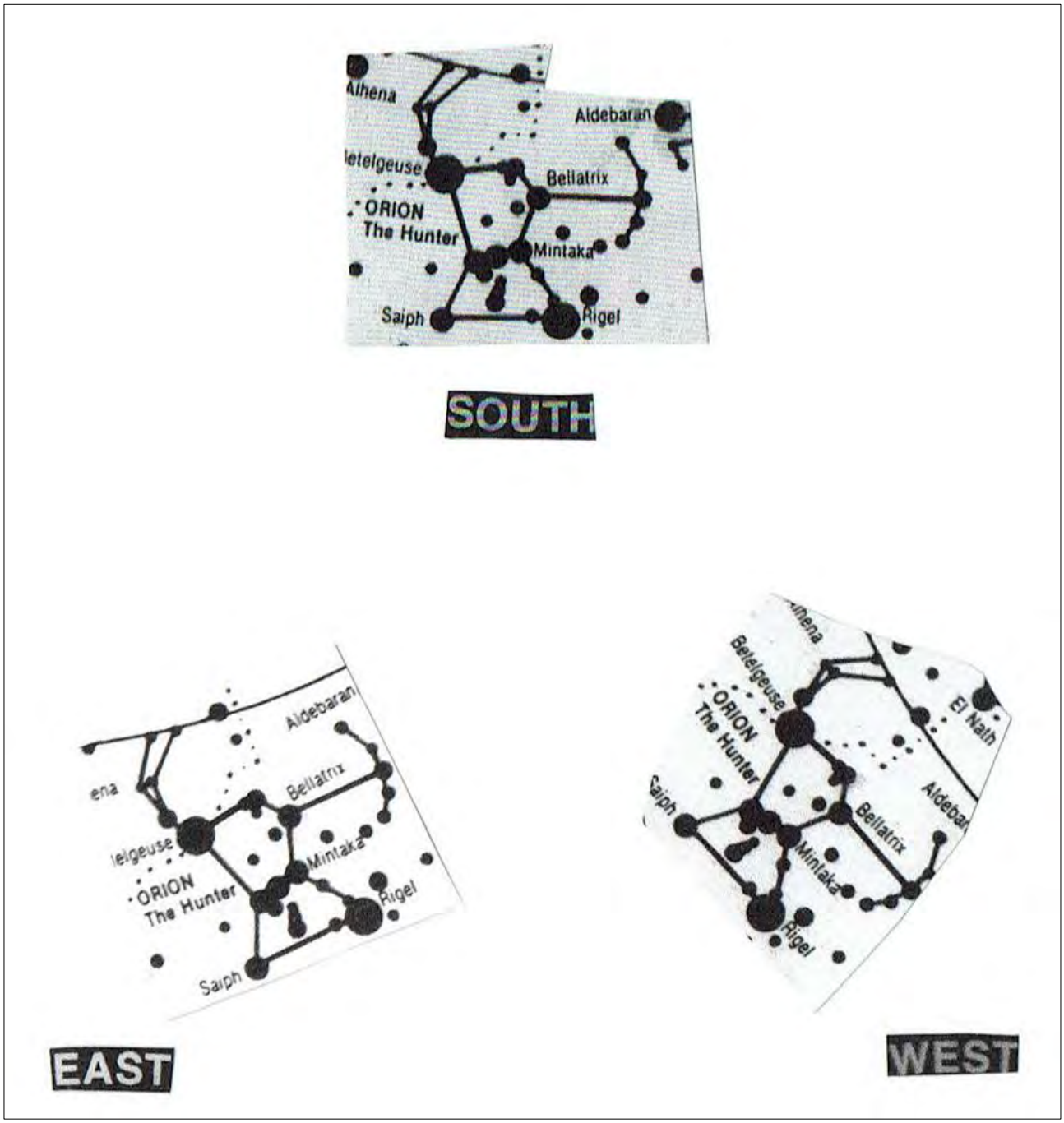


Plate 416. Orion's Movements Across the Night Sky.
(Diagram author)

Plate 417. First Transverse Hall Hymn to Re Papyrus Ani.
(Photo www.egyptologica.be)

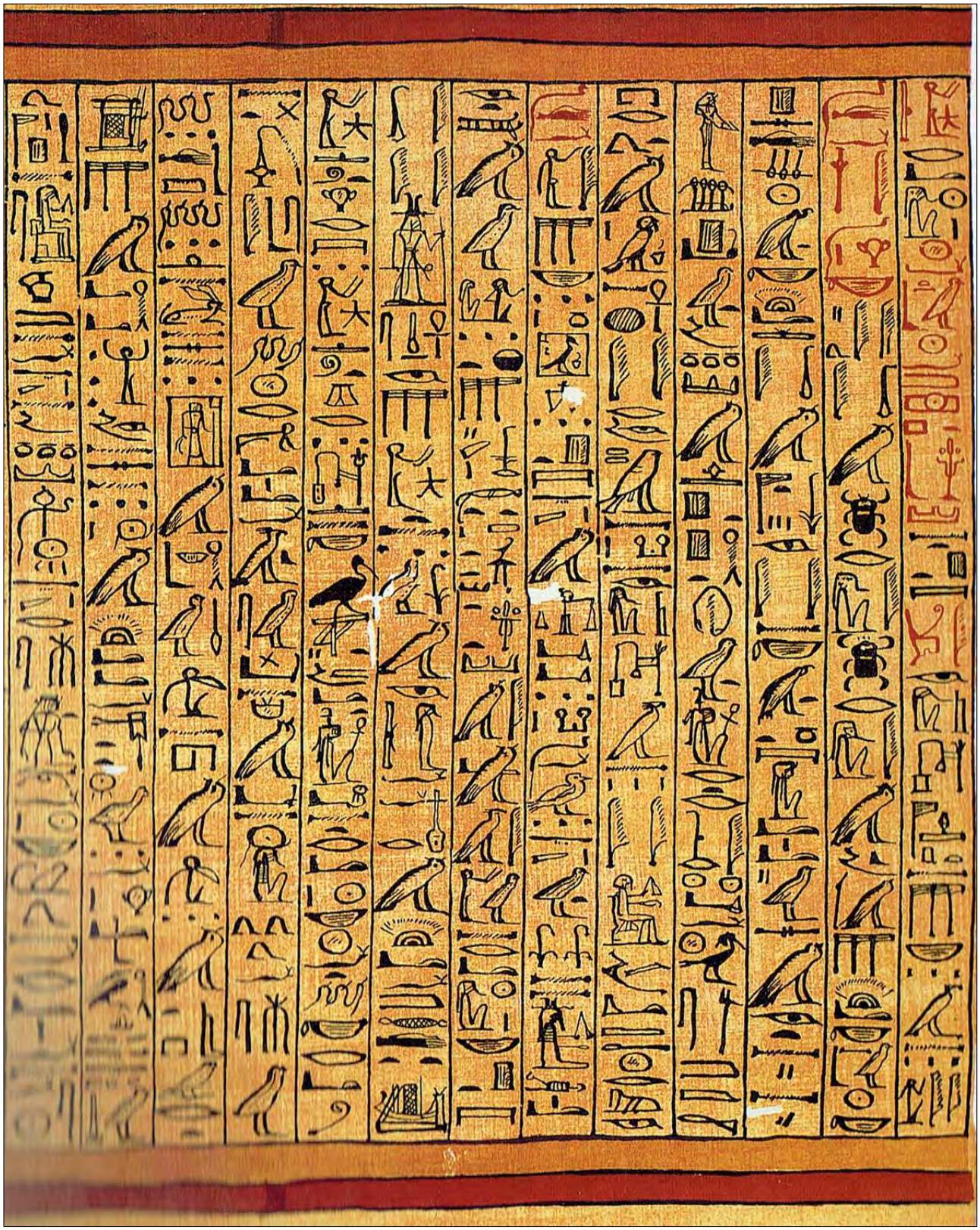


Plate 418. Hymn to Re Papyrus Ani detail.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 2)

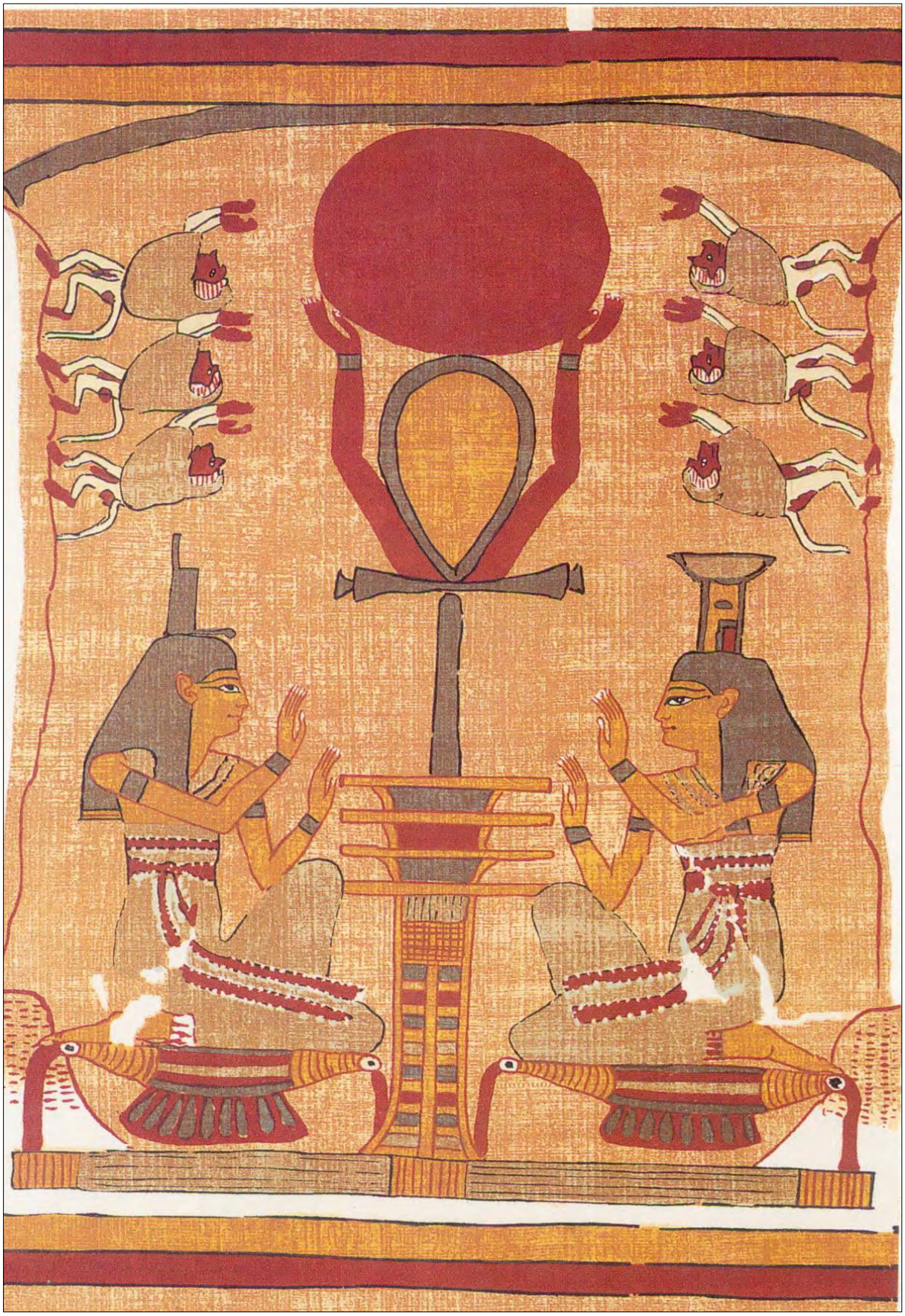


Plate 419. Sunrise BD 16 Papyrus Ani.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 2)

Plate 420. Hymn to Osiris Papyrus Ani.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 2)

Plate 421. Weighing Scene Papyrus Hunefer British Museum EA 9901.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: BD_Hunefer.jpg

Plate 422. Weighing Scene (royal) p.Cairo CG 40006 (Dynasty 21).
(Seeber 1976)

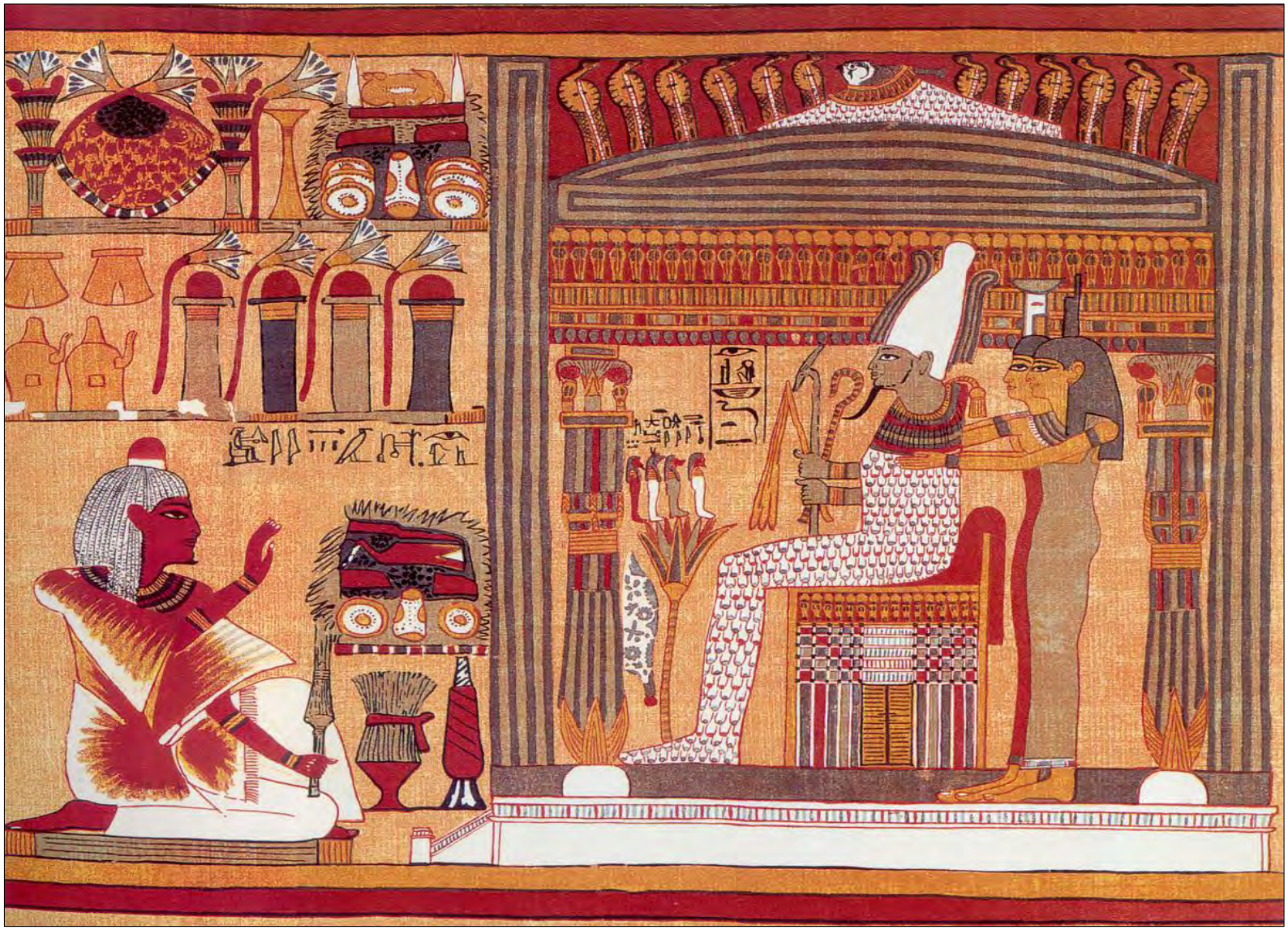


Plate 423. Enshrined Osiris Papyrus Ani.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 4)

Plate 424. Osiris Complex Inner Osiris Hall Raising the Djet-pillar Temple of Seti I.
(Photo Jon Bodsworth) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abydos_seti_16.jpg

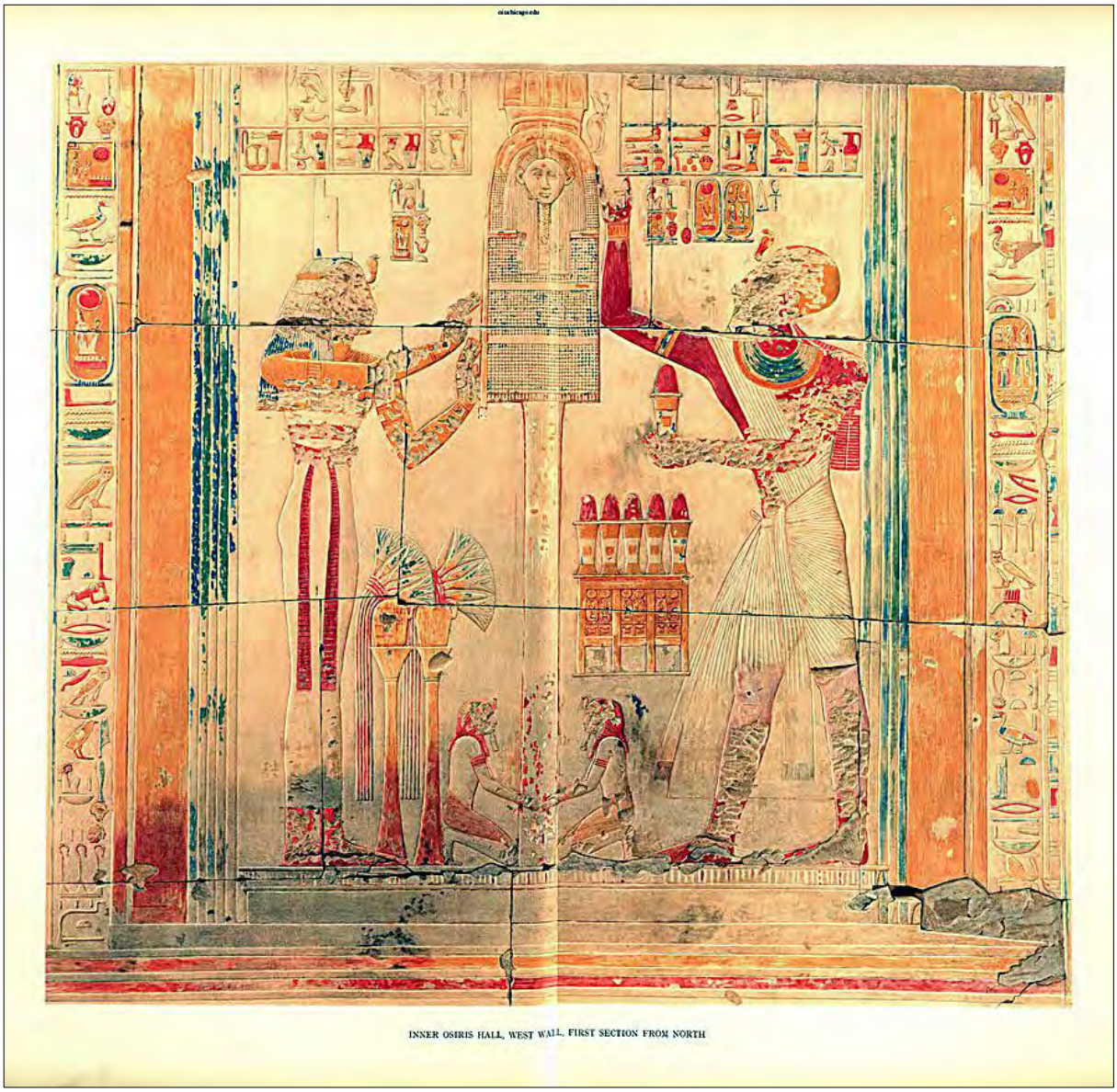


Plate 425. Osiris Complex Inner Osiris Hall Scene of the Abydene Emblem Temple of Seti I. (Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 6) https://oi.uchicago.edu

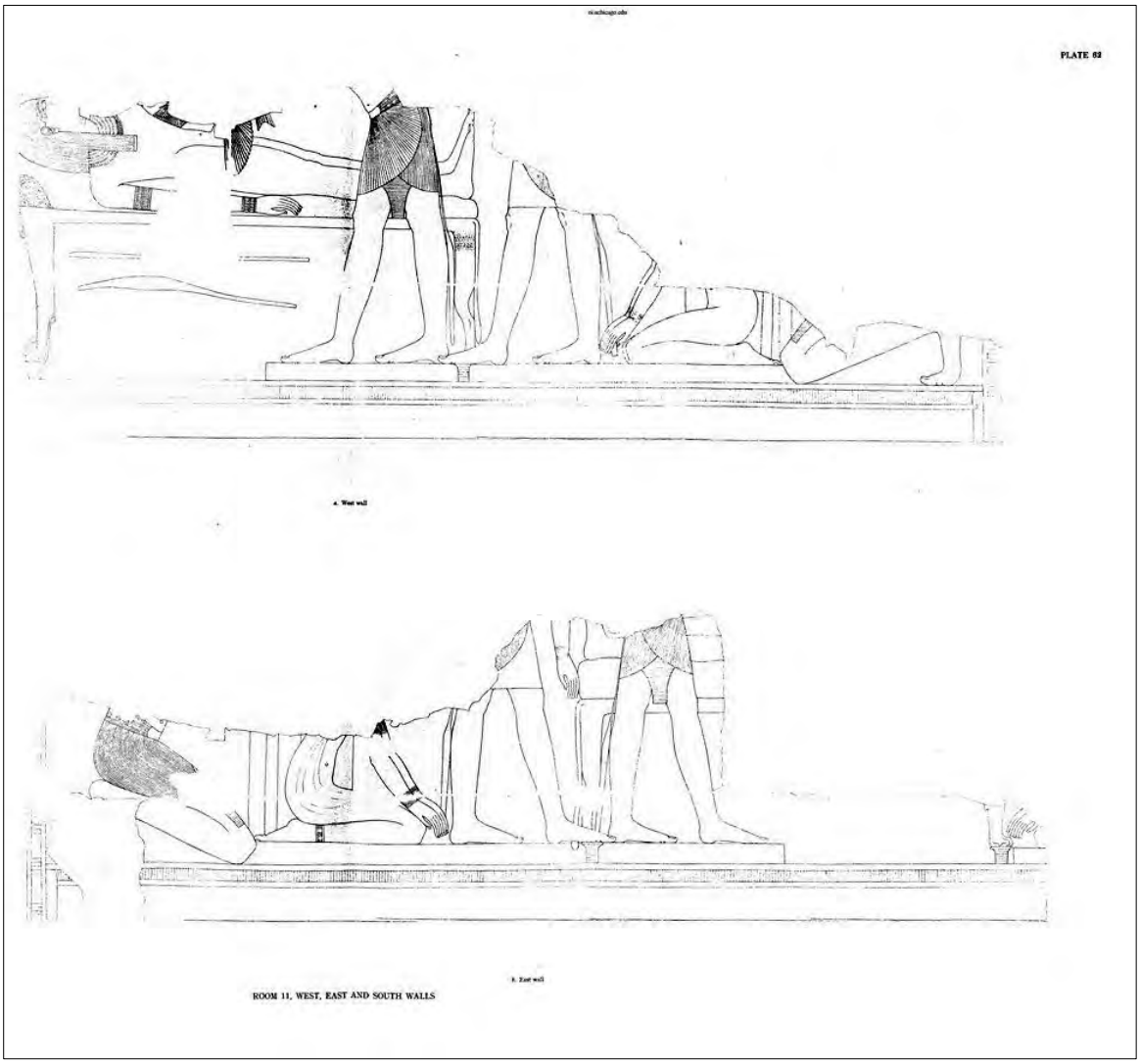


Plate 426. Osiris Complex Room 11 Conception Scenes Temple of Seti I.
(Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 62) https://oi.uchicago.edu

Plate 427. Osiris Complex Room 11 Conception Scene Temple of Seti I.
(Photo Timothy Lavelle) http://www.flickr.com/photos/travellingwebguy/6784108010/

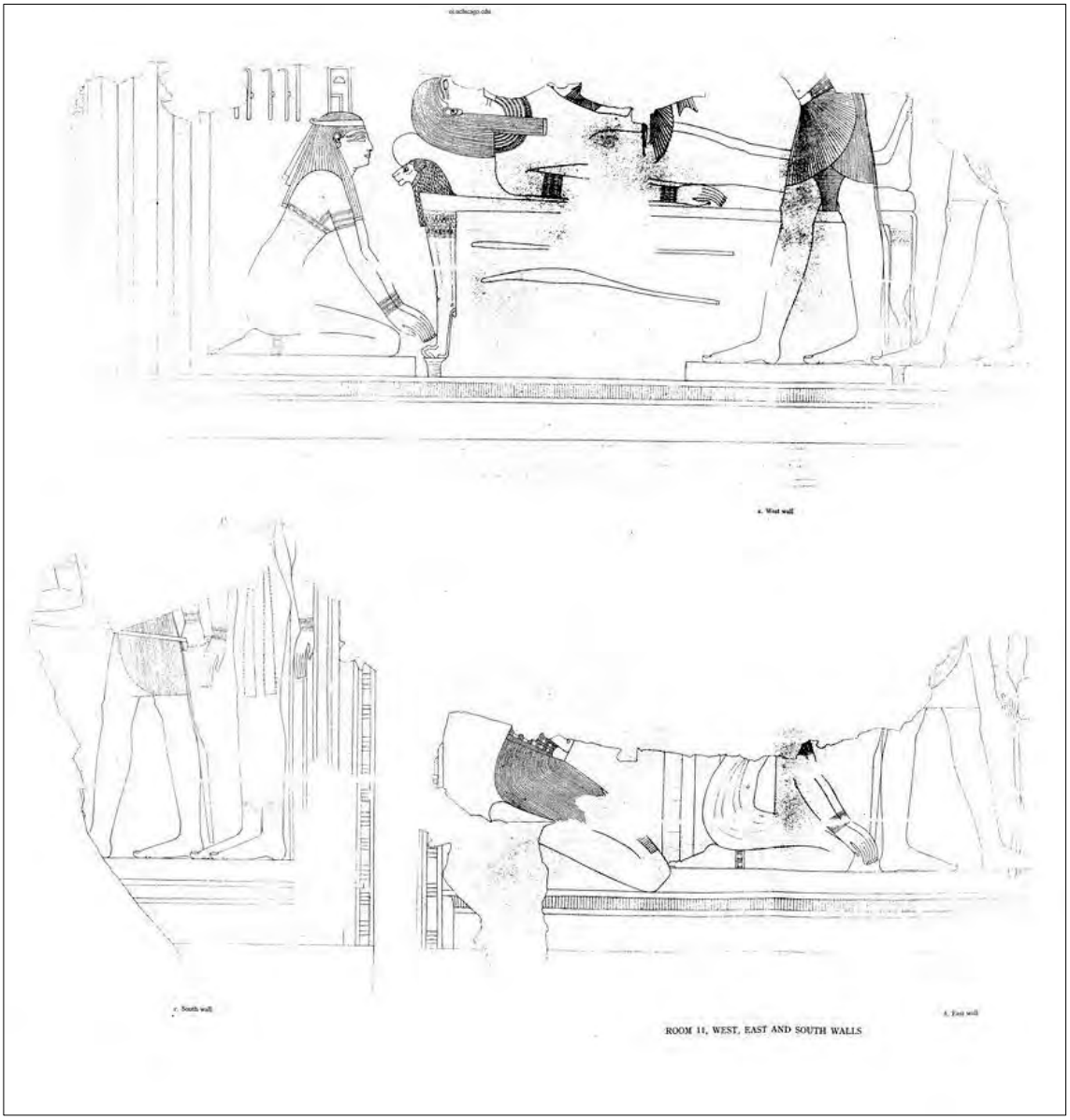


Plate 428. Osiris Complex Room 11 Awakening Scene Temple of Seti I.
(Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 62) https://oi.uchicago.edu

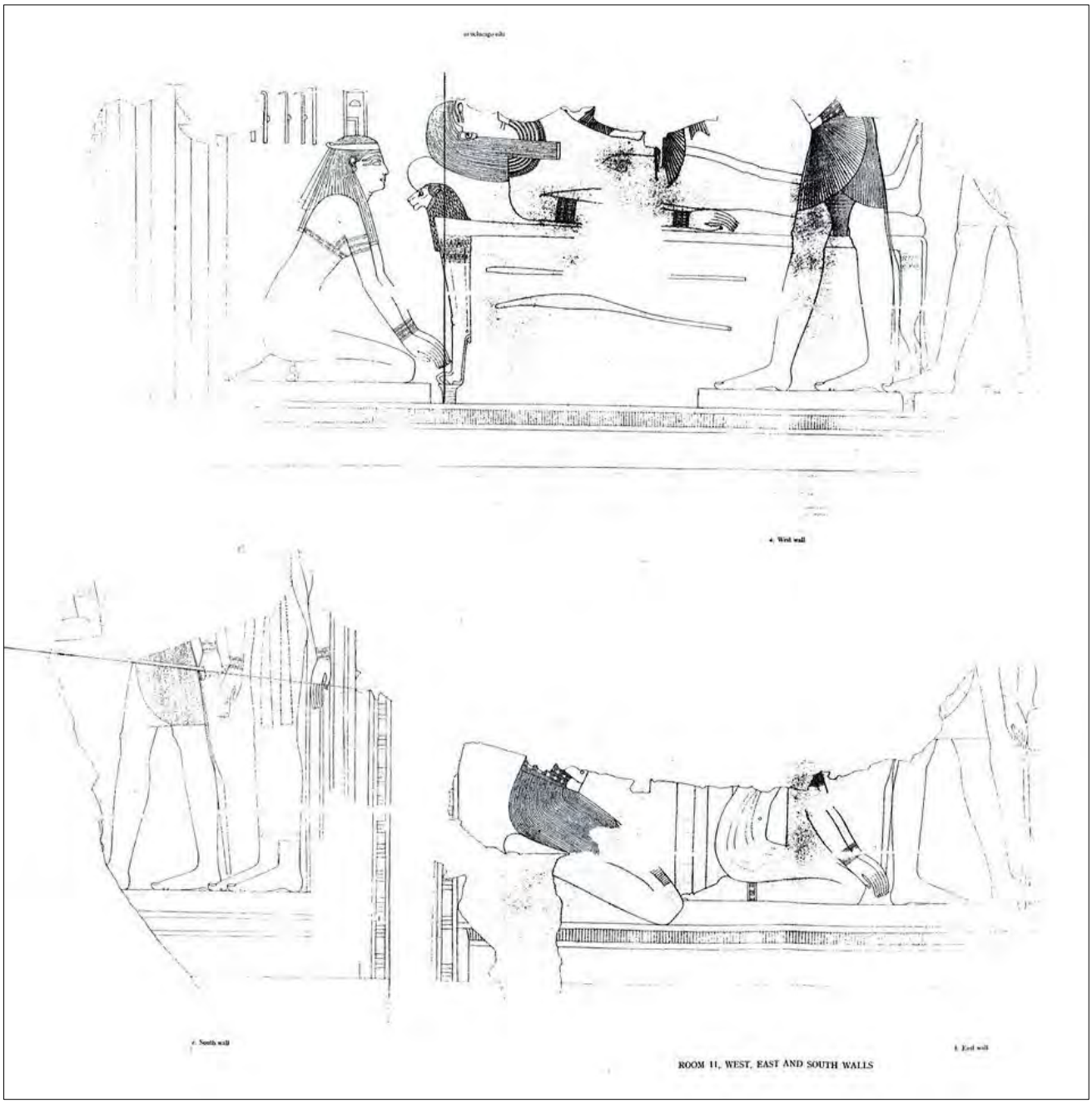


Plate 429. Osiris Complex Room 11 Awakening and Conception Scenes (Lines added). (after Calverley & Gardiner 1938, plate 62) https://oi.uchicago.edu

Plate 430. Osiris Conception Scene Chapel of Sokar Temple of Seti I by kairoinfo4u.
https://www.flickr.com/photos/manna4u/1508346149/

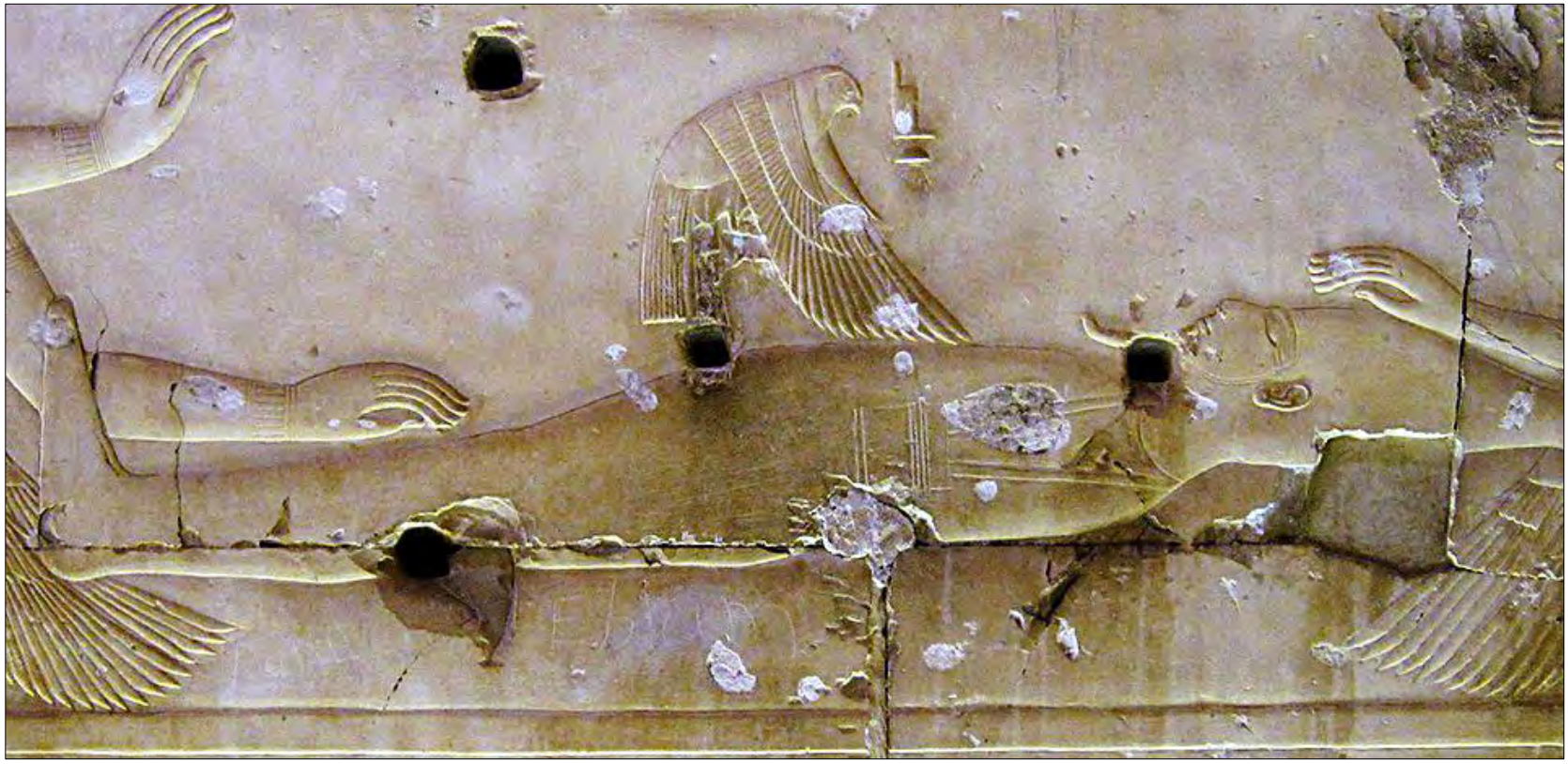


Plate 431. Osiris Conception Scene Chapel of Sokar detail Temple of Seti I.
(Photo www.danfurst.com)

Plate 432. Osiris Awakening Chapel of Sokar Temple of Seti I.
(Photo Olaf Tausch)
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abydos_Tempelrelief_Sethos_I._37.JPG

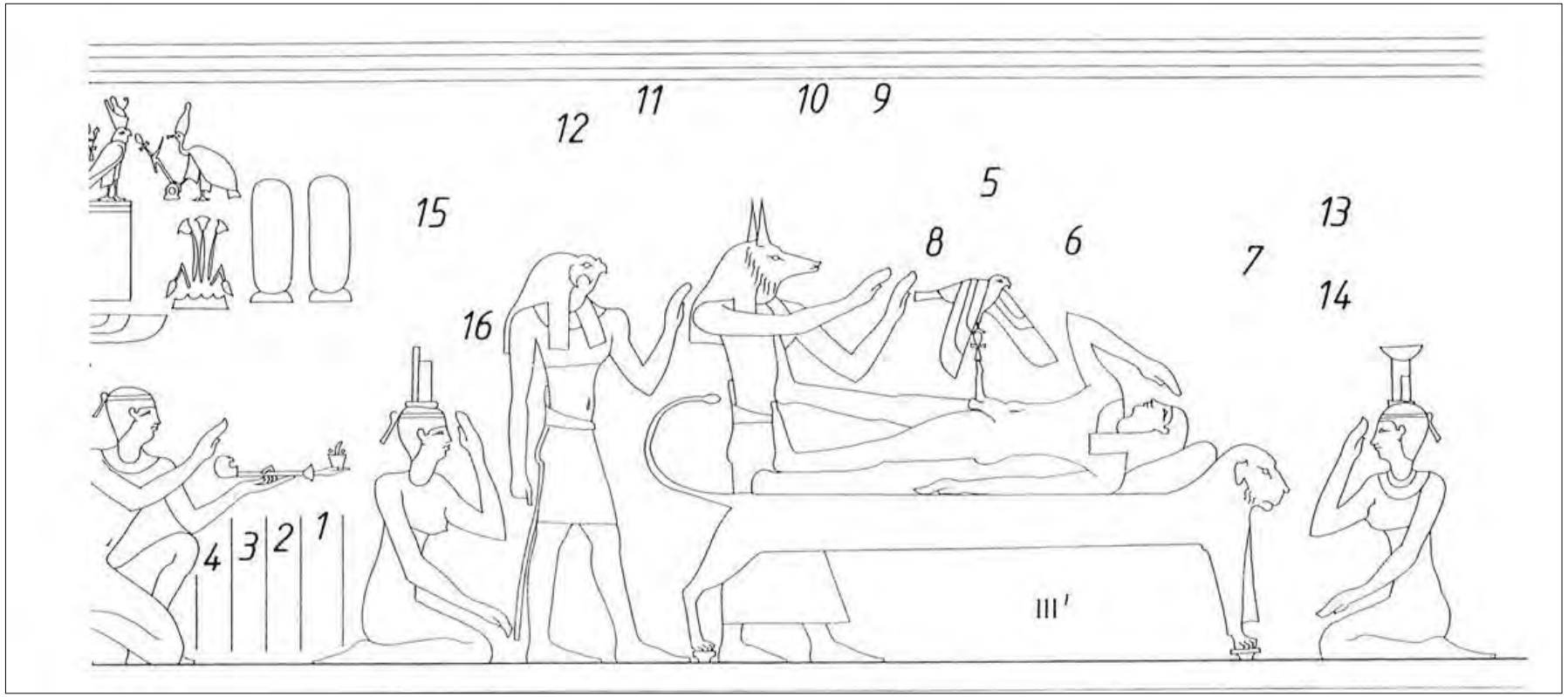


Plate 433. Conception Scene King Kneeling Offering Incense Temple of Dendera.
(Cauville 1997, plate 257)

Plate 434. Osiris Conception of Horus Scene Temple of Dendera.
(Photo 2009 Csorfoly Daniel, Public domain, via Wikimedia Comons)

Plate 435. Osiris Bed.
(Cairo Museum Photo 788)

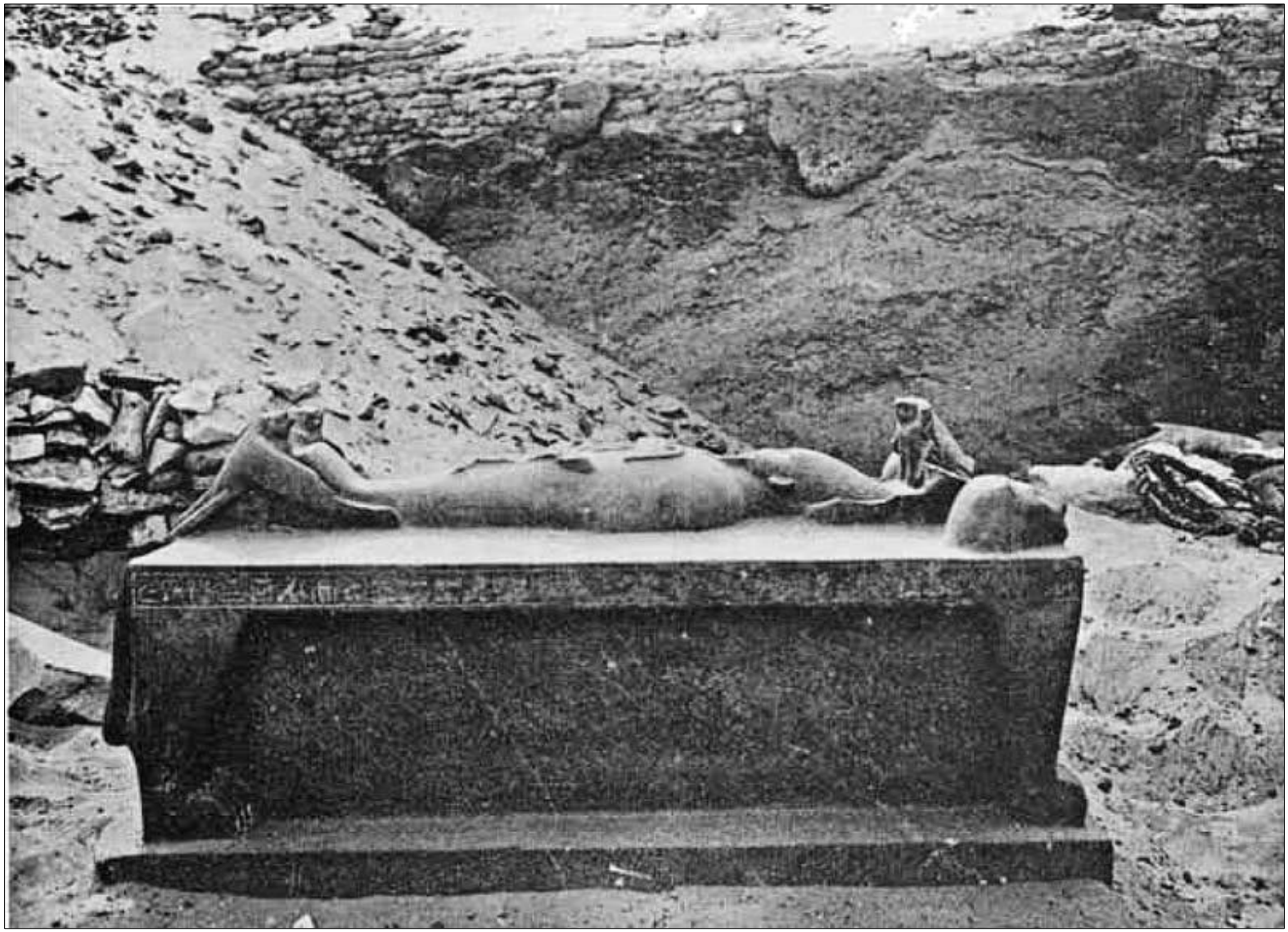
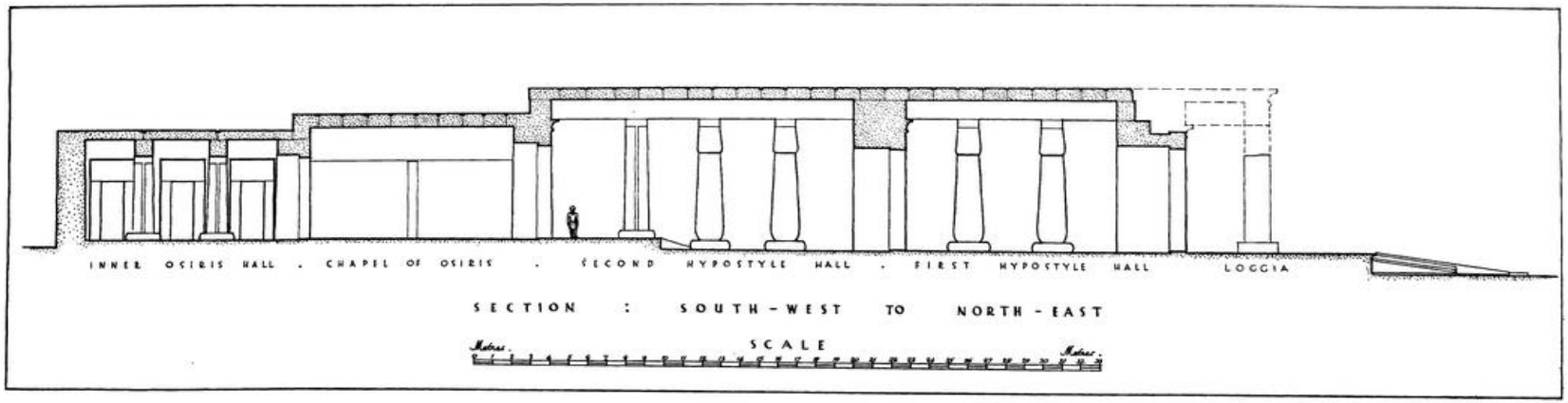
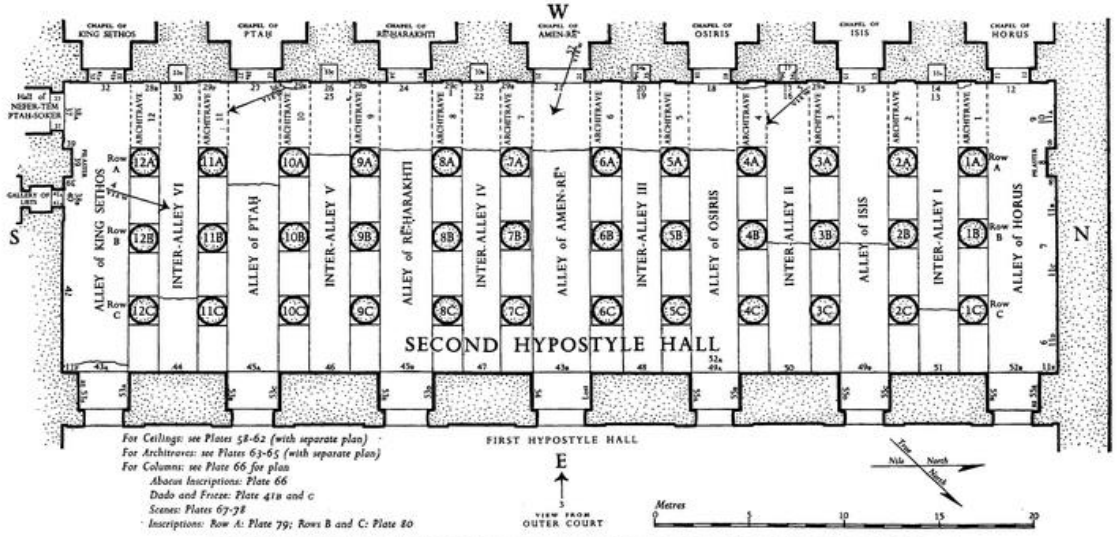


Plate 436. Osiris Bed Tomb of Djer Umm el Qaab.
(Amelineau 1899, plate III)


INNER OSIRIS HALL . CHAPEL OF OSIRIS . SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL . FIRST HYPOSTYLE HALL LOGGIA
SECTION : SOUTH-WEST TO NORTH-EAST
SCALE

SECTIONS



PLAN SHOWING THE POSITION AND PLATE NUMBERING OF SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS
Where there are two or more registers the lowest scene is written closest to the wall (as in pls. 9, 10 and 11)

Plate 437. Second Hypostyle Hall Plan Temple of Seti I.
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 2) https://oi.uchicago.edu

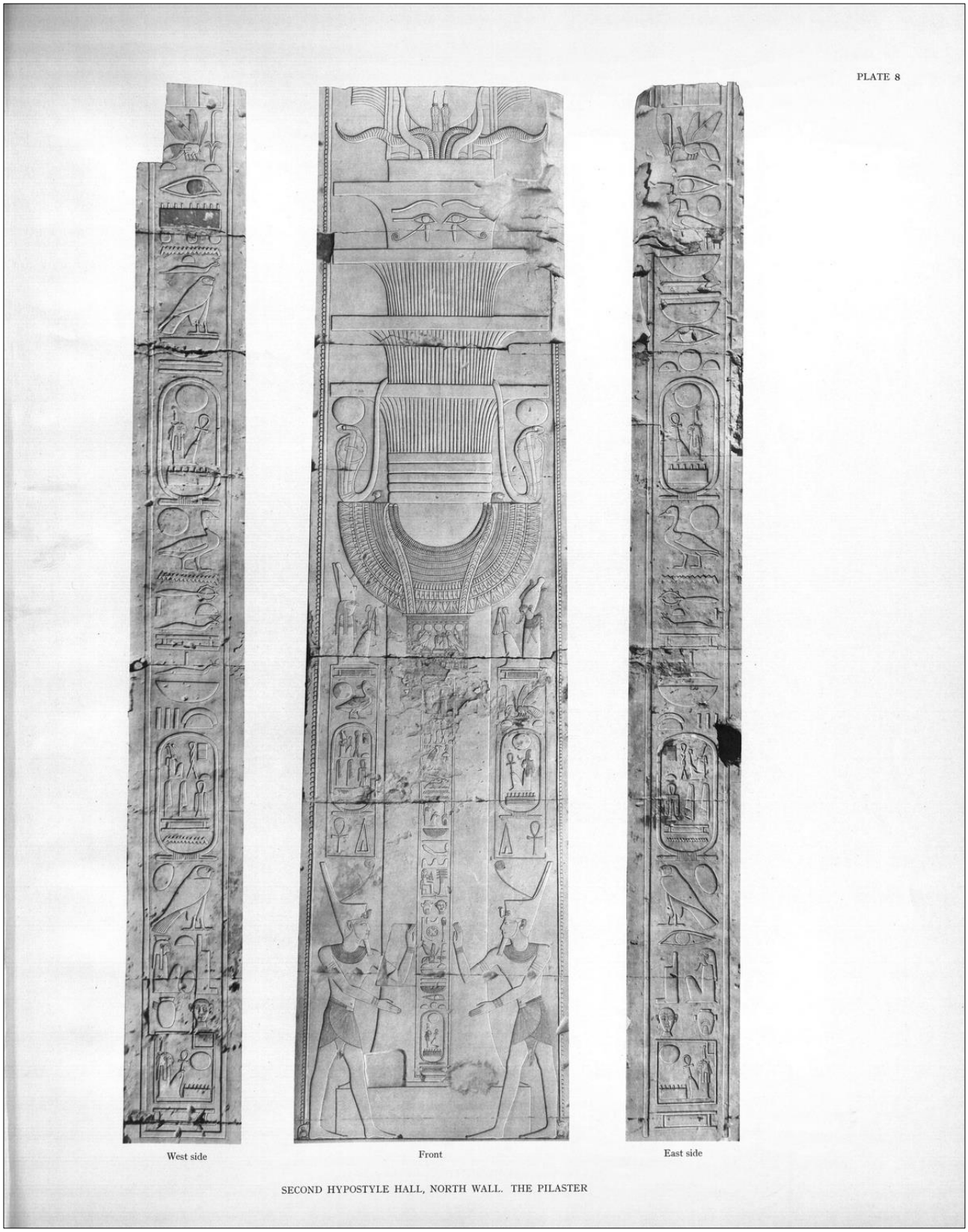


Plate 438. Second Hypostyle Hall 'August Djed in Abydos' Pilaster North (notional west) Wall. (Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 8) https://oi.uchicago.edu

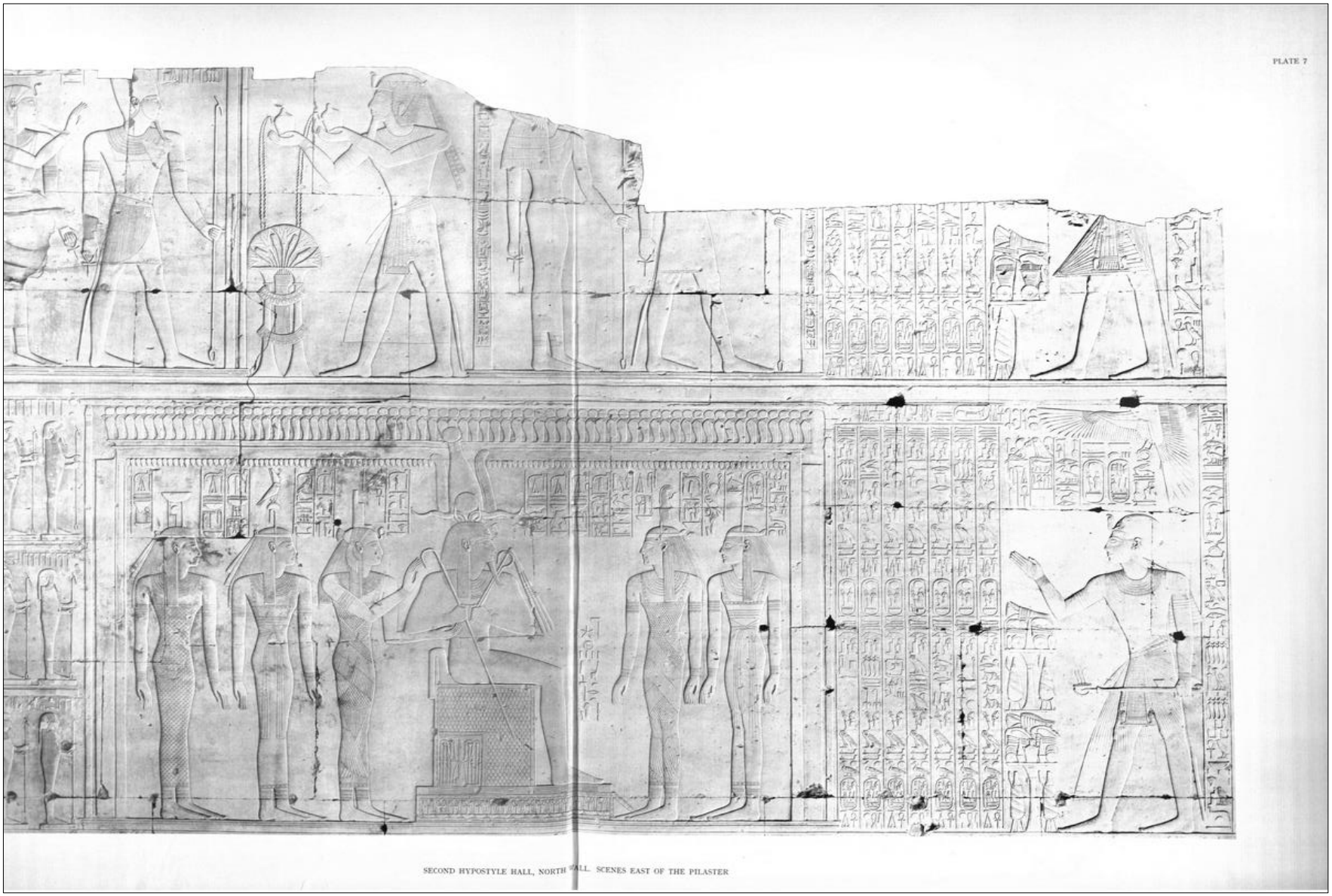


Plate 439. Second Hypostyle Hall North (notional west) Wall Litany of Osiris 14 Invocations.
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 7) https://oi.uchicago.edu

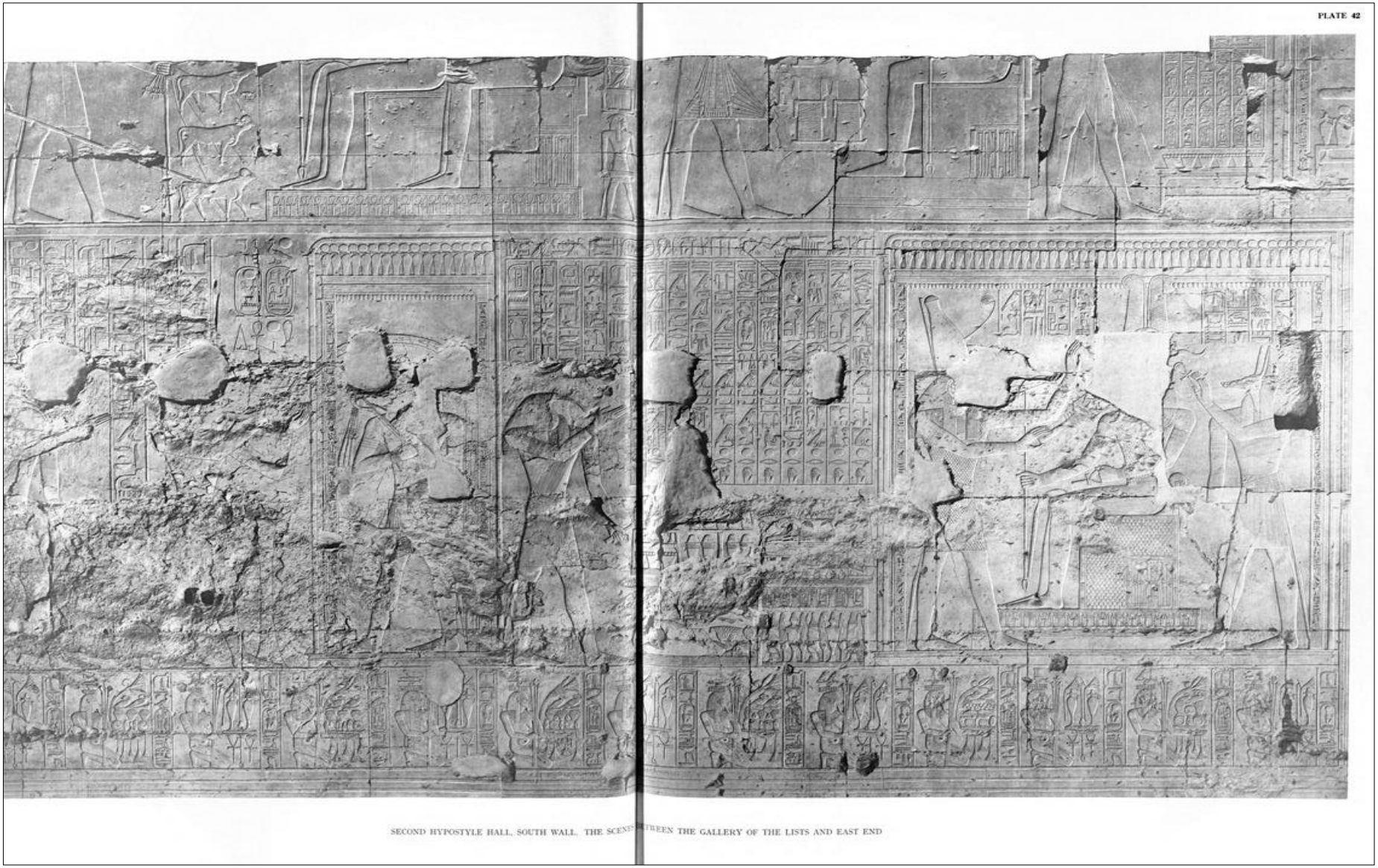


Plate 440. Second Hypostyle Hall Litany to Sokar (top right).
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 42) https://oi.uchicago.edu

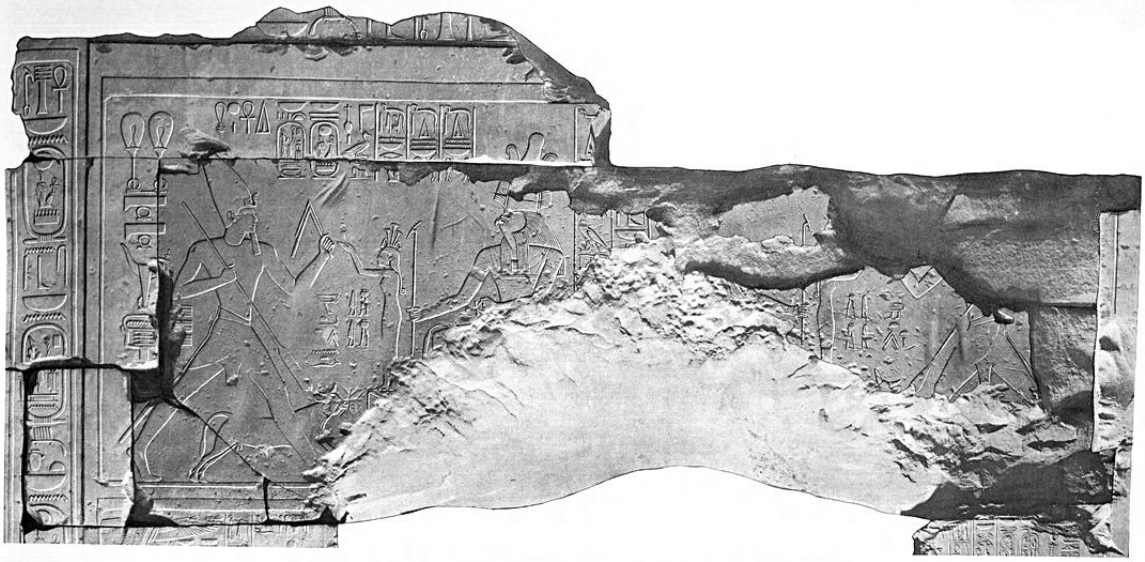
East jamb | East thickness | West thickness | West jamb

SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL, SOUTH WALL

ENTRANCE TO THE HALL OF NEFER-TEM AND PTAḤ-SOKER

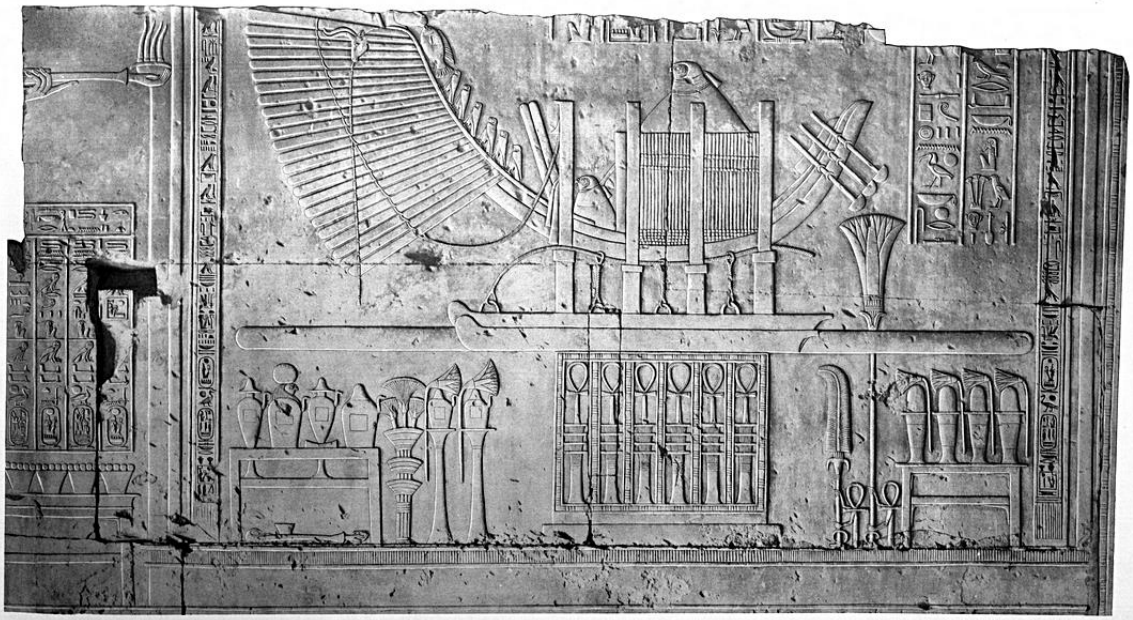
For the lintel see Pl. 38, A

Plate 441. Second Hypostyle Hall Entrance to the Nefertem-Sokar Complex. (Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 37) https://oi.uchicago.edu



A. LINTEL ABOVE ENTRANCE TO THE HALL OF NEFER-TEM AND PTAḤ-SOKER

For the entrance below see Pl. 37



B. SCENE ABOVE ENTRANCE TO THE GALLERY OF THE LISTS

For the entrance below see Pl. 40

SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL SOUTH WALL

Plate 442. Second Hypostyle Hall Barque of Sokar.
(Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 38) https://oi.uchicago.edu

Plate 443. Second Hypostyle Hall South (notional east) Wall Pilaster Osiris-Tatenen Djed-pillar. (Calverley & Gardiner 1958, plate 39) https://oi.uchicago.edu

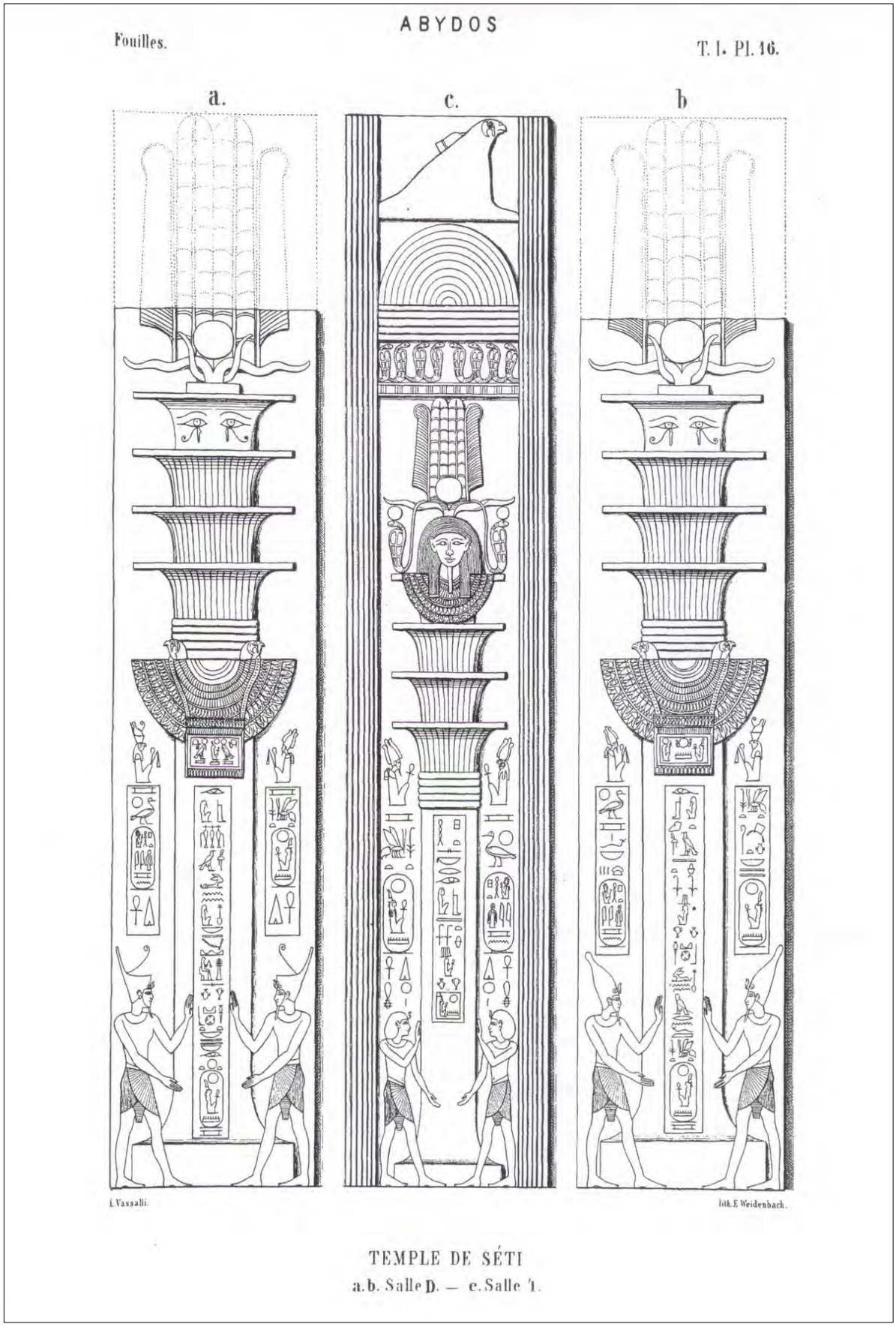


Plate 444. Nefertem-Sokar Complex Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Tatenen Djet-pillar (center). (Mariette 1869, plate 16) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

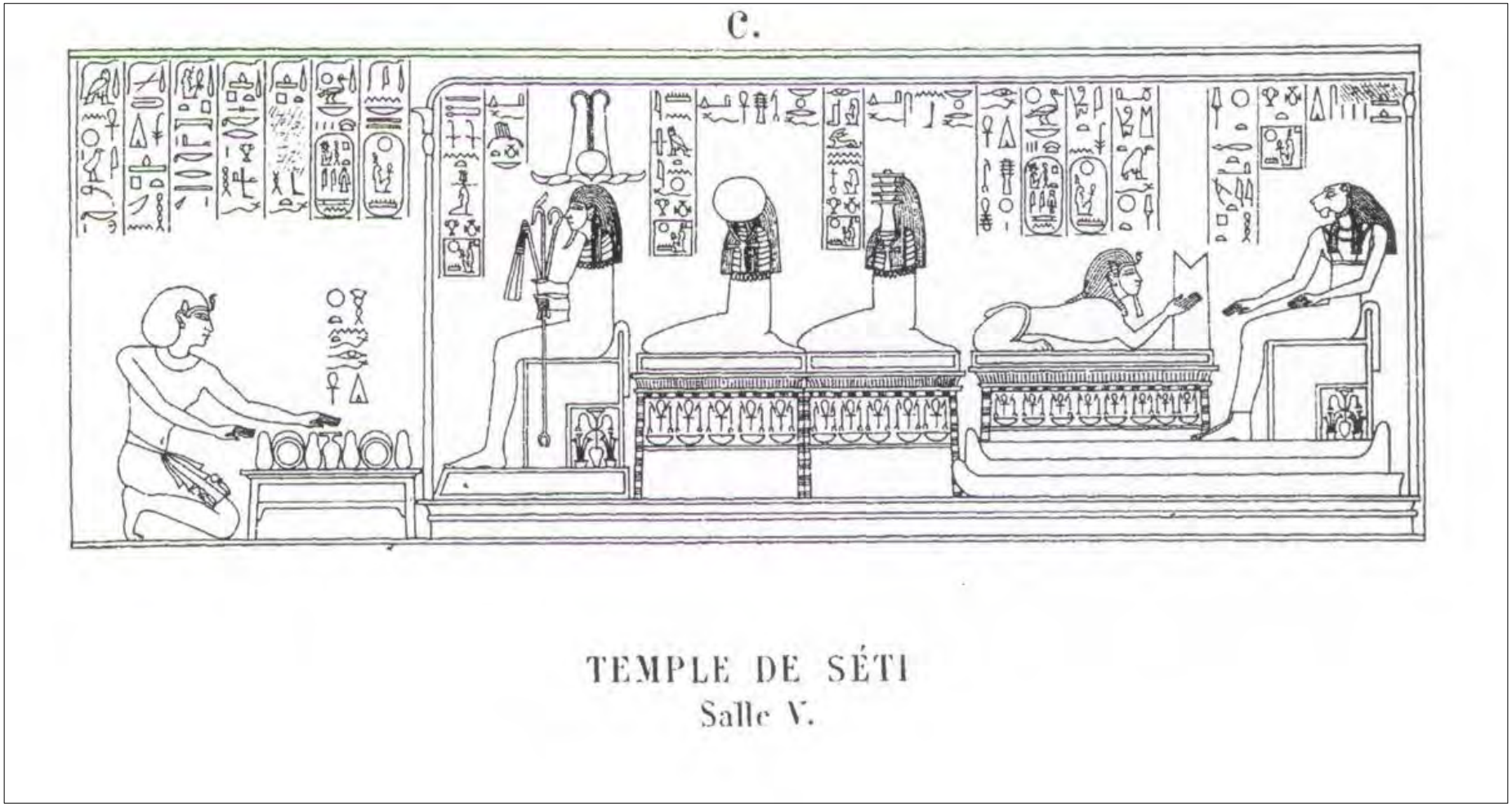


Plate 445. Nefertem Chapel Enthroned Tatenen
(Mariette 1869, plate 40) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

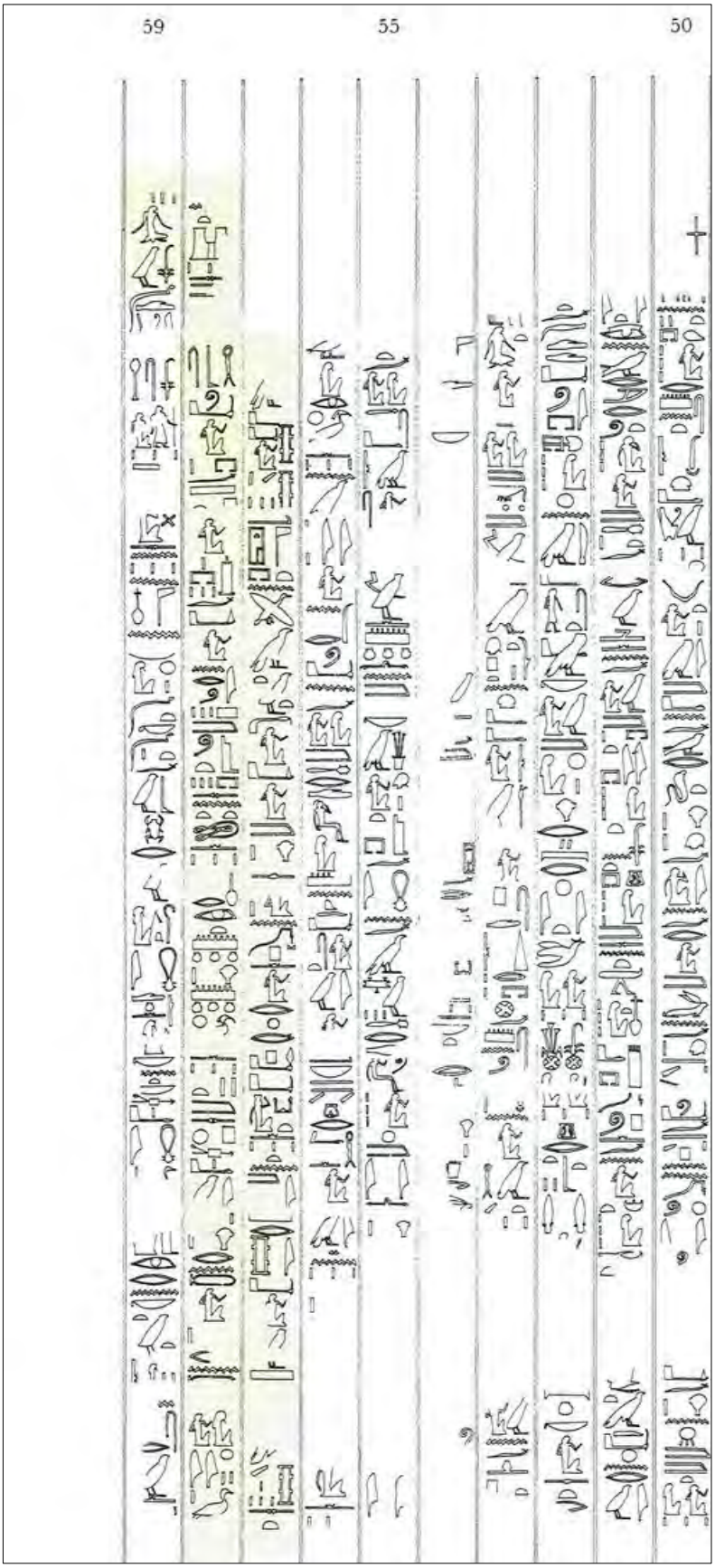


Plate 446. Second Court Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II Columns 50-59. (Spallinger 2009, 131)

Plate 447. Gallery of Lists Royal Ancestor Assemblage and Door Jamb to Corridor.
By kairoinfo4u
https://www.flickr.com/photos/ manna4u /8610787203/

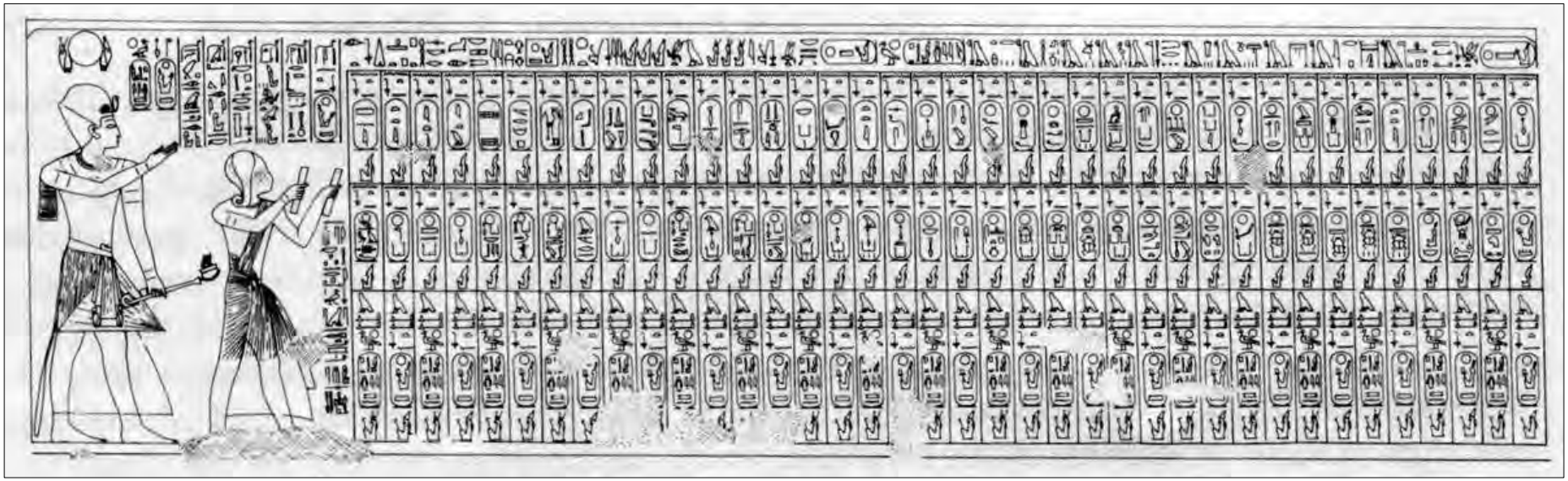


Plate 448. Gallery of Lists Cultic Assemblage of Royal Ancestors.
(Line drawing www.nonabrooklyn.com)

Plate 449. Corridor east wall Driving the Calves, Running with Hs-vases.
(Photo Claude Voyage) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

Plate 450. Corridor east wall Driving the Calves detail.
(Photo www.belovedegypt.com)

Plate 451. Corridor east wall King Running with Hs-vases by Mutnedjmet.
https://www.flickr.com/photos/26330013@N08/3736140407 /

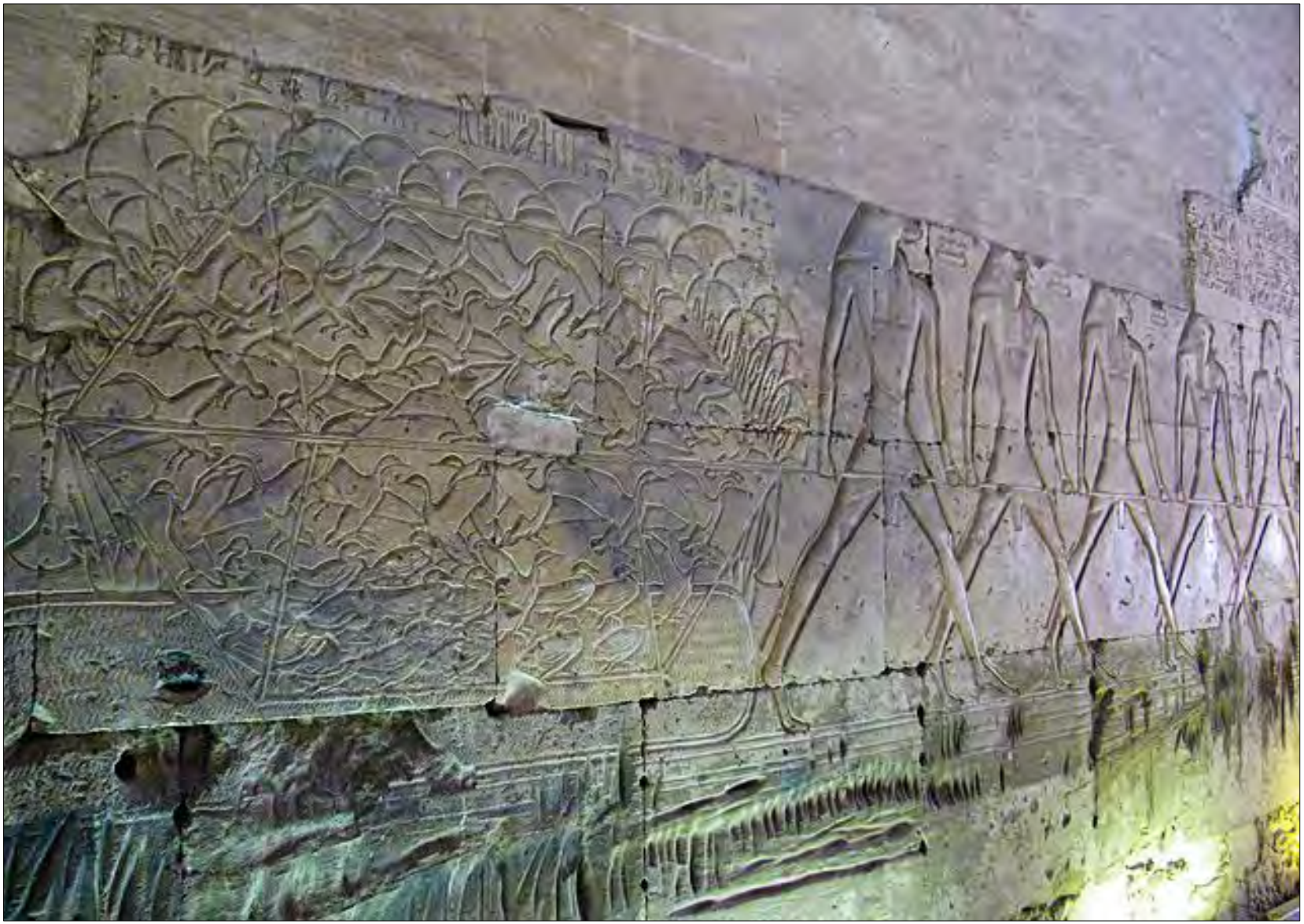


Plate 452. Corridor east wall Netting Scene.
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

Plate 453. Corridor east wall Netting Scene end.
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

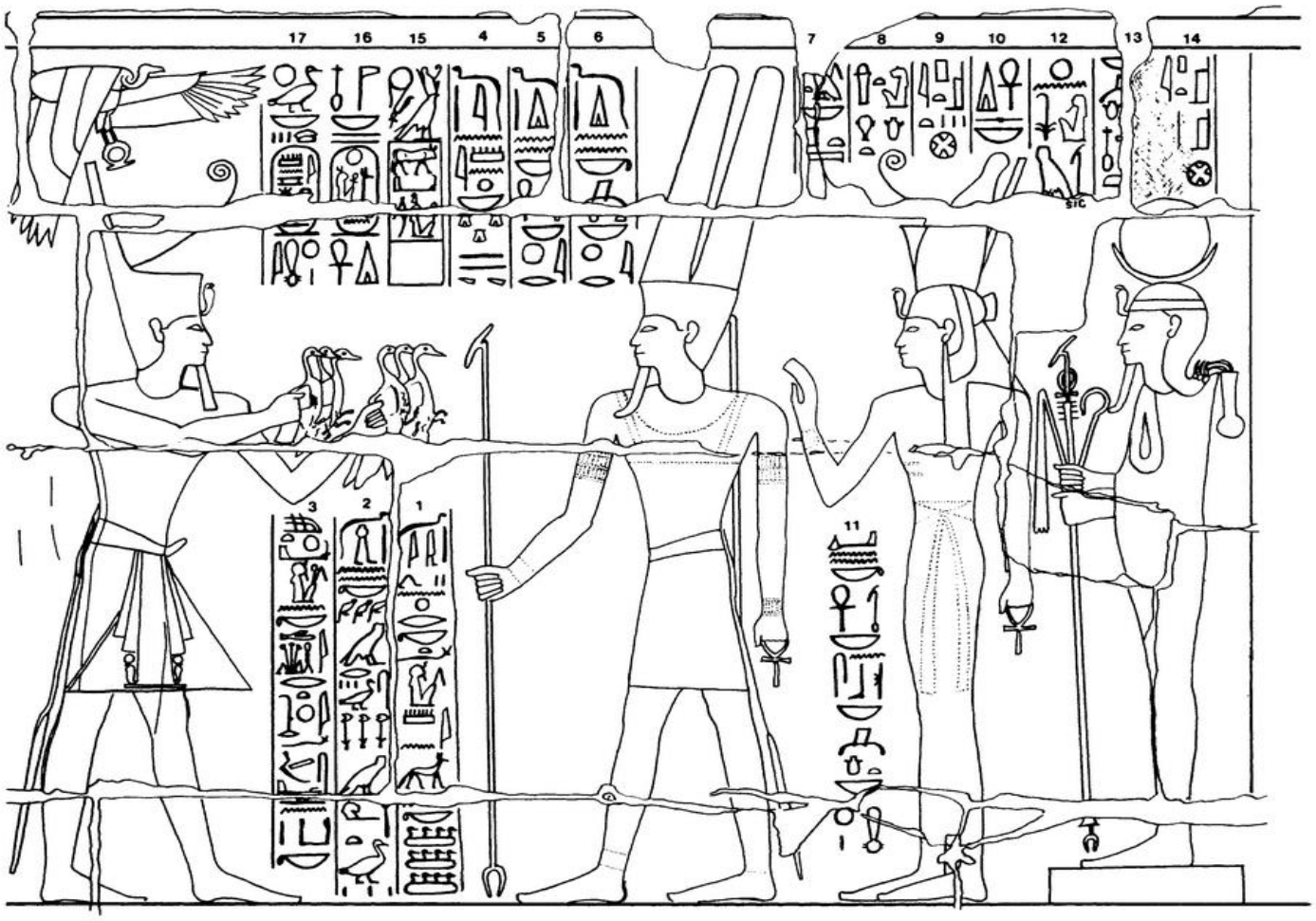
Plate 454. Corridor east wall Netting Scene.
(Photo www.flickr.com)
(Photo Timothy Lavelle) http://www.flickr.com/photos/travellingwebguy/6784111434/

Plate 455. Corridor east wall Netting Scene detail.
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

Plate 456. Corridor east wall Netting and Offering Scenes detail.
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

Plate 457. Corridor east wall King and Crown Prince Offering Six Birds to Amen-re and Mut.
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

Plate 458. Corridor east wall detail King's Crown in the Offering of Birds Scene. (Richard White) www.flickr.com/photos/gauiscaerilios/3334890515/



RAMESSES II OFFERING CAPTURED BIRDS TO THE THEBAN TRIAD

B 87: SOUTH WALL, WEST HALF, UPPER REGISTER

PLATE 43

Plate 459. Hypostyle Hall Karnak Ramesses II Offering Birds to Amen-Re, Mut and Khonsu.
(Nelson 1981, plate 43) https://oi.uchicago.edu

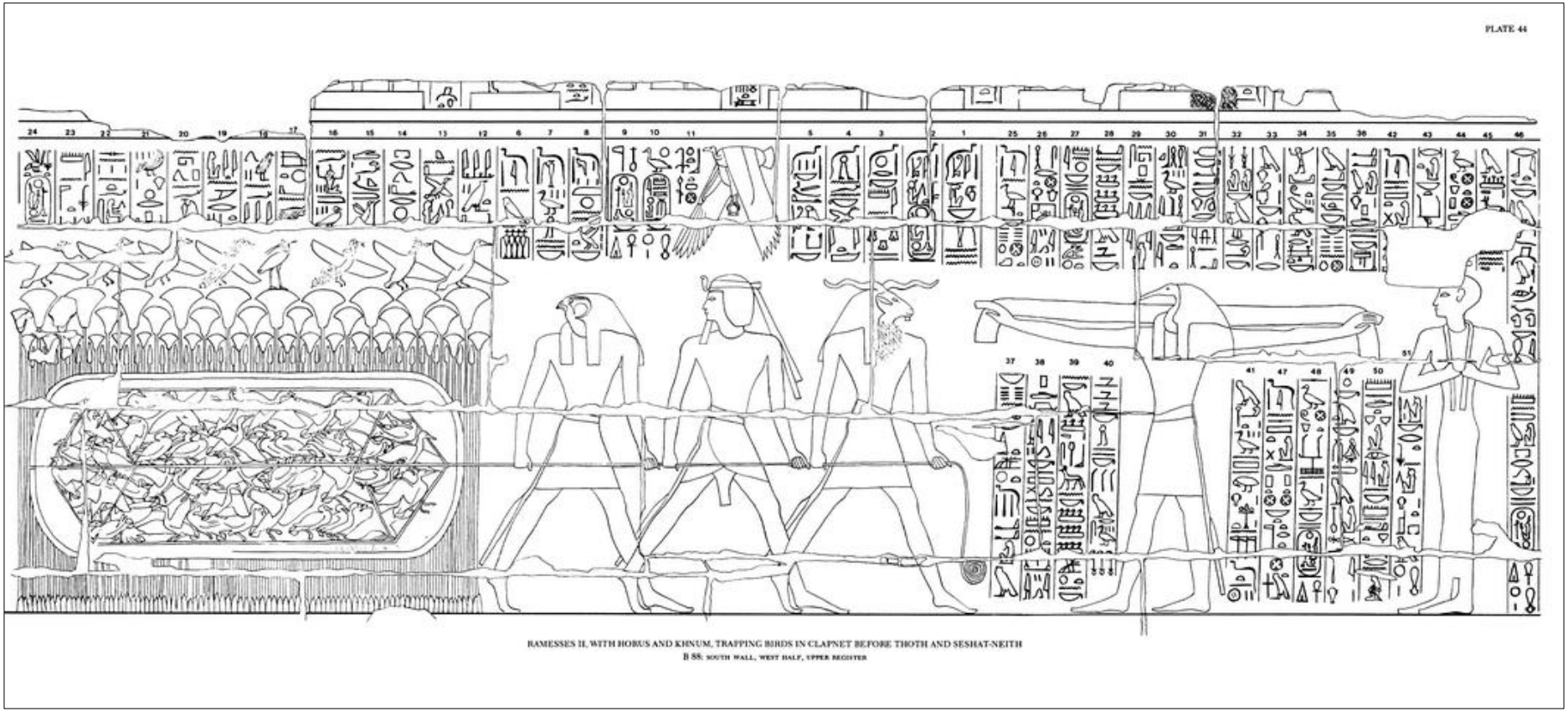


PLATE 44
RAMESSES II, WITH HORUS AND KHNUM, TRAPPING BIRDS IN CLAPNET BEFORE THOTH AND SESHAT-NEITH
B 88. SOUTH WALL, WEST HALF, UPPER REGISTER

Plate 460. Hypostyle Hall Karnak Netting Scene.
(Nelson 1981, plate 44) https://oi.uchicago.edu

Plate 461. Corridor west wall Lassoing the Bull before Wepwawet.
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

Plate 462. Corridor west wall Lassoing Scene.
(Photo Roland Unger) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AbydosBullRelief-236.jpg

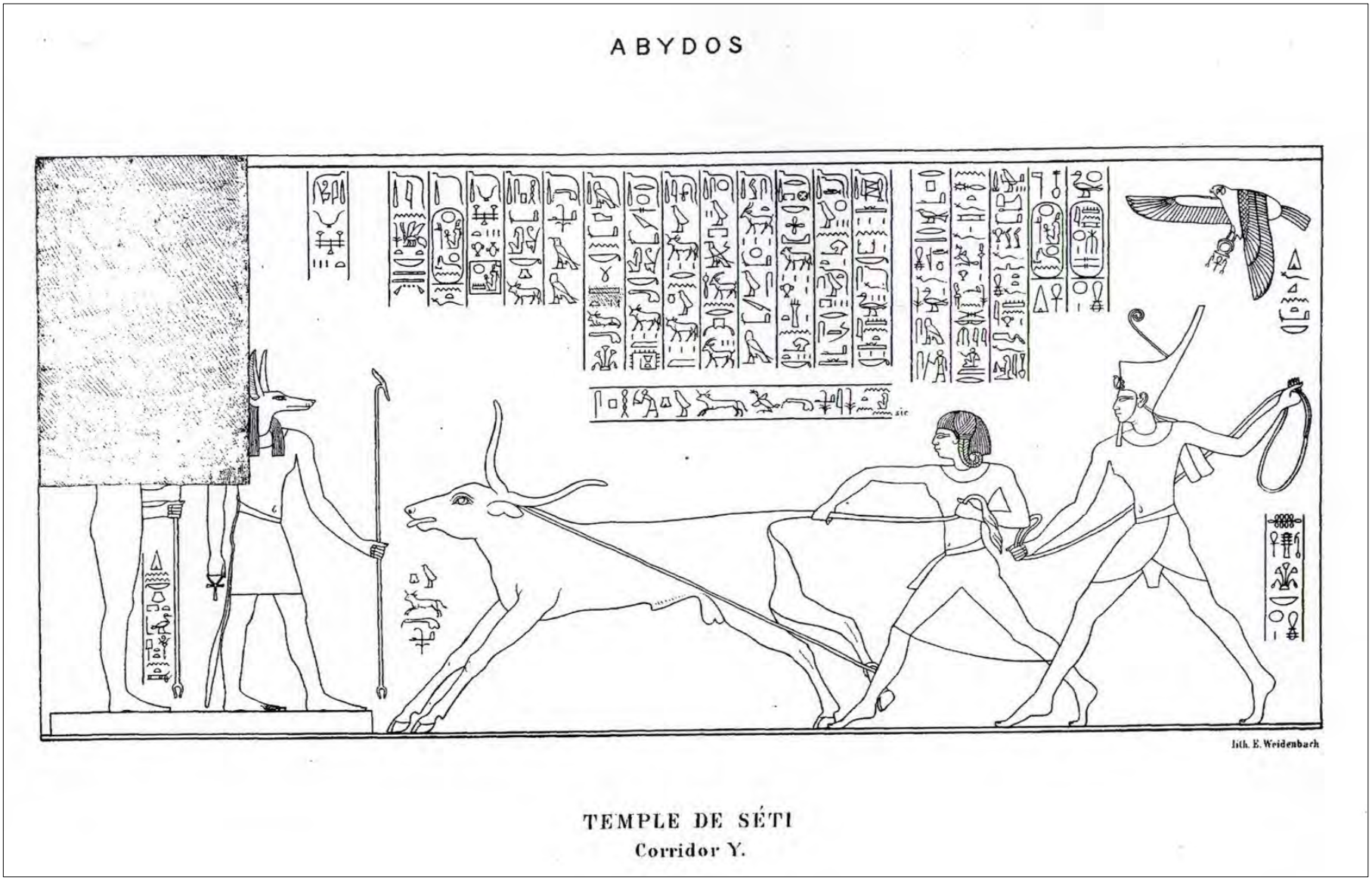
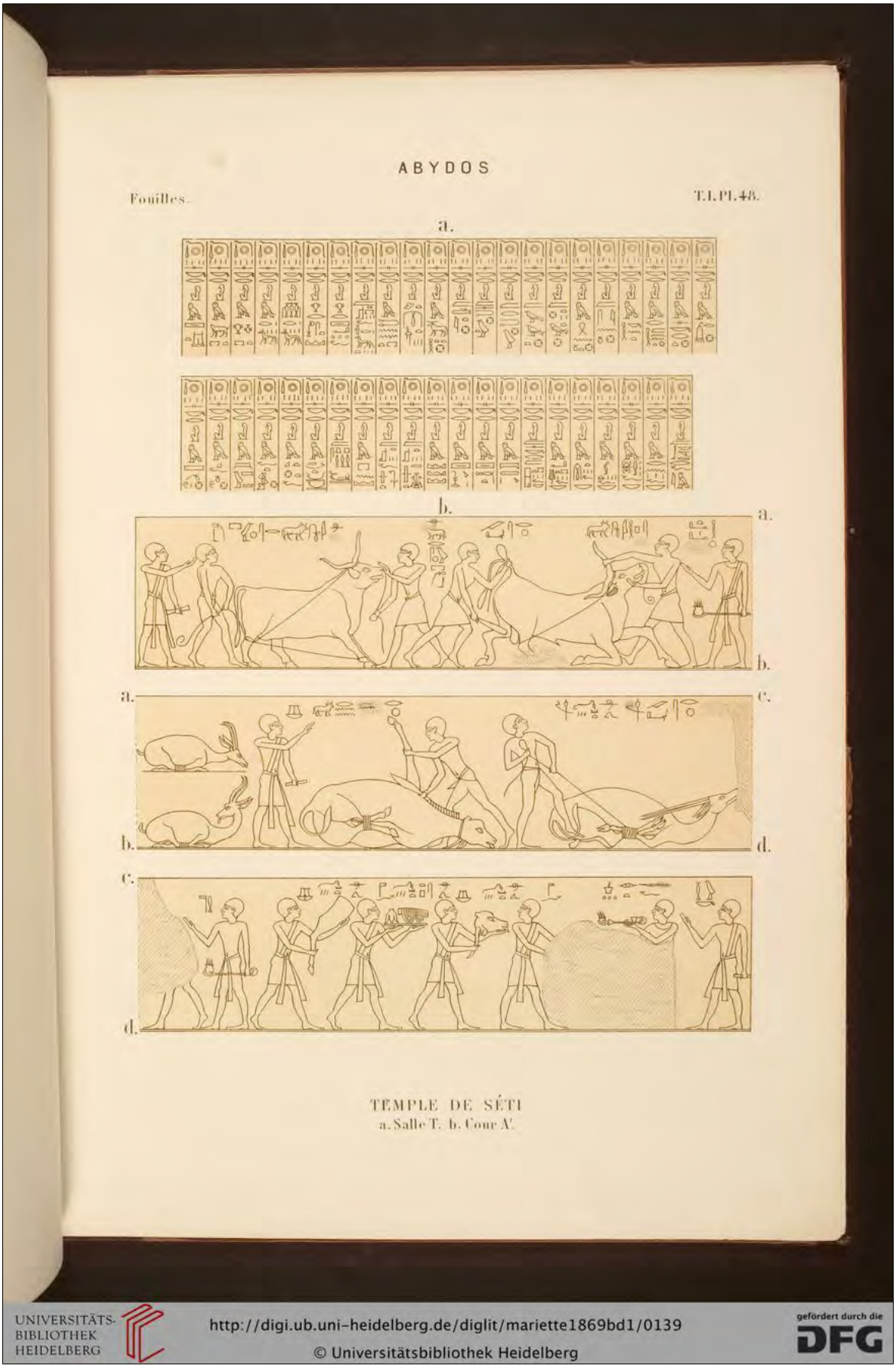


Plate 463. Corridor west wall Ritual of Lassoing the Bull.
(Mariette 1869, plate 53) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga



UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK
HEIDELBERG
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869bd1/0139
© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
gefördert durch die
DFG

Plate 464. Butcher's Hall Bull Scenes Temple of Seti I.
(Mariette 1869, plate 48) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

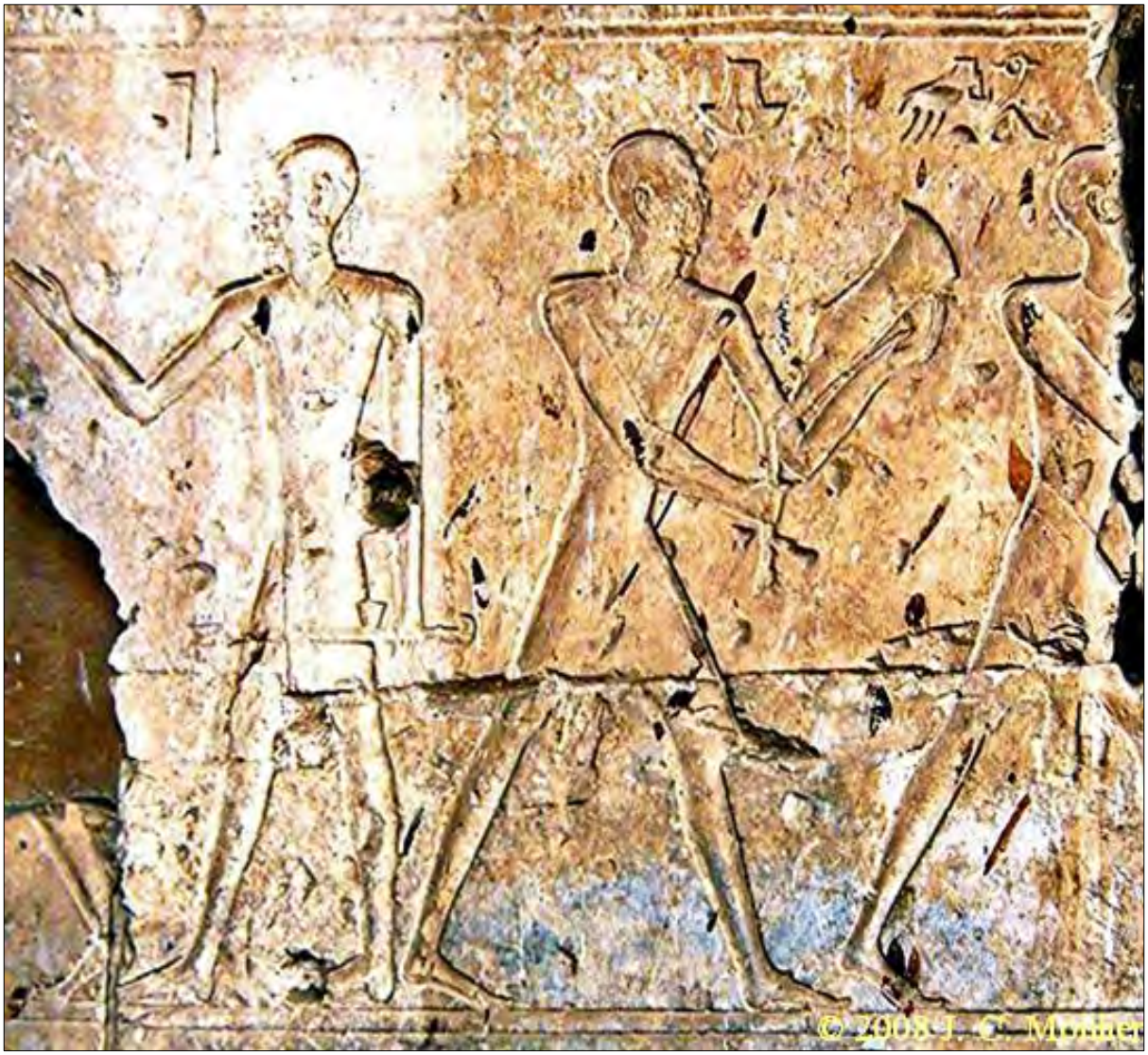


Plate 465. Butcher's Hall west wall lower register Scenes of Bringing the Head and the Foreleg detail. (Photo 2008 J. C. Monher)

Plate 466. Corridor west wall Dragging the Henu-barque to Thoth.
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

Plate 467. Corridor west wall King Dragging the Henu-barque detail.
(Unknown source photo no longer posted on www.flickr.com)

Plate 468. Offerings to Ptah and Sekhmet.
(Photo lesphotosderobert.com) www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html

Plate 469. Stairway Passage Doorway out to Sacred Precinct.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

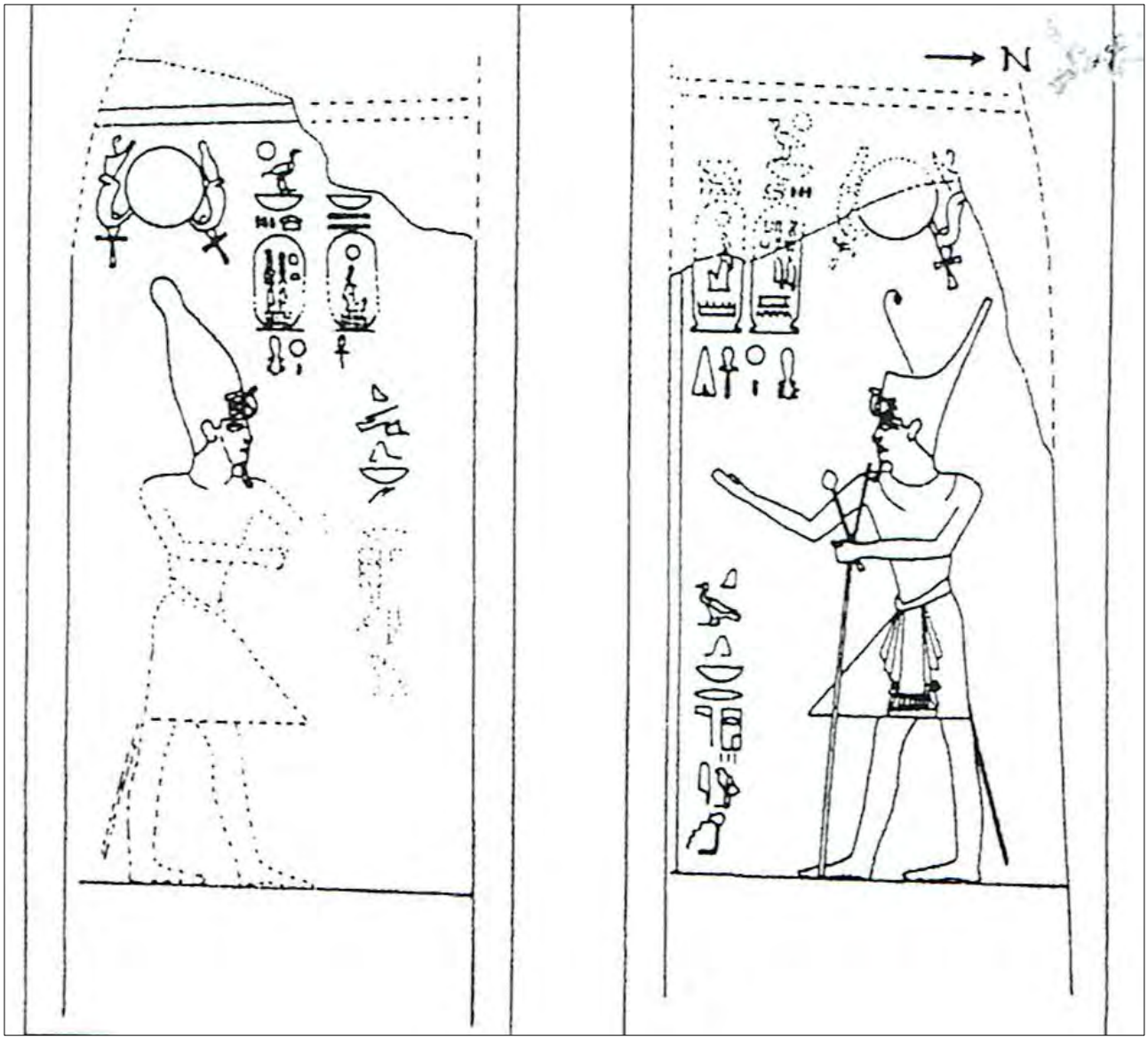


Plate 470. Stairway Passage Jambs of the Door leading out to Sacred Precinct.
(El-Sawy 2003, Fig. 1)

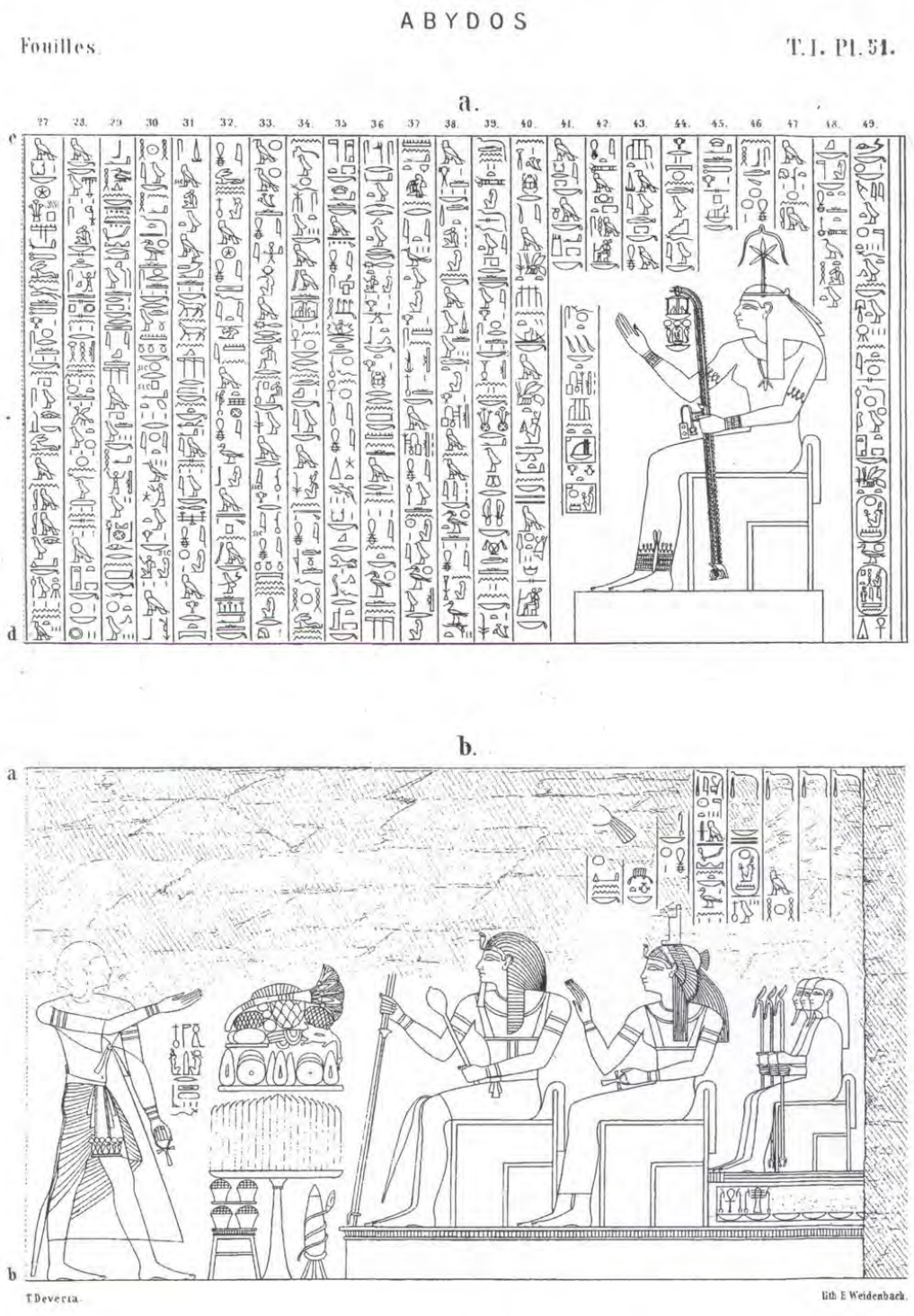
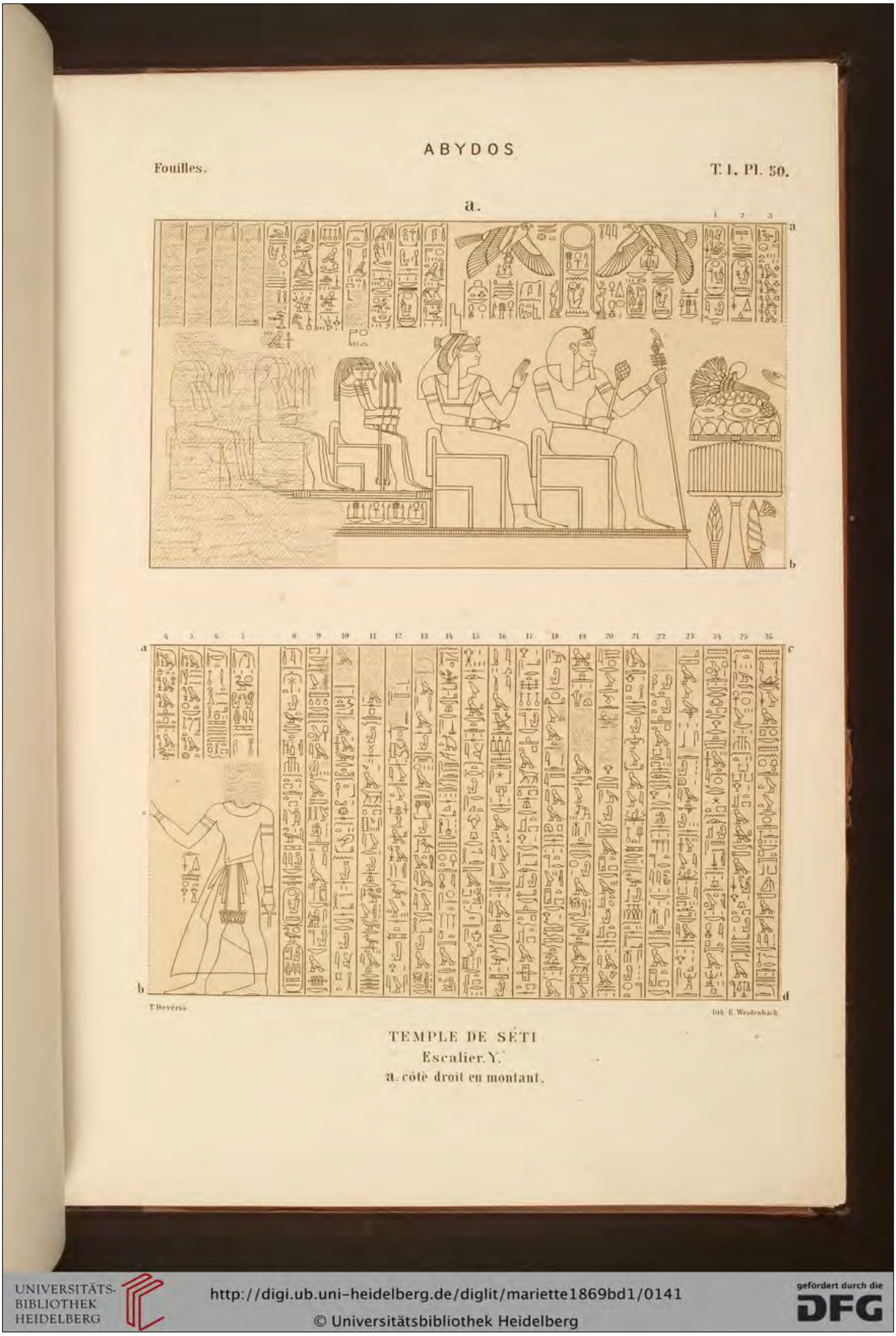


Plate 471. Stairway Passage Speech of Seshat.
(Mariette 1869, plate 51) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

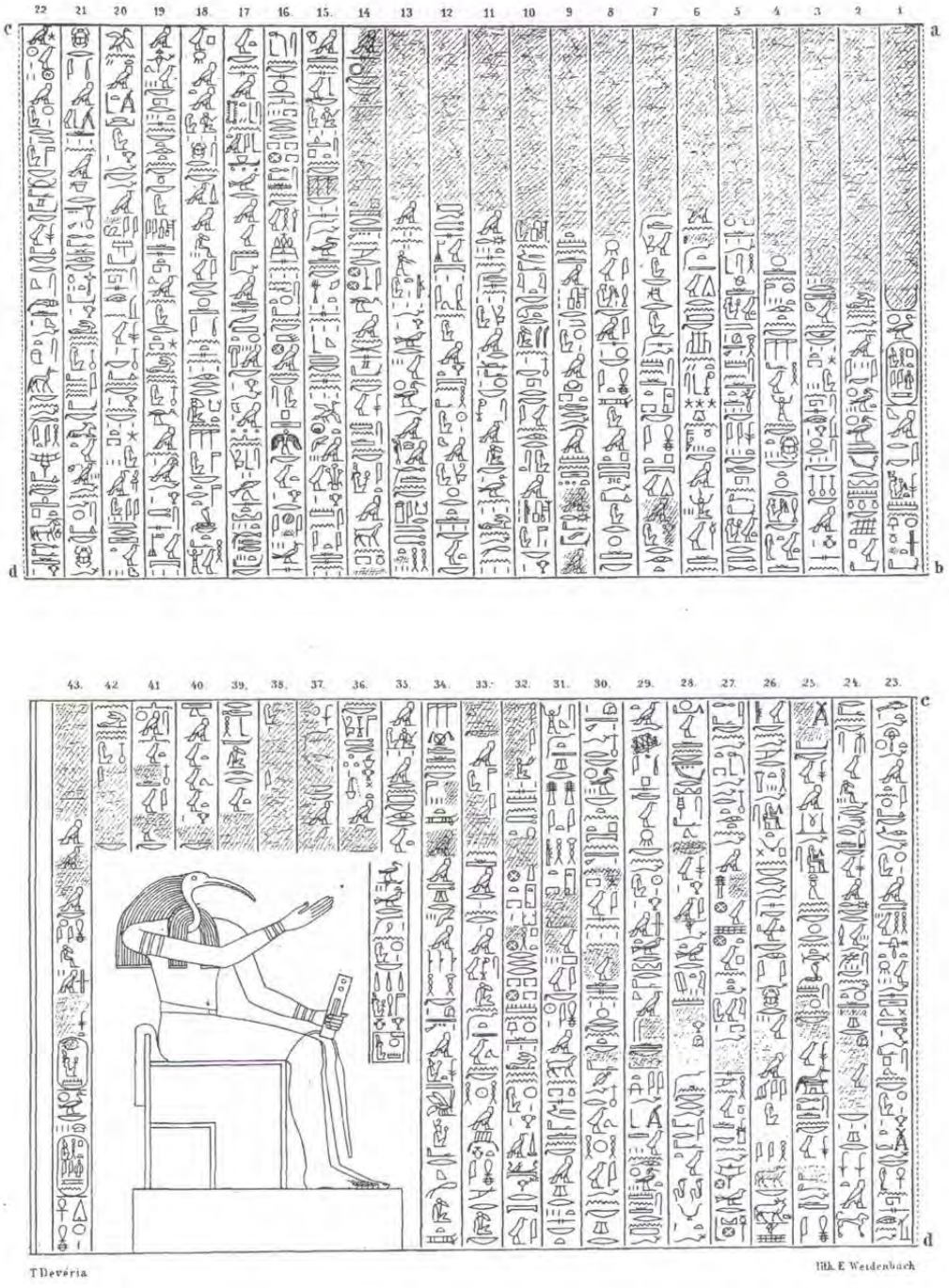


UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK
HEIDELBERG
http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869bd1/0141
© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
gefördert durch die
DFG

Plate 472. Stairway Passage Speech of Seshat and the Two Enneads.
(Mariette 1869, plate 50) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

ABYDOS

Fouilles. T. 1. Pl. 52.



TEMPLE DE SÉTI

Escalier Y.

Plate 473. Stairway Passage Speech of Thoth.
(Mariette 1869, plate 52) https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/mariette1869ga

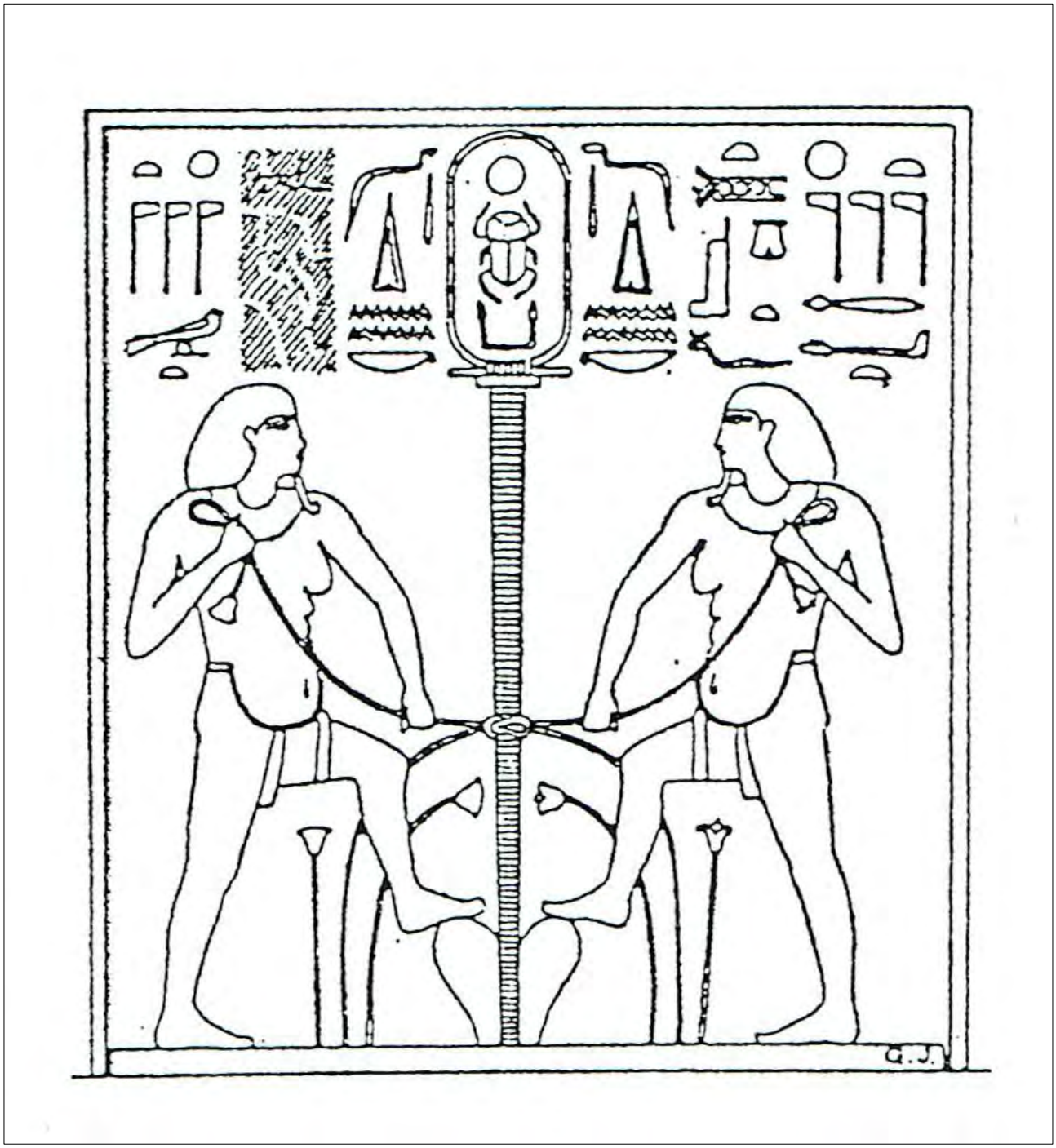


Plate 474. Sesostris I the Greater and Lesser Enneads Uniting the Two Lands.
(Kuhlmann 1977, Abb. 30)

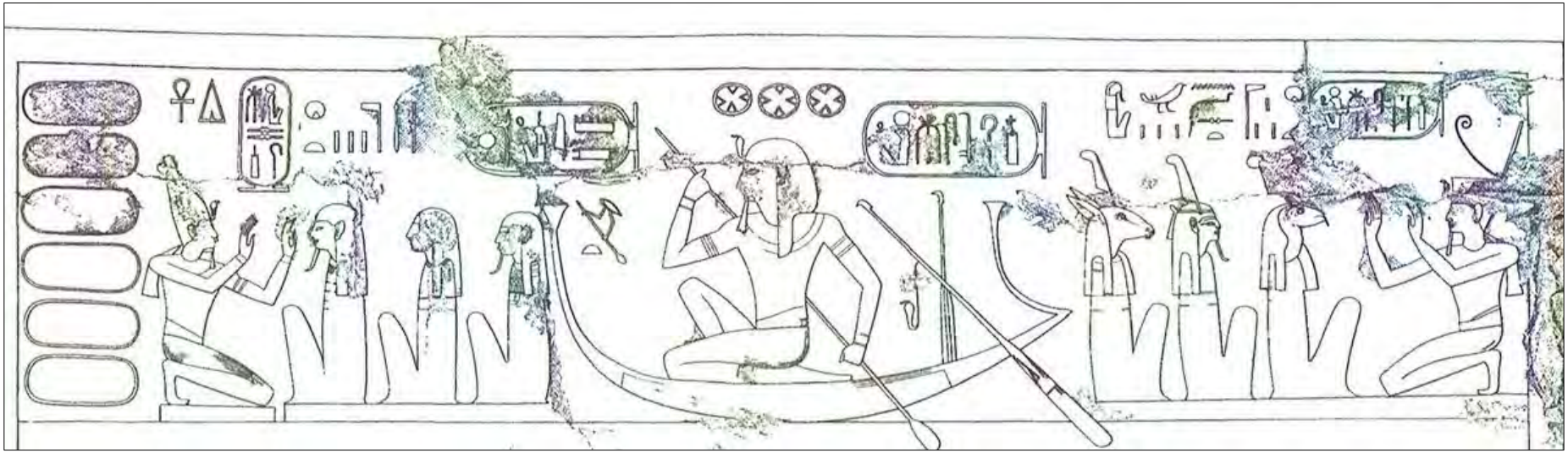
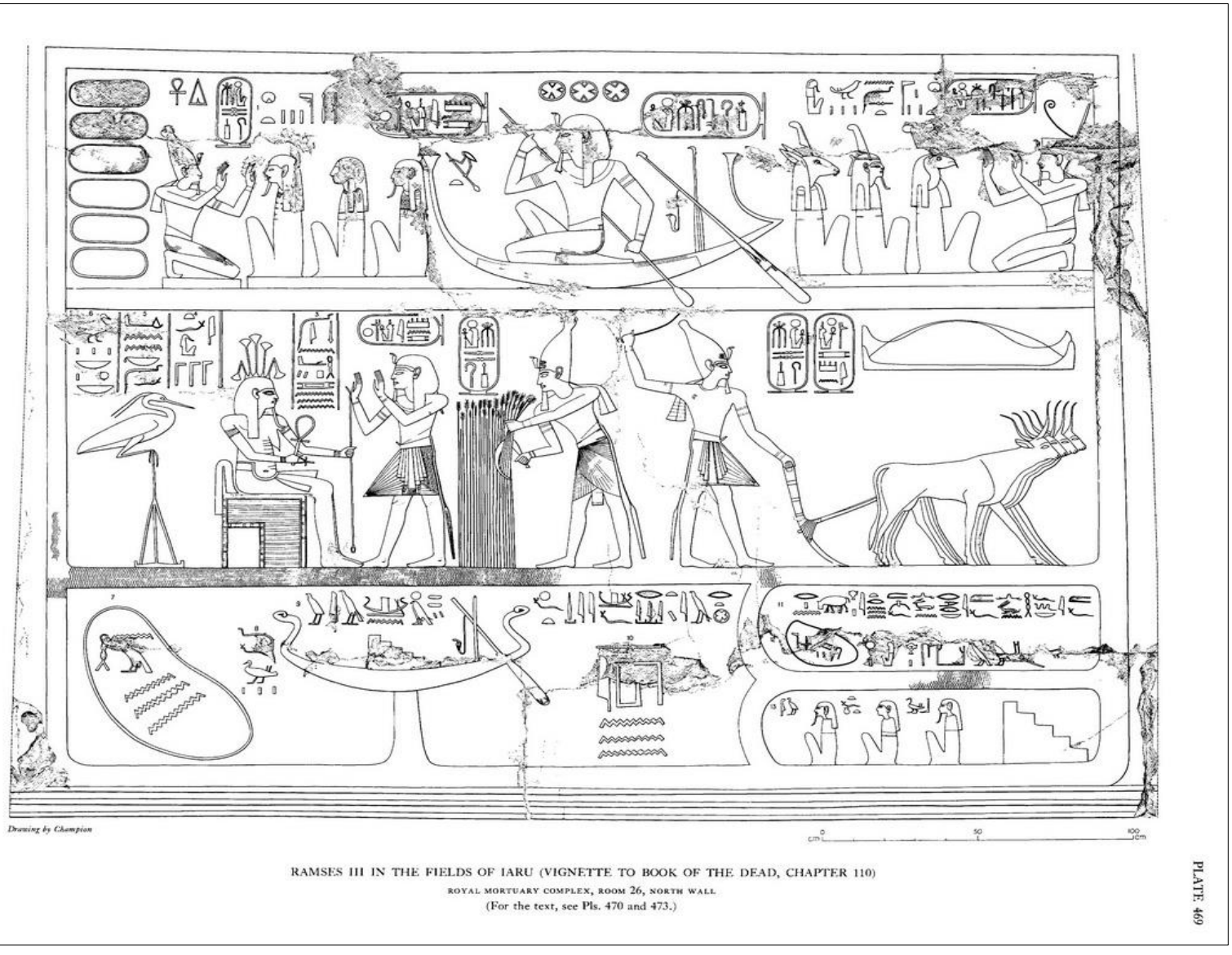


Plate 475. Stairway Passage Lintel Scene of the King Rowing the Barque.
(The Epigraphic Survey 1963, plate 469 top register) https://oi.uchicago.edu



RAMSES III IN THE FIELDS OF IARU (VIGNETTE TO BOOK OF THE DEAD, CHAPTER 110)

ROYAL MORTUARY COMPLEX, ROOM 26, NORTH WALL

(For the text, see Pls. 470 and 473.)

PLATE 469

Plate 476. Vignette of BD 110 Medinet Habu Room 26.
(The Epigraphic Survey 1963, plate 469) https://oi.uchicago.edu

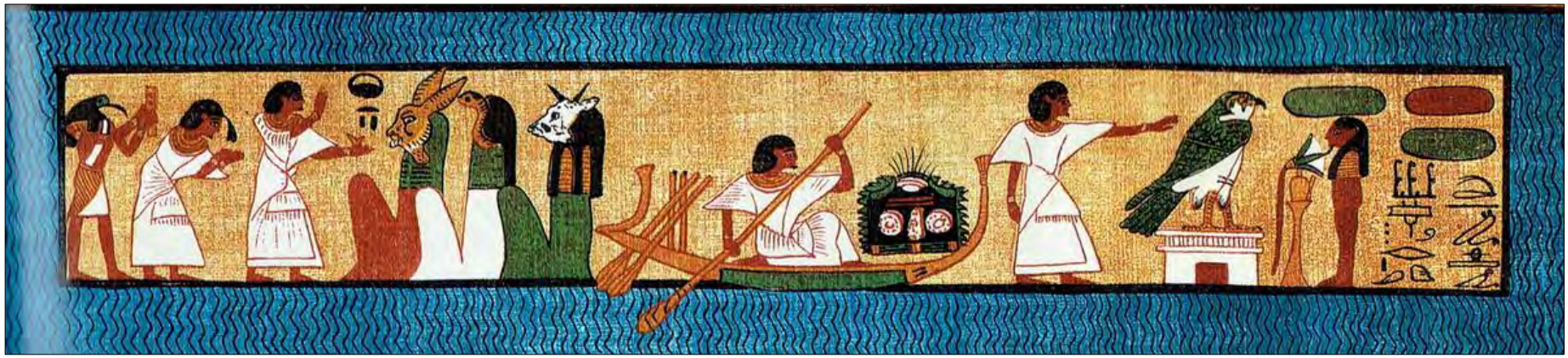


Plate 477. The Two Enneads Vignette of BD 110 Papyrus Ani.
(Faulkner 1994, plate 34)

Plate 478. Exterior Rear Wall Seti's Mansion of Millions of Years View of Remaining Decoration.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

Plate 479. Exterior Rear Wall Entrance to Stairway Passage.
(Photo www.temples-egypte.net/Abydos/sethy/sortie.html)

Plate 480. Exterior Rear Wall first group detail Wepwawet and Ramesses II.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

Plate 481. Exterior Rear Wall third group detail Goddess.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

Plate 482. Exterior Rear Wall fourth group Entrance to Treasury and Archive Chambers.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

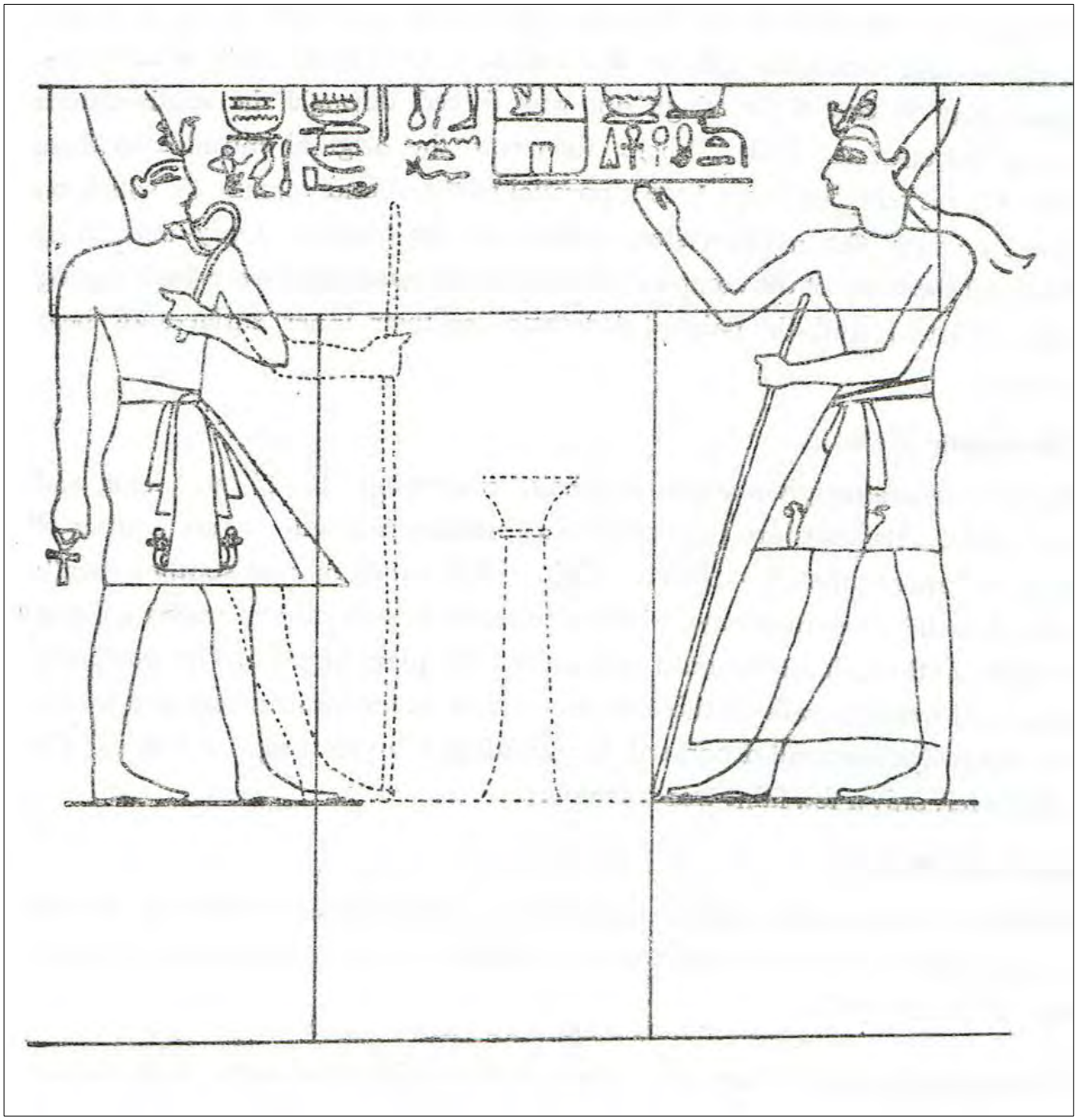


Plate 483. Exterior Rear Wall Reconstructed Concealed Door to the Treasury and Archive Chambers. (Zayed 1983, Fig. 2)

Plate 484. Exterior Rear Wall fifth group detail Goddess.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

Plate 485. Treasury and Archives detail rear wall Merenptah before Osiris.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

Plate 486. Treasury and Archives rear wall scenes.
(Photo Courtesy of Dr. Sarah Symons)

Plate 487. Treasury Weighing Scene Medinet Habu.
(The Epigraphic Survey 1957, plate 320) https://oi.uchicago.edu

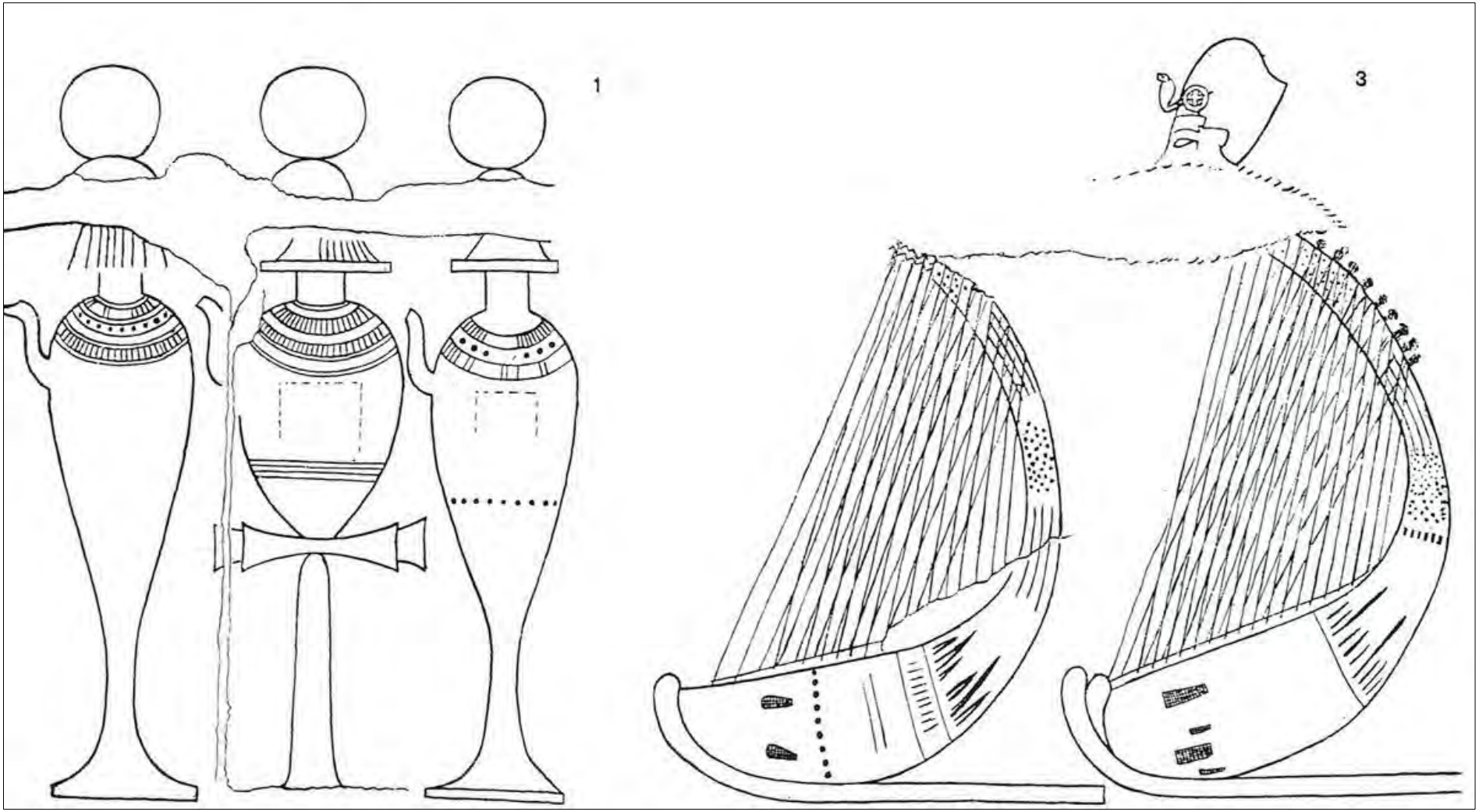


Plate 488. Treasury and Archives Room D detail Harps and Vases.
(Caulfeild 1902, pl. 20) https://archive.org/details/templekingsatab00petrgoog/mode/2up

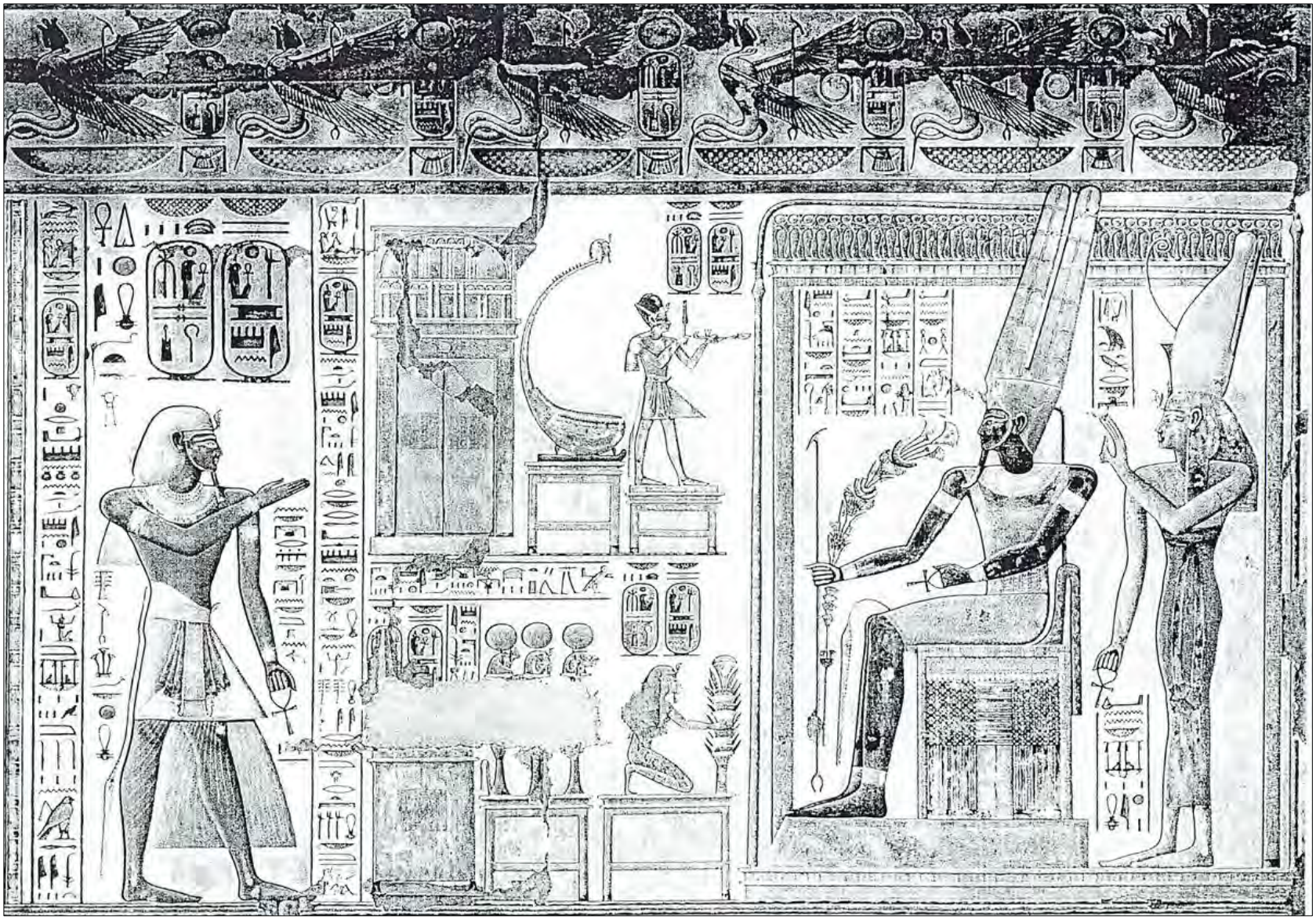
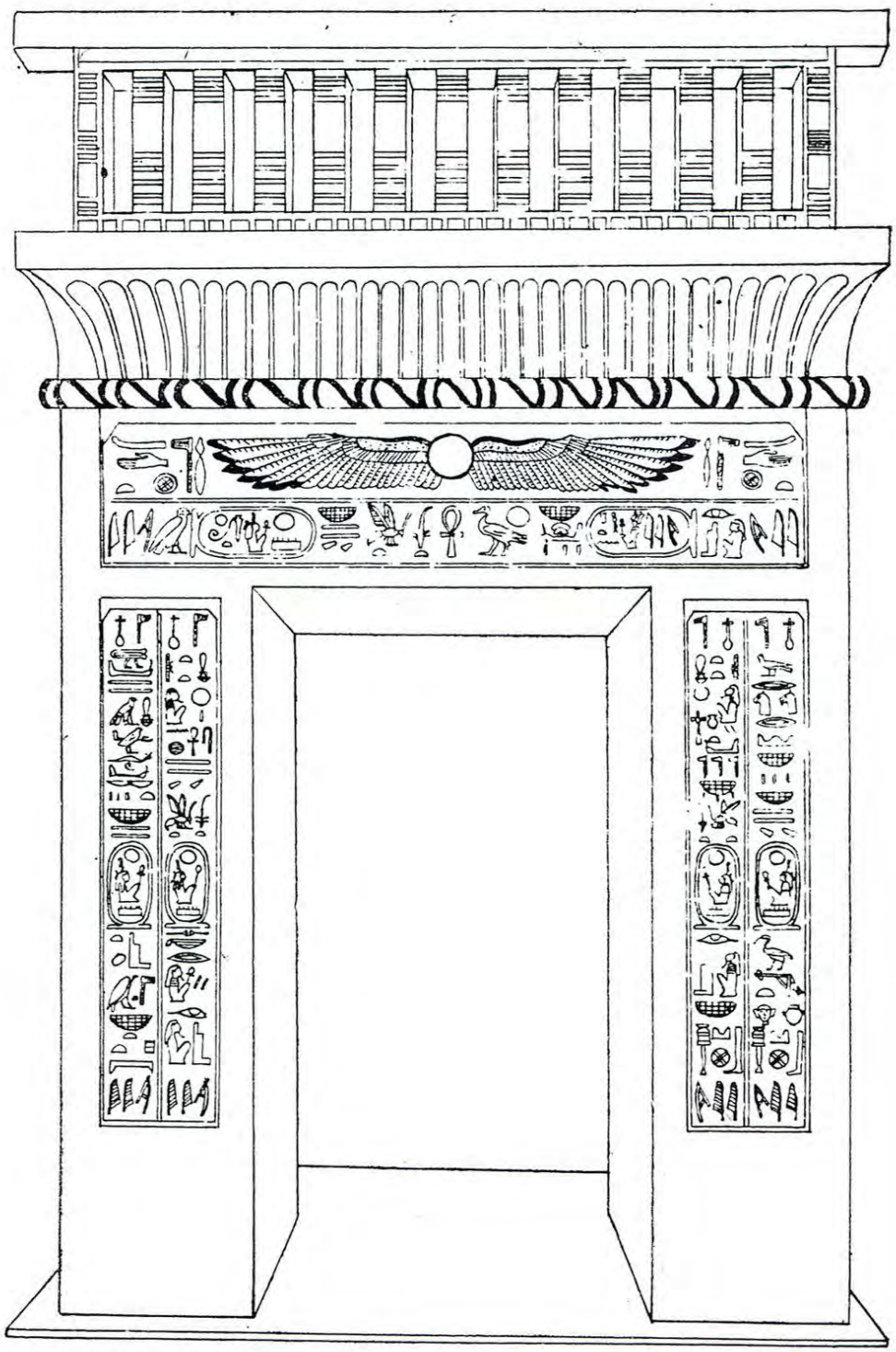


Plate 489. Treasury Offering Scene of Harp and Vases Medinet Habu.
(The Epigraphic Survey 1957, plate 322) https://oi.uchicago.edu



A theoretical reconstruction of a coloured doorway of the Reception Hall

Plate 490. Magazine Complex Reception Hall Doorway Reconstructed.
(Ghazouli 1964, plate IX)

" . . . beloved of (Hathor) residing in the August Treasury" (1) on the eastern face (Fig. 45).

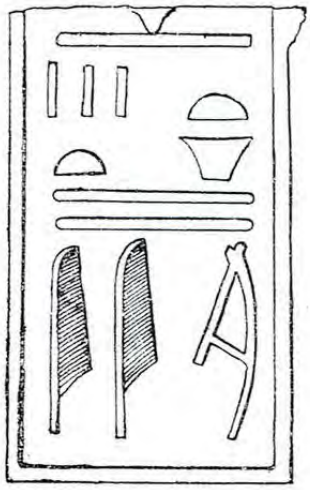


FIG. 42

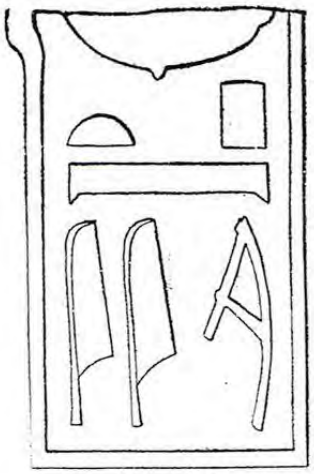


FIG. 43

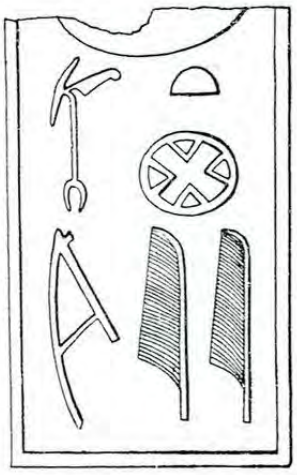


FIG. 44

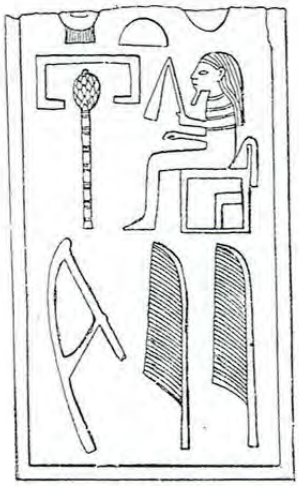


FIG. 45

Plate 491. Magazine Complex reception Hall Inscriptions.
(Ghazouli 1964, Fig. 45)

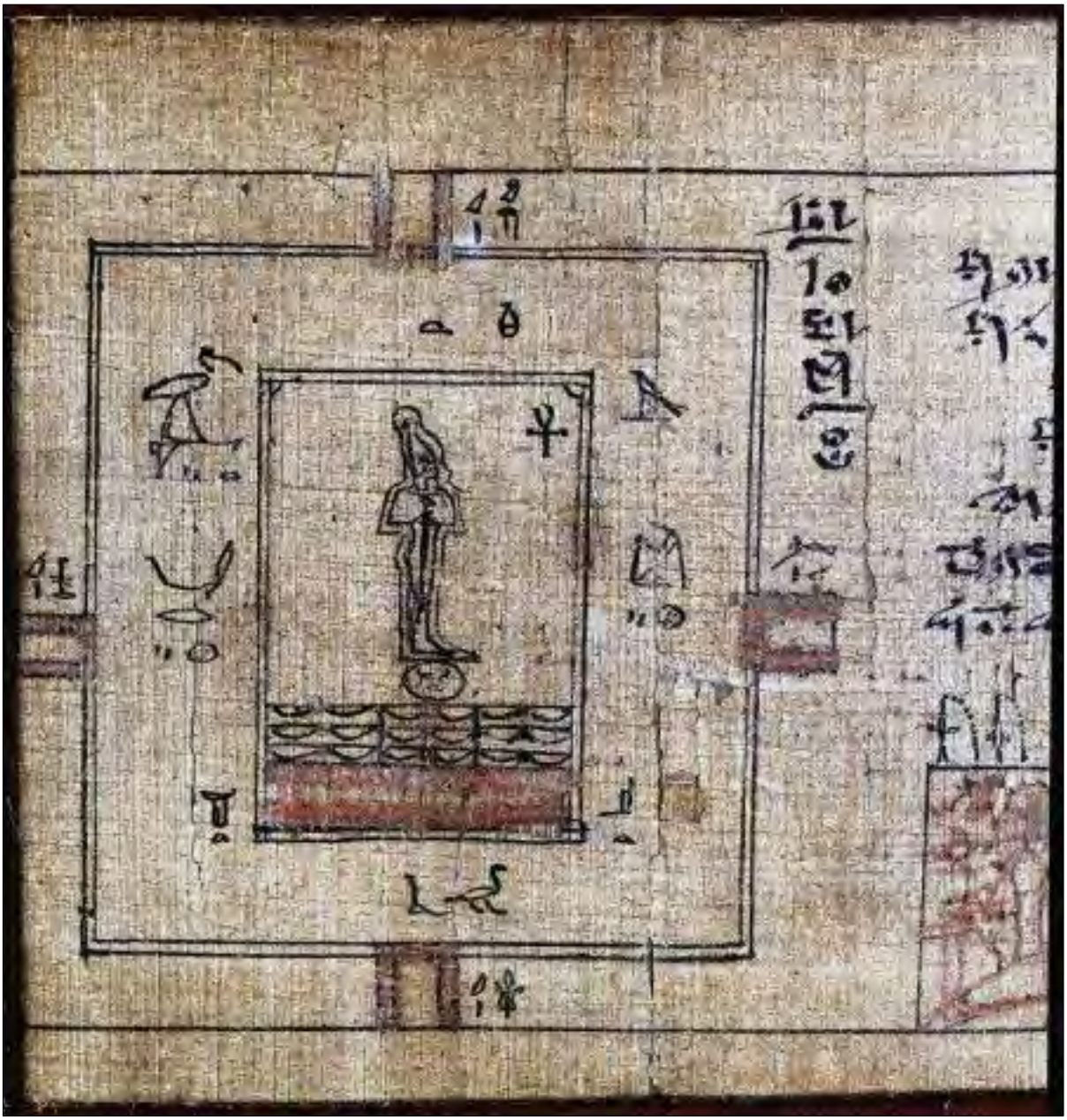


Plate 492. House of Life Vignette p.Salt 825 BM EA 19951,5.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10051-5

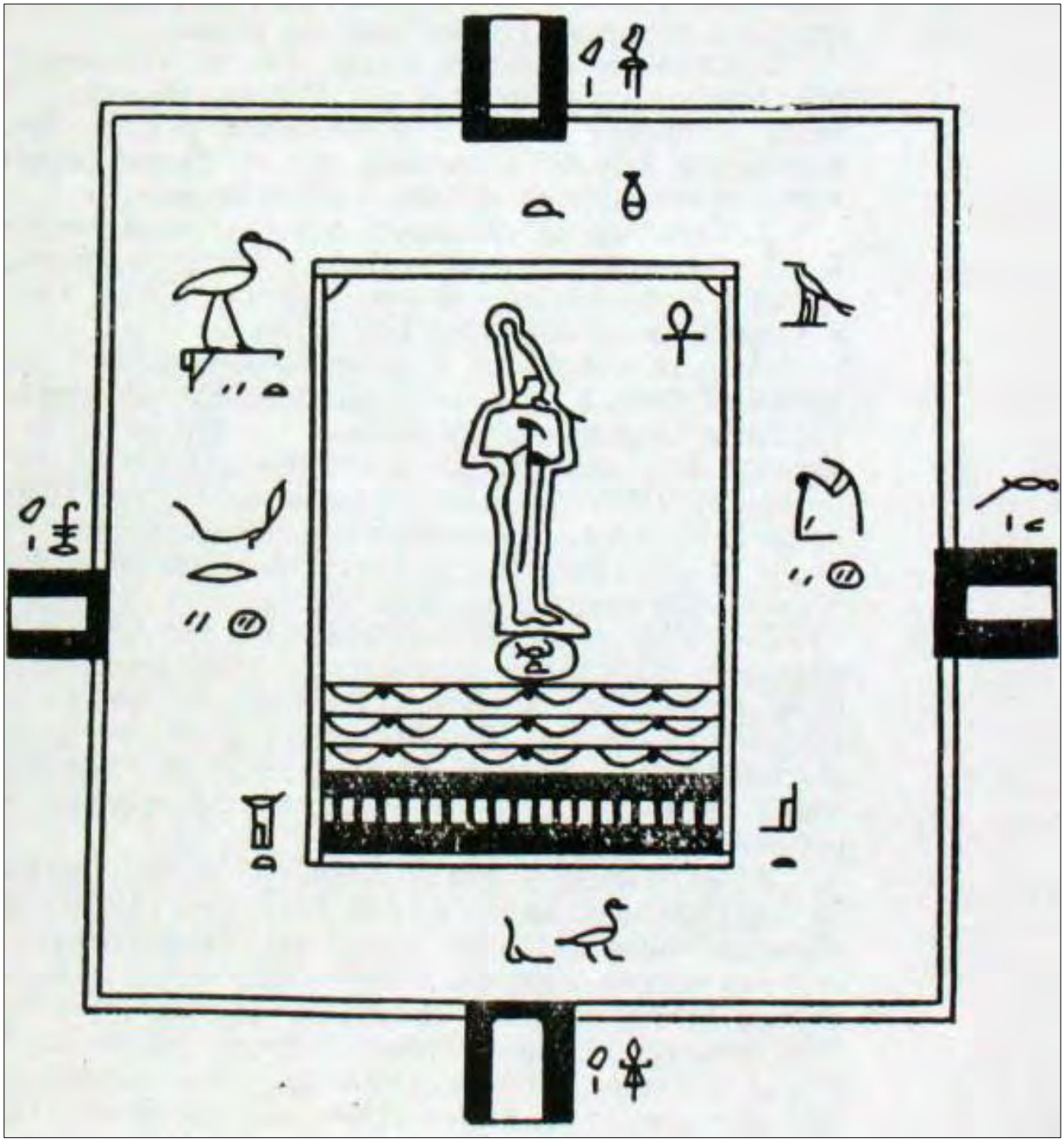


Plate 493. House of Life p.Salt 825.
(Drawing www.neferhotep.over-blog.com/article-le-papyrus-de-salt-825-71739387.html)
posted April 14, 2011

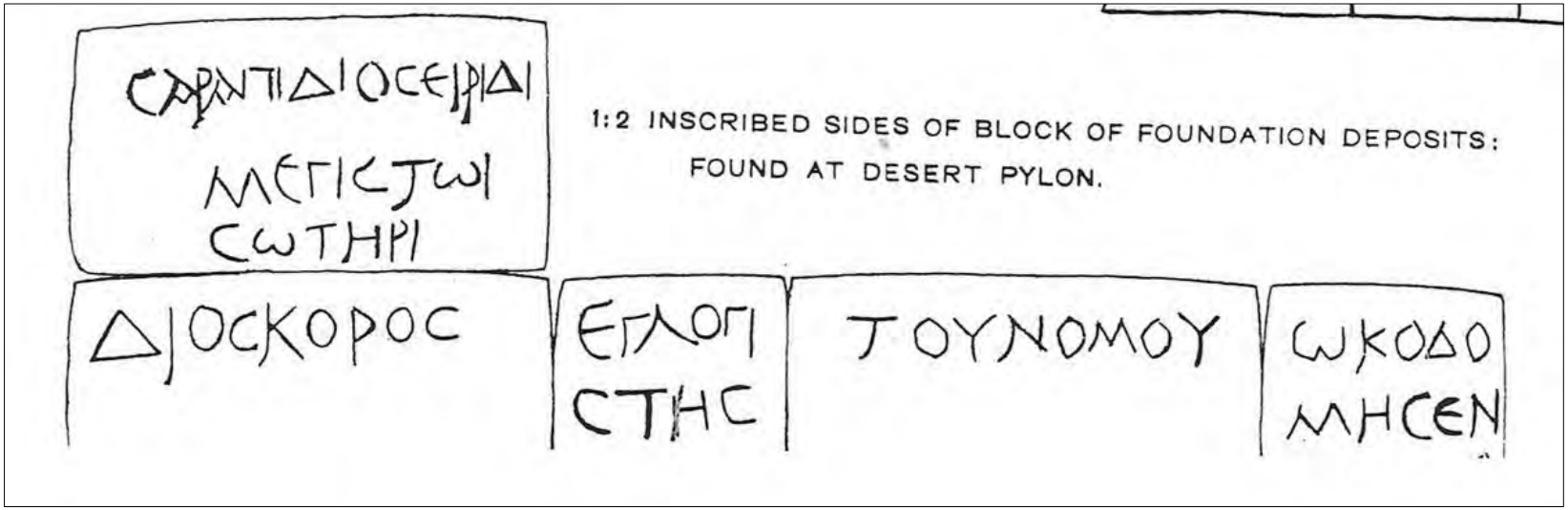


Plate 494. Desert Pylon Foundation Blocks Graffiti.
(Caulfeild 1902, pl. 20) https://archive.org/details/templekingsatab00petrgoog/mode/2up

Plate 495. Possible Traces of the Mound over the Central Hall Excavation Photo 1925.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0126)

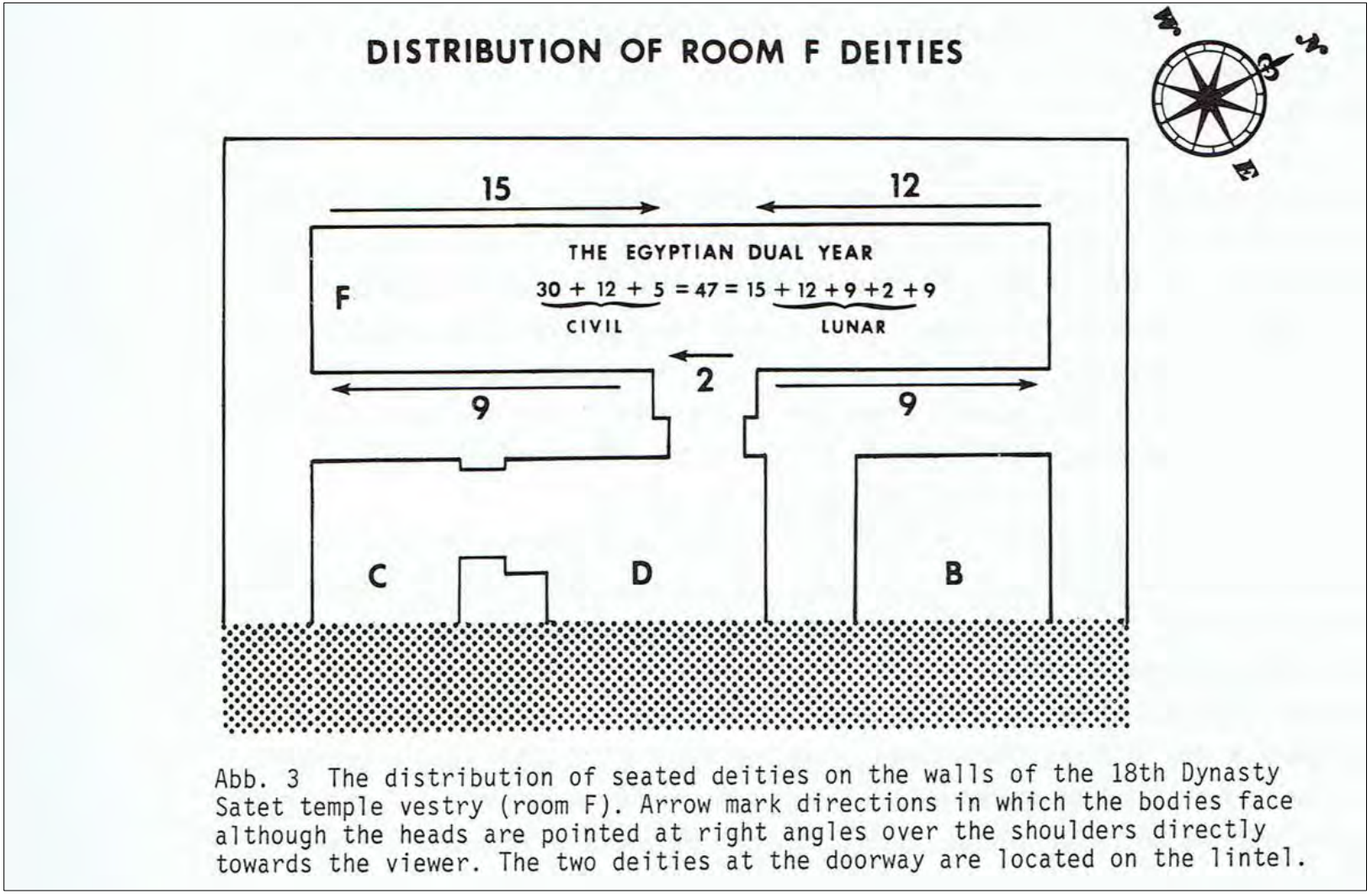

DISTRIBUTION OF ROOM F DEITIES
W.
N.
E.
15
12
THE EGYPTIAN DUAL YEAR
F
30 + 12 + 5 = 47 = 15 + 12 + 9 + 2 + 9
CIVIL
LUNAR
2
9
9
C
D
B
Abb. 3 The distribution of seated deities on the walls of the 18th Dynasty Satet temple vestry (room F). Arrow mark directions in which the bodies face although the heads are pointed at right angles over the shoulders directly towards the viewer. The two deities at the doorway are located on the lintel.

Plate 496. Astronimical Alignments Satet Temple Room F Deities.
(Wells 1990, Abb. 3)

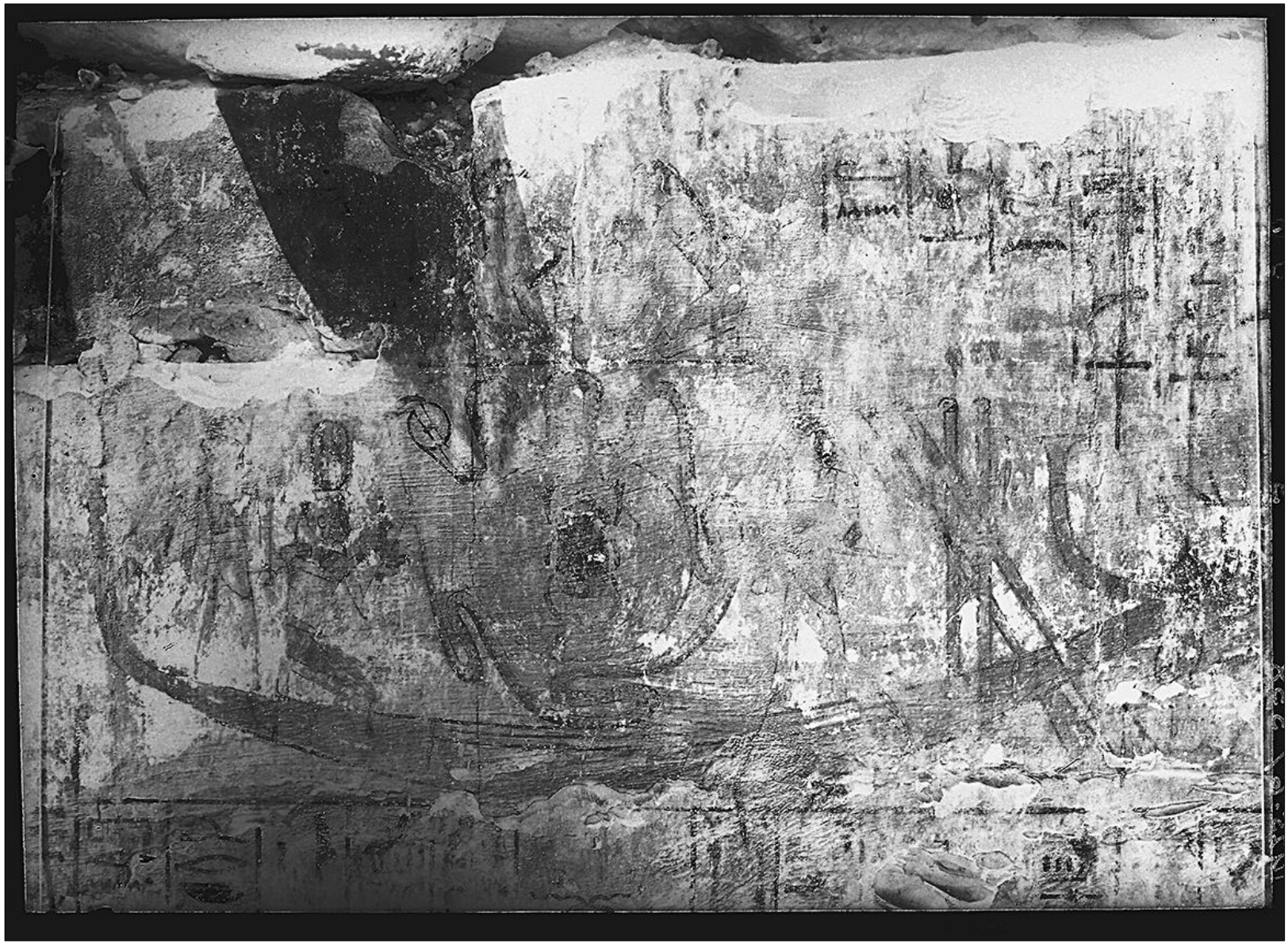


Plate 497. Book of Gates First Hour King with Khepri in the Solar Barque.
(Egyptian Exploration Society EES Negative AB_25_0338)

Cover Illustration Transmission of Royal Power
(Frankfort 1933, plate 73 detail) https://archive.org/details/MEEF39.2

Dedication page Adrienne Rourke
(Photo C. Herzer)